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A BRIEF HISTORY
OF
THE WESLEYAN MISSIONS
ON
THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA:

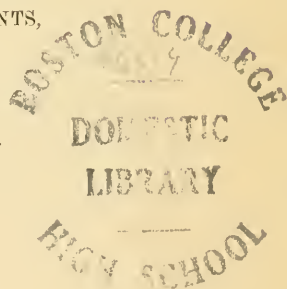
INCLUDING
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF
ALL THE MISSIONARIES WHO HAVE DIED IN THAT IMPORTANT
FIELD OF LABOUR.

WITH
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS,
AND OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP AND SIX ENGRAVINGS.

BY WILLIAM FOX,

UPWARDS OF TEN YEARS MISSIONARY ON THE GAMBIA.



AN American Missionary, just before his departure for Africa, said to his friend, "I go to that land of death; but if I die, you must come and write my epitaph." It was asked, "What shall I write?" "Write," said he, "THOUGH A THOUSAND FALL, LET NOT AFRICA BE FORGOTTEN!"

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.
PUBLISHED BY AYLOTT AND JONES,
8, PATERNOSTER-ROW:
SOLD ALSO BY JOHN MASON, 66, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY JAMES NICHOLS,
HOXTON-SQUARE.

TO

THE COMMITTEE, TREASURERS, AND GENERAL SECRETARIES

OF THE

WESLEYAN-METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY;

UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES THE AUTHOR COMMENCED HIS ARDUOUS
LABOURS ON THE RIVER GAMBIA,

BY WHOSE COUNSELS HE WAS INSTRUCTED
AND ENCOURAGED,

WHOSE APPROBATION CHEERED HIM UNDER TRIALS AND DIFFICULTIES,

AND FROM WHOM HE HAS ALWAYS RECEIVED GRATIFYING
TOKENS OF ESTEEM AND CONFIDENCE;

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.



PREFACE.

FOR many generations the name of AFRICA has produced a kind of talismanic effect upon various parts of the civilized world. It has arrested the attention and awakened the sympathies of mankind; and brought into action some of the noblest energies—mental, moral, and physical—with which human nature is endowed. The philanthropist and the philosopher, the man of science and of commerce, the statesman and the Christian, have all alike in their turn directed their attention to “that realm of wonder,” to that once bright, but long since (and still) dark, continent. No part of the globe is richer in all the three kingdoms of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral; and yet, alas! no part of the world is more deeply degraded, demoralized, and polluted.

The very name of AFRICA, therefore, prepares us for revolting scenes of wrong, oppression, and cruelty; for deeds of danger, of desolation, and of death. The following pages will exhibit this unhappy country in some of its darkest features: with its brutal rites and ceremonies, its demon-worship, and its millions of inhabitants slain in battle, and millions more the victims to the sacrificial knife, the instrument of a sanguinary superstition, and still millions more pining away in the horrid holds of the slave-ships! But without referring to this awful loss of life, which to a great extent occurs annually, what a number of valuable lives have been sacrificed in exploring its unknown regions, in tracing the sources of its mighty rivers, in attempting to mitigate some of its untold miseries, and in scattering, by means of Christian missions, the blessings of a Saviour’s love among some of the numerous tribes skirting that long line of coast!

The present work owes its existence to a desire long felt, on the part of the writer, to see placed upon record some brief memorial of departed worth in connexion with the last class of European agents who have lost their lives in the welfare of Africa. Soon after his arrival in England in the summer of 1843, he was requested by an intelligent gentleman to publish some account of his missionary labours; but he did not then entertain the proposition. Since that period he has been frequently solicited by other esteemed friends to enter on this undertaking; but he still declined. However, having attended many missionary meetings,

and having not unfrequently referred to the prejudicial effects of the climate of Western Africa on European constitutions, as one of the great drawbacks to the rapid progress of Christianity; it often occurred to him on those occasions, that a brief history of the Wesleyan missions, with a biographical sketch of those excellent men, and "also of honourable women not a few," who have fallen in that land of death, could not but be interesting to the friends of missions in general, and especially to the nearest connexions of the deceased. It is true that the death of each missionary and missionary's wife, as they have occurred, has been invariably announced in the "Missionary Notices," with some suitable and appropriate remarks; and a further record of each departed missionary has been published in the Obituary department of the "Minutes of Conference." But the writer conceived, that something in a more connected form, with further particulars, was due to that noble and self-denying band of the devoted soldiers of the cross, who have voluntarily rushed into the field, to fill up the breaches made by "the last enemy," or to aid the few standard-bearers who were still remaining, and who have cheerfully laid down their lives, and sacrificed their all, in this hallowed cause. He was, moreover, not without hope that a brief account of their successful labours, their sickness and death, though following each other (as it will be seen they did) in rapid succession, instead of acting as a check to missionary ardour, or deterring young men from venturing on this pestilential clime, would rather tend to fan the flame of missionary zeal, already kindled in many hearts, and that it would induce others to say, "Here am I; send me!" The past history of these missions warrants and encourages this expectation.

The author, having long waited for some one more competent to undertake this task, at length resolved to make the attempt himself; and, as soon as he had taken this resolution, he made known his intention to the public, and solicited, from the parents and other friends of deceased missionaries, such interesting incidents connected with their conversion to God, their call to the ministry, and other facts, as they might be able to furnish. To this application many friends in different parts of the kingdom soon responded; and the substance of those letters are embodied in the biographical sketches found in the following pages; and the author tenders his grateful acknowledgments for those valuable communications. Some of the memoirs are exceedingly brief when compared with others; but it must be remembered, that this has arisen from circum-

stances over which the writer had no control ; for in no instance has he extolled the virtues and zeal of one missionary at the expense of those of others, but has endeavoured to do justice to all, as far as he was enabled from his personal knowledge of them, and the materials with which he was furnished. For this purpose he has availed himself of all the published documents that were within his reach ; and, when these failed to satisfy him, he has written scores of letters to ascertain the correctness of some fact, or the precise date of some event, and has thus tried to elicit further information, and to insure accuracy.

But, in sitting down to his task, it was natural to say something of Africa and the Africans. This led him, almost as naturally, to speak of Slavery and the Slave-Trade ; and hence the work has swollen to more than twice the bulk he originally intended. This he regrets ; as the size of the book materially affects the price, and he was most anxious to have brought it within the reach of the generality of readers on missionary subjects. He has been cheered and encouraged, however, in his attempt to give to the public some account of Africa, and of the Wesleyan missions in the Western part of that continent, by many valued ministers and intelligent friends, who have written to him, and who have urged him “not to be too brief,” but to give ample information on the real state of African society, with its scenery and productions, and the progress of the missions. It was almost impossible to touch on West-African affairs, and not refer to that monster foe, the Slave-Trade ; that enemy to the well-being of Africa, which has hitherto laughed to scorn the Acts of the British Legislature, and the noble attempts that have been made by the various philanthropic societies of the land, who have tried in vain to crush the evil.

The author's views on this great political question will be found in the following pages ; and he conceives that Western Africa has claims on the whole of Christendom, which no other part of the world can exhibit. If his appeal to all classes of the community meets with a due response, Africa will soon arise, and “put on her beautiful garments,” and that great moral wilderness “shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.”

In the brief history of the missions, a considerable part of the writer's personal narrative is interwoven with the whole of that period during which he remained in Africa. This could not well be avoided. But he hopes he has not unnecessarily obtruded himself on the notice of the reader. Having thrice sailed to Western Africa direct from England, and six times

crossed the Atlantic in connexion with the missions on the River Gambia; and having sailed up and down that magnificent stream between thirty and forty times, and journeyed by land further into the interior than any European now living; and having resided there many years; he, as a matter of course, not only became intimately acquainted with the state of the missions, but gained a tolerable knowledge of the physical, moral, and social condition of the country. This knowledge he has endeavoured to impart to others; sometimes by extracts from his journal written down at the time, with the occasional use of the personal pronoun "I;" but in other cases, and as often as he could, he has delivered himself in the third person; and has thus endeavoured to hide himself while he exhibited the real state of the missions, with concomitant facts and incidents, in their proper character and true colours.

It would have afforded the writer sincere pleasure to have made more frequent allusion to the labours of kindred institutions which are found in active operation on the Western Coast of Africa; particularly those of the Church Missionary Society, that for nearly half a century has had missionaries at Sierra-Leone, and of late years on different parts of the Coast. This, however, was found to be impracticable; and he has, therefore, according to announcement, confined himself to the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries: for, though other missionaries were sent to Sierra-Leone some few years before any regular Wesleyan missionary landed there, yet a small society of Wesleyan Methodists was formed in that colony almost immediately after its establishment.

For two of the illustrations contained in the work the writer is indebted to a kind friend, Mr. Samuel Smith of Nottingham, who has greatly improved the rough draughts which were sent to him. All the views have been reduced to the proper size, and drawn on stone, by that eminent artist, Mr. Walton; who, with his usual skill, has furnished tasteful representations of the scenes which he was engaged to delineate.

He also embraces this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging his obligations to his numerous subscribers, who have by their warm patronage encouraged him in this undertaking.

His intention was, to have introduced copious remarks on the principal obstructions which the heralds of the Cross, the harbingers of civilization, have to encounter in Western Africa, while attempting to extend the triumphs of Christ, and to "make manifest the sweet savour of His knowledge in every place." These obstacles may be appropriately designated as

physical, moral, and diabolical,—in reference to the *prejudicial effects of the climate on the constitution of European residents*, to the *immoral and degraded condition of the natives*, and to that egregious evil, *the Slave-Trade*. These and other collateral topics he purposes to discuss in a pamphlet, which will be published simultaneously with the present volume.

To his missionary brethren both at home and abroad, many of whom have most cheerfully, and some of them without solicitation, contributed much valuable information, the writer returns his best thanks; and he will feel obliged to them, and any other friends, for such additions and improvements as may suggest themselves on perusal.

The work has been written amidst numerous other engagements, with frequent and serious interruptions arising from various causes, and without aiming at any thing more than the plain statement of unadorned facts. It is now before the reader; and if the perusal of the volume shall lead the churches of Christ, with the nation at large, to send the Gospel to Africa on a scale commensurate to her wants and woes, the author will consider that his chief object is answered.

WILLIAM FOX.

PENDLETON,
MANCHESTER,
December 30th, 1850.

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BRIEF HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

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IN size, Africa holds the third rank in the five great divisions of the globe; but is the lowest in political and moral importance and improvement. Its geographical position is now too well known to require its boundaries being particularly specified.

It is a peninsula of prodigious extent, and is joined to Asia by a narrow neck of land, the Isthmus of Suez. In its extreme length from north to south, that is, from Cape Bianco in Tunis, to Cape L'Agulhas, (a little eastward of the Cape of Good Hope,) it is upwards of 4,300 geographical miles; and in its broadest part, from Cape Verd on the west, to Cape Guardafui on the east, it is nearly 4,200: thus exhibiting a difference between its longitudinal breadth and its length, of about thirty-five leagues; and comprising an area of not less than thirteen millions of square miles, unbroken by any considerable estuary or arm of the sea; and, as the northern portion of this continent is fully twice the size of the southern portion, notwithstanding its nearly insular form, its extent of sea-coast, though not less than ten thousand miles, is much less, in proportion to its area, than in other quarters of the globe.

The greater part of Africa lies within the torrid zone, under the immediate power and dominion of the sun, which renders the heat almost insupportable in many places; for most of its inhabitants see that great luminary in its annual progress, from tropic to tropic, pass twice over their heads, and thus experience a repetition of its intense and perpendicular rays.

Its interior remained till lately a large blank on the map of the world, and even now it is comparatively unknown; but, through the curiosity of men of science and research, and the enterprise of modern travellers, a considerable extent of this vast continent has been explored. Yet the privations incident, in a barbarous country like the greatest part of Africa, to the progress of discovery, and especially the withering effects of the climate on European constitutions, have too often terminated the days of the adventurer, and left the traveller's tale untold.

The population of Africa has been estimated at from fifty to one hundred and fifty millions; but, as we have no certain data from which to compute any thing like a correct estimate of its inhabitants, it is difficult to arrive at a proper conclusion. Yet I have no hesitation in saying, if the numerous tribes and thickly-inhabited parts of the western coast may be taken as a criterion of the whole, that the latter number (150,000,000) is a much nearer approximation to the standard than the former; and I believe it is by no means too high a figure.

Assuming this point, then, that Africa contains one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, how many painful reflections does this arouse in the breast of every Christian, when he recollects the fact, that this immense population is now buried (for

the most part of it at least) in the depths of ignorance and vice, superstition and idolatry,—superstition and idolatry in some of its most cruel, debasing, and revolting forms! Why so many millions of my fellow-men should never have heard of the name of Jesus, I cannot tell. It is a mysterious subject; and I should be quite disposed to leave the matter, in regard to the past, as one of those facts in the administration of Divine Providence which we are not in a situation, at present, fully to understand, were it not that the poor African, by one party, has been denied the dignity of man, and therefore to attempt his elevation, we are told, is an hopeless task; and, by others, the mysterious problem is attempted to be solved by a reference to Divine Revelation, and in the present dark and demoralized condition of that continent they see, or think they see, the fulfilment of prophecy and the execution of a curse pronounced upon Africa by the Almighty near four thousand years ago; thus absolutely throwing the reproach upon Him who “created man in his own image.” (Gen. i. 27.) As though it were not enough to deprive the Negro of the honours of a human intellect, but he must be represented as under a Divine anathema, struck out of the human family, excluded from the covenant of grace, and even the compassion of his Maker! As to the first of these charges, it is now, thank God, somewhat too late in the day to find many adherents to a system of philosophy, which proclaims a large proportion of our species as incapable of improvement, merely from the contour of the countenance, the colour of the skin, or the formation of the head. And yet there are not wanting advocates, even now, of this description, who not only attribute to the Negro race a mental inferiority to the nations of Europe, but who contend they must ever remain in that degraded condition. The advocates of this theory, in support of their assertion, argue thus:—They tell us that “the gradations of animated nature are gentle and almost imperceptible;” and, not content that the ape and baboon should fill up the chasm which exists between the quadruped and man, an intermediate link is invented, and the African, or some of the African tribes, at least, are placed just in one ascending link between the orang-outang and the human species, and as such we are told that they were destined by nature to serve the lords of the creation, that is, those of a fairer complexion, as domestic animals in common with their oxen and horses, and are therefore reckoned among their “goods and chattels,” as so much valuable property, and nothing more.

One would wish to ask the advocates of this theory, “In

what chapter of nature's law is it declared, that one quarter of the globe shall breed slaves for the rest? Where shall we find a charter conferring authority on the one, and ascertaining the submission of the other? Are no conditions annexed, no rights reserved, which, when violated, the subjected race can plead before their common Lord? Such a state cannot be imagined as existing under the government of God: it is blasphemy against his benevolence even to suppose it. The inanimate and brute creation was fitted for, and subjected to, man's dominion; but man himself was left independent of every personal claim in his fellows. And nothing but an implied voluntary surrender of his independency to society, for the benefits of law, can control or lessen his claim. But North-American or West-Indian Slavery implies no surrender, supposes no submission, but to necessity and force.

"Had the Author of nature intended Negroes for slavery, he would have endowed them with many qualities which they now want. Their food would have needed no preparation, their bodies no covering; they would have been born without any sentiment for liberty; and, possessing a patience not to be provoked, would have been incapable of resentment or opposition,—that high treason against the divine right of European dominion! A horse or a cow, when abused, beaten, or stoned, will try to get out of the reach of the lash, and make no scruple of attempting the nearest enclosure to get at pasture. But we have not heard of their withdrawing themselves from the service of a hard master, nor of avenging with his blood the cruelty of his treatment."* But it is otherwise with a slave; he is human, and can disobey, and not only so,—he can resist; and many an oppressed African has spurned his master's authority, broken the tyrant's chain, and, in defence of his liberty, has murdered his oppressor, or has died in the struggle.

But, notwithstanding this, modern writers have been found who have adopted the atheistical doctrine of Hume, respecting "different species of men," and have not hesitated to place the African in the lowest scale of intellectual being, and even below the dignity of man. One of them (Mr. Long) has gone so far as to "extol the docility of the orang-outang, in order by comparison to depreciate that of the Negro;" and with unblushing effrontery says, "*I do not think that an orang-outang husband would be any disgrace to an Hottentot female!*" And yet this

* RAMSAY'S "Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves," pp. 233, 234. (1784.)

same writer acknowledges the fact, that the white men generally of the West-India Islands do not scruple to "cohabit with Negresses and Mulattoes, free or slaves," that "not one *in twenty* can be persuaded that there is either sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave."* What must we think, then, of the pretended inferiority of the Negroes, and of the "*moral sensations*" of those who think that an "orang-outang husband would be no disgrace to an Hottentot female," when some of those who believe in this theory, or link in the chain which connects the *homo sapiens* with the brute; a species of orang-outang, differing from their brethren of the woods only in possessing the faculty of speech,—when these said fair-complexioned philosophers themselves associate with them, and habitually cohabit with the female part of this species of what they deem to be the brute creation?

But it is not my intention to enter at large upon a refutation of this wholesale piece of slander, against the woolly-haired, and "black but comely," inhabitants of the continent of Africa. Dr. Prichard, in his able "*Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*," has done this; and it is to be hoped that the advocates of the doctrine will, for the future, be small in number "and miserably less." That all men have one common parent, appears evident from the Mosaic account of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis; and the following quotation from the New Testament is explicit upon this point: "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; *and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth*, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." (Acts xvii. 24—26.)

That we all possess the same common nature and origin, is evident from the preceding declaration of holy writ; to which we may add a number of other arguments corroborative of that fact. Let two suffice. And the first is to be seen in the uniform resemblance in the physical organization of the various "nations of men that dwell on all the face of the earth." For, in whatever region we find man, his body is exactly constructed like our own, and possesses the same senses, is sustained by the same process, proceeds through the same stages, is subject

* See "*Memoirs of Granville Sharp*," vol. ii. Appendix iv. pp. 14, 15.

to the same diseases, and terminates in the same dissolution.* Further evidence is found in the fact, that, wherever we find man, though as to his body he is creet, "fearfully and wonderfully made," yet he is, as to his soul, the inner man, mentally and morally fallen, degraded, and depraved like ourselves; a proof this that men every where, in all places and in all ages, are the descendants of Adam and Eve, who fell in the Garden of Eden, and whose posterity, it is declared, are "born in sin and shapen in iniquity."

But to this common origin of the human race infidelity has raised many objections. These are chiefly founded in DIFFERENCE OF COLOUR, DIFFERENCE OF CONFIGURATION, and REMOTENESS OF SITUATION. That there is some difficulty in harmonizing these with the fact, that all have descended from one common ancestry, is readily conceded. But if every thing must be rejected which is attended with difficulty, we must sink into atheism and universal unbelief; every thing in religion and philosophy must alike be renounced. The objections, however, are more specious than solid.

I. COLOUR, for instance, depends partly on diet, partly on situation, partly on habit, but chiefly on climate. "Hence persons living in the same latitudes, when the localities of these latitudes resemble each other, will generally be found of the same complexion."† The Africans generally are of a dark colour; the greater part of them, indeed, dwelling as they do within the torrid zone, are black; and hence we start with the proposition that *climate* is the "chief cause" of this difference of colour in the human race.

It has been properly remarked by an intelligent writer, that "the diversity of complexion which we observe in our own country scarce excites our attention, and appears perfectly consistent with the causes assigned to it,—a greater or less exposure to the action of the sun and air. Even when we compare the skins of the different nations of Europe together, climate is considered as a sufficient cause for the variety of tints which we remark; but when the skin of the European is contrasted with that of the Negro, the dissimilitude appears so great, that recourse is had to the unscriptural, and, I may add,

* The monstrous things reported by the ancients, that some of the nations of the interior of Africa were dumb, others without tongues, one people with no mouth, and others without heads, having their eyes and mouths in their breasts, &c., have long since been proved to be mere fables.

† REV. JACOB STANLEY, SEN.

unphilosophical, idea of different races of men having been originally created. Yet these two extremes of colour are approximated by such a variety of intermediate tints, and so exquisitely blended, that we pass from one to the other by almost imperceptible gradations.”* Dr. Robertson, in his “History of America,” observes on this subject: “In what part or membraue of the body that humour resides which tinges the complexion of the Negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to inquire and describe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human race. All Europe, a great part of Asia, and the temperate countries of Africa, are inhabited by men of a white complexion. All the torrid zone of Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and several countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black colour. If we survey the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find, that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its colour deepens gradually as we advance; and, after passing through all the successive gradations of shade, terminates in a uniform unvarying black.”† This we know to be really the case, as one moment’s “survey” will prove. “In all warm climates we see the skin has a tendency to a darker colour. The French, for instance, are browner than the Swedes, Danes, English, and Germans. The inhabitants of the southern parts of Spain are darker than the French; and the Portuguese, in complexion, differ but a few shades from the Mulatto. And as we approach the equator, the skin assumes, in general, a darker hue, until it ‘terminates in a uniform unvarying black.’ It is worthy of remark, that Negro children are nearly as fair as Europeans at birth, and that they continue so for several days; thus proving that the weather and sun act principally in giving them a darker hue. The palms of the hands, however, and soles of the feet, continue through life nearly as white as those of Europeans; a circumstance not sufficiently attended to by painters.

“But perhaps the most striking example we have of the influence of climate, is to be found among that persecuted race of people, the Jews. Dispersed over the chief parts of the civilized

* DR. WINTERBOTTOM’S “Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone.”

† DR. ROBERTSON’S Works, vol. ii. p. 96.

globe, but prevented by religious motives from mixing with the rest of mankind, they still retain their characteristic features, though they have assumed the complexion of every country they inhabit. Thus they are fair in Britain and Germany, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and in Spain, olive in Syria and in Chaldea, tawny or copper-coloured in Arabia and Egypt, and nearly black in Abyssinia.* And yet they are all Jews, of one common ancestry, nation, and language, though "scatter'd o'er all the earth they lie."

"If, therefore," as has been well observed, "the human race be divided into species merely from the colour, it must necessarily follow, that, if the Negroes form a specific class because they are black, those of an olive and tawny complexion must form another class, because they are not white; and, from the same cause, the Spaniards and Swedes would form two distinct species of men; and then, on the same principle, how many distinct species should we have among the seed of Abraham?"

In a recent Number of the *Edinburgh Review* I find an able article on the subject of "Ethnology, or the Science of Races," in which this precise line of argument is adopted. After speaking of the varieties of colour in some branches of the Syro-Arabian stock, the writer observes:—

It would be easy to multiply proofs to the same effect; but we shall satisfy ourselves with adverting to the case of the Jewish nation, which, though frequently appealed to by the advocates of the permanence of complexion and other physical characters, really tells the other way, when fully stated. This case is particularly satisfactory, on account of the evidence of general purity of descent through a long succession of generations, during which the scattered residence of the race has subjected its members to a great variety of external conditions. Now, although the descendants of Abraham are still generally recognisable by certain peculiarities of physiognomy, we find a great variety of complexion among them. In this country blue eyes and flaxen hair are not unfrequent; but a light brunette hue with black hair is most common. In Germany and Poland, the ordinary complexion is more florid, with blue eyes and red hair. On the other hand, the Jews of Portugal are very dark; whilst those who have been settled from very remote times in Cochin and the interior of Malabar, are so black as not to be distinguishable by their complexion from the native inhabitants. Thus it may be stated as a general proposition, that the complexion of the Jews tends to assimilate itself to that of any nation in which their residence has been sufficiently prolonged; while of this assimilation, the introduction of a small amount of extraneous blood does not by any means afford an adequate explanation.

After dwelling upon the effects of climate on many other

* DR. WINTERBOTTOM, vol. i. p. 187. FROM SMITH "On the Complexion and Figure of the Human Species;" and PROFESSOR ZIMMERMAN.

nations in Asia, and of the different tinges and hues of several of the African tribes, the writer proceeds:—

Complexion, therefore, must be admitted to be no such definite distinction, as can sever the Negro races from other branches of the human family. Nor will the character of their hair be found more conclusive; though it has been asserted by some to be a more lasting, and therefore more trustworthy, criterion,—so much so, that the African nations have been collectively termed “woolly-haired.” Now, it is clearly proved by microscopic examination, that the hair of the Negro is not wool; and that its intimate structure differs from that of the fairer races, solely in the greater quantity of pigmentary matter contained in its interior,—as is the case with jet-black hair in our own country. The crisp, twisted growth of Negro hair is the only sign by which it can be really separated from the straight and flowing hair of Europeans. But a little consideration will show the futility of attempting to separate races on distinctions, which do not exceed such variations as may be observed within the limits of any single race. For instance, among the African nations, some have a dark complexion, and are conformable in other respects to the Negro type, yet, at the same time, have long flowing hair. On the other hand, there are many Europeans, having no admixture of Negro blood, with hair so crisp and frizzled as almost to deserve the epithet of woolly.....A general view of the phenomena belonging to the various complexions of the human race must compel us to admit, to a very considerable extent, the influence of climate among the causes of these varieties. Thus it is only in the intertropical regions, and in the countries bordering upon them, that we meet with the greatest depth of colour in the skin; and all the nations inhabiting those regions have an inclination to complete blackness, which may, however, be kept in check by other circumstances.It must be admitted, that the relation between climate and colour is not *perfectly* uniform; but it is at least as uniform as the relation between colour and race; that is, the difference of shade among different families of nations which have been exposed sufficiently long to the same climatic influences, is not greater than that which presents itself among individuals of the same nation.....We have seen that the Arab, living in the country of the Negro, becomes of Negro blackness; that the Negro, dwelling on the banks of the Nile, presents the dark red tinge of the ancient Egyptian; that the Jew, transplanted into the northern regions of Europe, has the original swarthy complexion of his race replaced by a fair and even a florid hue, whilst another offset of the same stock rivals in blackness the Hindoos among whom he dwells; that the Hindoo, when he migrates to the high lands of the Himalaya range, becomes, in process of time, as fair as the Europeans who have come thither from the far north; that the nations proved by affinities of language to be descendants of the great Asian stock, which has dispersed itself through every variety of climate, admit of every variety of colour; and that equal and similar varieties abound among the members of other groups of nations (for instance, the American and the Polynesian) whose geographical distribution and linguistic affinities afford a strong presumption of a common origin. We cannot conceive that any candid person can weigh this mass of evidence, without coming to the conclusion, that the most extreme differences of complexion are unsafe indications of an original distinctness of race; and that these differences owe their origin far more to the prolonged influence of external physical conditions, than to any other assignable causes.

Any other conclusion, this intelligent writer observes, involves the case in inextricable difficulties and inconsistencies; and

having arrived at precisely the same result by a comparison of the cranial conformation of the different races, he once more returns to the subject of colour:—

If we take complexion, again, as our guide, we shall be led into greater absurdities; for we must then split up the Jewish people into half a score of diverse races: between the ruddy Saxon and the black Hindoo we must establish a dozen of distinct grades; and when we come to the African, American, and Oceanic nations, we must assign a new Adam and Eve to almost every tribe.*

Physiologists are not agreed as to the original colour of the human race, nor does revelation afford us any direct assistance upon this subject. About the close of the first thousand years, we read, "There were giants in the earth in those days," and that "the daughters of men were *fair*." (Gen. vi. 2, 4.) And in the Old Testament we often find women praised for their beauty. Because Sarai, the wife of Abram, was "a fair woman to look upon,"—that is, there was something in her personal appearance that was more than common,—the father of the faithful was induced to give way to unbelief, and distrust of the providence of God, when he gave the improper advice, "Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister."† (Gen. xii. 11, 13.) Of Rebekah it was said, "And the damsel was very fair;" (Gen. xxiv. 16;) and of Rachel, Laban's youngest daughter, that she "was beautiful and well favoured." (Gen. xxix. 17.) And it is also recorded of Esther, that "the maid was fair and beautiful." (Esther ii. 7.) Samson's father-in-law, who had unjustly deprived him of his wife, said to him, "Is not her younger sister fairer than she? take her, I pray thee, instead of her." (Judges xv. 2.) And subsequently we read, that "in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job." (Job xlii. 15.) The description given of the birth of Moses is not only that "he was a goodly child," (Exod. ii. 2,) and "a proper child," (Heb. xi. 23,) but that he "was exceeding fair." (Acts vii. 20.) And on his coming "down from the Mount," whither he had gone to receive "the two tables" from Jehovah, it is said "that Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him." "And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone." (Exod. xxxiv. 29, 35.) It is said of David the son of Jesse, that "he was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to:" that he was "a comely person;" and that "when the Philistine looked about, and saw David, he disdained him: for he

* "Edinburgh Review," pp. 449, 452, 457, 458, 482. (1848.)

† Which she was, although by another mother.

was but a youth, and ruddy, and of a fair countenance." (1 Sam. xvi. 12, 18; xvii. 42.) Absalom was distinguished, amongst other things, for his fine person. "In all Israel there was none to be so much praised as Absalom for his beauty; from the sole of his foot even to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him." (2 Sam. xiv. 25.) Of the three Hebrews, with Daniel at their head, who had declined to partake of the king's food, and who had "pulse to eat, and water to drink," it is said, "Their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat." (Dan. i. 12, 15.) In other parts of the inspired volume, we have similar allusions: "My beloved is white and ruddy. His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven. His eyes are as the eyes of doves by the rivers of waters, washed with milk, and fitly set. His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies, dropping sweet smelling myrrh." (Solomon's Song v. 10—13.) We also read, "Sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely." "Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy speech is comely: thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks." "Thine head upon thee is like Carmel, and the hair of thine head like purple." (Solomon's Song ii. 14; iv. 3; vii. 5.)

On the other hand, we find it written, "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar as the curtains of Solomon." (Solomon's Song i. 5.) Again, it is written, "My skin is black upon me, and my bones are burned with heat." (Job xxx. 30.) "Their visage is blacker than a coal. Our skin was black like an oven because of the terrible famine." (Lam. iv. 8; v. 10.) "All faces shall gather blackness." (Joel ii. 6; Nahum ii. 10.)

Now, it must be admitted that many of the preceding quotations from the sacred scriptures are to be understood in a metaphorical sense. Those from the Minor Prophets are applied to the Jews, whose countenances are said to have changed and turned black, like persons ready to be strangled, being struck with terror at the approach of God's judgments. The passages from Solomon's Song unquestionably refer to Christ and his church, in the various conditions to which it is liable in this world. And even in those taken from the first book of Moses, and other historical parts of holy writ, in which the expressions of "fair to look upon," "very fair," "beautiful and well favoured," and others, so frequently occur, it is a question whether these terms do not apply as much to a beautiful symmetry of form, with a comeliness of features, and a gracefulness of movement,

as to the colour of the skin, or to a freshness or whiteness of complexion.

But, admitting the latter to be included in those commendations of corporeal beauty, we have no account of the complexion of Adam and Eve. We may, however, indulge in the supposition, that our first parents were, as to colour, like Moses, "exceeding fair," understanding the term in its general acceptance; and, in support of this opinion, it may be said, that "God created man in his own image;" and that as white is an emblem of purity, Adam was created a white man; and all the pictorial representations of our great progenitor, both ancient and modern, seem to favour the idea. On this point others think differently, and amongst these are some of the Africans, who state our race to have been at first black. Cain, they say, was a Negro; but he became so pale with fear and remorse when he had murdered his brother, that his colour never returned.

Yet not only Negro but White physiologists have been found who held the opinion that the human race was originally black. We have already mentioned that Negro children are nearly as fair as Europeans at birth, that they continue so for several days, and that the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet continue whitish through life. Another fact is certain, that whilst white parents have never been known to have black offspring, children are born of black parents sometimes entirely white, and retain that colour: these are of the Albino variety, several instances of which have come under my own observation.

"Secret things belong unto the Lord our God;" and where no distinct revelation is made on a subject, it is in general perhaps safer for us to be silent, or to confess our ignorance, and thus refrain from speculation. But the primary condition of the human race even in this respect is too interesting a question to be passed by altogether; and, therefore, without entertaining either of the extreme views of white or black, much less the strange and marvellous accounts which have been put forth by some writers as to the original size, physical strength, &c., of the first man, but taking into consideration the locality and the climate where Adam and Eve first breathed the vital air, the nature of the composition of which man was formed, and the name given to him, ADAM, "which signifies *red*," without at all wishing to be wise above what is written, may we not indulge in the supposition that they resembled in complexion some of the light brownish or copper-coloured Moors or Foulahs in Western Africa? The writer in the *Edinburgh Review*

already quoted says,—“We may state our own conclusion, drawn from a comparison of the geographical, physiological, and glottological considerations involved in it, that some part of High Asia was the centre from which the world was peopled; and that the race still inhabiting that region most nearly represents the original stock.”* Against this conclusion it may be objected, that, since the deluge, there has been a considerable change in the climate of that country as well as of others. It may be so; but admitting this for the sake of argument, then we fall back upon one of the principal reasons for supposing that our first parents were neither white nor black; that is, upon the colour “of the dust of the ground” of which “the Lord God formed man,” and the name which he received. “Josephus thinks that he was called ADAM by reason of the reddish colour of the earth out of which he was formed; for ADAM in Hebrew signifies *red*.” This is disputed by Sir William Jones, “who thinks it may be from *Adim*, which in Sanscrit signifies *the first*. The Persians, however, denominate him ADAMAN, which signifies, according to Sale, *red earth*.”†

This opinion receives additional weight from the mass of “evidence collected by Dr. Prichard respecting the physical characters of the ancient Egyptians. The conclusion to which it conducts him is a conviction that the ancient Egyptians were so closely allied to the Negro race, that the origin of both was probably the same. The complexion of the ancient Egyptians, as represented by their own artists, seems to have been of a red copper or light chocolate colour, and to have resembled the present complexion of the reddest of the Foulah and Kafir tribes.”‡

Dr. Primatt, who wrote upwards of a century ago, when touching upon the subject of colour, says,—“It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins, and others with black; but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right, by virtue of his colour, to enslave and tyrannize over the black man. For whether a man be white or black, such he is by God’s appointment; and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject for pride, nor an object of contempt.” It comes to this, then, “Whether a man be white or black,” or neither, “such he is by God’s appointment;” it was foreseen, and determined that it should be so: and here, as

* “Edinburgh Review,” p. 486. (1848.)

† REV. RICHARD WATSON’S “Biblical and Theological Dictionary,” art. *Adam*.

‡ “Edinburgh Review,” p. 452. (1848.)

in all the other parts of the Divine workmanship, we see the wisdom and the goodness of God in adapting the skin, hair, &c., both of animals and the human species, to the various and changeable climates and latitudes in which they reside. In northern climates, for instance, men have long hair, and sheep have wool. In southern climates sheep have hair, and Africans and others have woolly heads; and we know that climate affects the hair of the head, as well as the complexion.

After all, the very striking difference of colour between the African and European is merely superficial. "We are accustomed to say, that colour is 'only skin-deep;' but, in point of fact, it is *not even skin-deep*; for it does not reach the true skin, being entirely confined to the *epidermis*, or scarf skin. It was formerly supposed that between the true skin and scarf skin there lay a proper colouring layer, to which the term *rete mucosum* was given; and it was imagined that this layer was greatly developed in the dark-skinned races, but nearly wanting in those of fair complexion. This account of it, however, when submitted to the test of microscopic inquiry, has been found to be totally incorrect."*

One thing is certain, that though the Negro skin is black, it is less rough than that of the children born in northern latitudes, and has, in fact, the sleekness and softness of velvet; and that, though the Negroes work naked in the hottest hours of the day, their skin never blisters, while that of white sailors does whenever the sun reaches them. How common it is for Europeans who have been much exposed to the direct rays of the sun, especially in a tropical climate, to become "tanned" or "sun-burnt" in the face and hands, while the parts of the body which are habitually covered retain their original fairness! On the other hand, the Africans enjoy hot, dry weather, while moisture and cold make them shiver, and unfit for labour. We close this part of the subject, therefore, in the language of holy writ, as applicable to the Negro race:—"Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept." (Solomon's Song i. 6.)

II. As to CONFIGURATION: I have seen thousands of the Jollof, Mandingo, Foulah, and other tribes on the continent of Africa, who are not a whit behind some of the finest specimens in England for beautiful features, symmetry of form, height of

* "Edinburgh Review," p. 445. (1848.)

stature, and physical strength.* But as we shall have occasion to refer to some further particulars of these and other nations, I shall here, in support of the foregoing statement, adduce a few quotations from some respectable writers. Dr. Winterbottom was for some time physician to the colony of Sierra-Leone, soon after the formation of the settlement; and, from his residence there, professional skill, and general intelligence, was well qualified to write upon this subject. When speaking of the inhabitants in that locality, he says,—“Both men and women are in general above the middle size, well proportioned, sprightly, and of an open countenance. Although the palm of elegance may be denied to them, yet they possess a great degree of ease in all their actions. The manners of the females, particularly the younger part, are not devoid of grace, and are free from every appearance of constraint. The estimation of female beauty among the natives in this country is the same as in most others. The young women are in general remarkable for the beautiful contour of their limbs, and for an ingenuous, open countenance. Their eyes are often large and well formed, their ears small and neat. Their necks and bosoms are well turned, scarcely indeed to be surpassed by ‘the bending statue which enchants the world.’ The frankness of their manners is tempered with an agreeable timidity towards strangers, which renders them still more interesting.” The learned Doctor admits that there is “as great a variety of features among these people as is to be met with in the nations of Europe,” but that “the sloping contracted forehead, small eyes, depressed nose, thick lips, and projecting jaw, with which the African is usually caricatured, are by no means constant traits; on the contrary, almost every gradation of countenance may be met with, from the disgusting picture too commonly drawn of them, to the finest set of European features. Want of animation does not characterize them, and faces are often met with which express the various emotions of the mind with great energy.” When speaking of the Foulahs, this gentleman says, “Among those of them whom either curiosity or commerce had attracted to the settlement at Sierra-Leone, I saw a youth whose features were exactly of the Grecian mould, and whose person might have afforded to the statuary a model of the Apollo Belvidere.”†

* Witness the celebrated athlete from the Guinea-Coast; a cast of whose body is conspicuously displayed in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

† DR. WINTERBOTTOM’S “Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone,” &c. vol. i. pp. 181, 197, 200. (1803.)

M. Goldberry, an intelligent French writer on Western Africa, when speaking of the Jollofs, says,—“They are always well made: their features are regular, and like those of Europeans, except that the nose is rather round, and their lips thick. They are said to be remarkably handsome, and their women beautiful. The complexion of the race is a fine, transparent, deep black; their hair is crisp and woolly.” The same writer, when speaking of the Mandingoes, whose colour is also black, with a mixture of red, says,—“Their features are regular, their character generous and open, and their manner gentle.” Major Laing says,—“The appearance of the Mandingoes is engaging; their features are regular and open; their persons well formed and comely, averaging a height rather above the common.”

With regard to the Foulahs, who are spread in various tribes over the countries between the Senegal and Gambia Rivers, and in the regions farther south as far as Sierra-Leone, and for some hundreds of miles in the interior, though the case cited by Dr. Winterbottom cannot be taken as a sample for the whole in all its particulars, yet those who have seen any of this numerous part of the population of Western Africa agree in describing them substantially as Mungo Park has done; though it must be admitted, there is considerable difference between the various branches of the Foulah tribe, both as to complexion and features, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

“The Foulahs,” says Mr. Park, “such of them at least as reside near the Gambia, are chiefly of a tawny complexion, with soft, silky hair, and pleasing features;” and this he repeats when speaking of the Foulahs of Bondou. M. Goldberry says, “The genuine Foulahs,” meaning the Foulahs of Teembo and Fouta Jallon, “are very fine men, robust and courageous. They have a strong mind, and are mysterious, reserved, and prudent; they understand commerce, and travel in the capacity of merchants even to the extent of the Gulf of Guinea. They are formidable to their neighbours. Their women are handsome and sprightly. The colour of their skin is a kind of reddish black; their countenances are regular, and their hair is longer and not so woolly as that of the common Negroes.”

It may be objected, that these are particular, detached, and isolated cases, and that they are exceptions to the rule. In reply to this, let the reader peruse the following summary from Dr. Prichard’s excellent work:—

The dark coloured nations of Africa do not appear to form a distinct race, or a distinct kind of people, separated from all other families of man by a broad line

and uniform among themselves, such as we ideally represent under the term Negro. There is, perhaps, not one tribe in which all the characters ascribed to the Negro are found in the highest degree; and in general they are distributed to different races, in all manner of ways, and combined in each instance with more or fewer of the characters belonging to the European or the Asiatic.

The distinguishing peculiarities of the African nations may be summed up into four heads; namely, the characters of complexion, of hair, features, and figure. We have to remark,—

1. That some races, with woolly hair and complexions of a deep black colour, have fine forms, regular and beautiful features, and are in their figure and countenances scarcely different from Europeans. Such are the Jolofs near the Senegal, and the race of Guber, or of Haúsa, in the interior of Súdón. Some tribes of the South-African race, as the darkest of the Kafirs, are nearly of this description, as well as some families or tribes in the empire of Kongo; while others have more of the Negro character in their countenances and form.

2. Other tribes have the form and features similar to those above described: their complexion is black, or a deep olive or copper colour approaching to black; while their hair, though often crisp and frizzled, is not the least woolly. Such are the Bisherí, and the Dawakil, and Hazorta, and the darkest of the Abyssinians.

3. Other instances have been mentioned in which the complexion is black, and the features have the Negro type, while the nature of the hair deviates considerably, and is even said to be rather long and in flowing ringlets. Some of the tribes near the Zambesi are of this class.

4. Among nations whose colour deviates towards a lighter hue, we find some who have woolly hair, with a figure and features approaching to the European. Such are the Bechuana Kafirs, of a light brown complexion. The tawny Hotentots, though not approaching the European, differ from the Negro. Again: some of the tribes on the Gold-Coast and the Slave-Coast, and the Ibos in the Bight of Benin, are of a lighter complexion than many other Negroes, while their features are strongly marked with the peculiarities of that race.*

There is, then, we contend, nothing in the physical peculiarities, or the variety which is observable in the countenances and features of the preceding nations and tribes of Africa, to indicate that they are a distinct species of the human race; and even if we were to select the most unfavourable specimens of the African tribes, we may add, in the language of the above excellent writer, that “their personal deformity and intellectual weakness, if these attributes really belong to them, must be regarded as individual varieties. Similar defects are produced in every human race, by the agency of physical circumstances, parallel to those under which the tribes in question are known to exist. If these were reversed, it is probable that a few generations would obliterate the effect which has resulted from them.” This is the case; for we know that climate, diet, and the various modes of life, have great power over the features,

* DR. PRICHARD'S “Researches into the Physical History of Mankind,” vol. ii. pp. 340, 341.

form, and stature of man, as well as in affecting the colour. Hence West-Indian children, educated in England, improve not only in complexion, but in elegance of features; an alteration arising, perhaps, equally from change of climate, of diet, and of education. The difference between the children of liberated Africans who attend the Mission-schools in Western Africa and their parents, in point of intelligence, and even in their features and personal appearance, is very striking. But, "as to configuration, we sometimes see great variety of this in the same families,—the prominent and the retiring forehead; the aquiline and the Grecian nose; the long, the round, and the oval face. The man who should gravely assert that these could not be the children of the same parents, would be considered one with whom it would be folly to hold any argument."* Again: in members of the same family we see some smooth, some hairy; some tall, some short; some fair, some brown: but are we able to tell, from these peculiarities, which carries the ensigns of genius, which bears the impression of wisdom? We see genius, and the expansion of the intellectual powers, sporting and developed in various physical forms: we see this, tall in Newton, bulky in Hume, slender in Voltaire, diminutive and deformed in Pope: to say nothing of many eminent divines who were small in stature, one of whom gave a practical exemplification of his own poetic effusion,—

"The mind's the standard of the man."

We close our observations on this subject in the words of an elegant author, who observes, that "of all animals, the differences between mankind are the smallest. Of the lower races of creatures the changes are so great as often entirely to disguise the natural animal, and to distort or to disfigure its shape. But the chief differences in man are rather taken from the tincture of his skin, than the variety of his figure; and in all climates he presents his erect deportment, and the marked superiority of his form."*

III. Then, as to REMOTENESS OF SITUATION.—Whatever weight there may be in this objection as to the peopling of the New World, (and even this has been sufficiently cleared up in ROBERTSON'S "History of America,") the objection can scarcely be entertained for a moment with regard to Africa; for it is not improbable that some parts of North-Eastern Africa were inhabited previous to the deluge; but if they were not, we have the

* REV. J. STANLEY, SEN.

† GOLDSMITH'S "Animated Nature."

clearest evidence that, soon after the flood, Africa was peopled by the descendants of Noah, or, rather, by one branch of Noah's family, namely, by Ham and his descendants;—Cush, the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, and Nimrod, Noah's great-grandson, the mighty hunter, who became a mighty builder. Besides, from the contiguity of that continent to Asia, and some parts of it especially to the Garden of Eden, the residence of our first parents, and from the very early mercantile traffic which we know to have taken place between Northern Africa and the East, even prior to the era of Moses, there can remain no doubt that the inhabitants of Africa have all sprung from the same source; and, with ourselves, are the descendants of one common pair.

But it is still contended, even by those who believe in the common origin of the human race, that the continent of Africa generally, or the greater part of the kingdoms in the interior, and the native tribes in the South and on the Western coast in particular, are nevertheless mentally inferior to the inhabitants of other parts of the globe; and not only so, but that education and other circumstances will never be able to raise them to an equality with those of their fellow-men who enjoy the blessings of civilization. That they are in the mass, at present, far behind the white races, I at once admit; but I am at issue with those who advocate the latter part of this sentiment: such writers must have forgotten, that there was a time in the history of Britain, when our own ancestors were described by the philosophers at Rome, not only as being below mediocrity in civilization, but they were considered to be too stupid even for slaves; and therefore Cicero advised his friend Atticus not to obtain his slaves from Britain, “because they are so stupid, and utterly incapable of being taught, that they are unfit to form a part of the household of Atticus.”

In the preceding brief description of the physical character of several of the nations in Western Africa, (of the Foulahs, for instance,) we find them spoken of as “having a strong mind,” that they are “prudent” and “understand commerce,” and that “in the capacity of merchants” they travel some hundreds of miles. The same may be said of many other tribes: indeed, no unprejudiced person who has had much personal intercourse with the Mandingo, Jollof, Foulah, Serrawoolli, Bambarra, and other nations, can entertain the slightest doubt of the equality of intellect between white and black men. Dr. Prichard, in his general observations on the intellectual faculties of the African nations, observes: “But if it is pretended, that all the woolly-

haired races in Africa are uniformly inferior in intellect to other tribes of men, the assertion is at most a gratuitous one. Nay, it is contradicted by the most clear and decisive testimony. Travellers in South Africa have been struck with the proofs of vigour and acuteness of understanding displayed by the Amazulah, Amakosah, Bechuana, and other Kafir nations. And if the alleged inferiority of organization and of capacity in the skull is the ground on which deficiency of intellect is ascribed to the woolly-haired nations; this, at least, does not apply to the Kafirs, many of whom have a form of the head, and particularly an expansion of the anterior parts of the skull, resembling the heads of Europeans." "A similar objection to this doctrine might, indeed, be furnished by many black races between the tropics, and among those tribes who are considered as genuine Negroes. I need not repeat what I have said respecting the physical and the intellectual characteristics of the Mandingoes, and the people of Guber, Hausa, and other nations."*

On "the assertion," "All the woolly-haired races in Africa are uniformly inferior in intellect to other tribes of men," Dr. Prichard has well observed that it "is at most a gratuitous one; nay," that "it is contradicted by the most clear and decisive testimony," as in the preceding paragraph; and he then proceeds to show that those minute philosophers, who take the gauge of intellectual capacity from the disposition of the bones of the head, and link morality with the contour of the countenance,—men who measure mind by the rule and compasses, and estimate capacity for knowledge and salvation by a scale of inches, and the acuteness of angles,—have not done the African nations justice even on this principle: for, he remarks,—

The crania of Negroes existing in European collections, and those which have been principally examined by anatomists, have been almost exclusively taken from tribes who may be supposed to have presented the most unfavourable specimens of the African organization. They have been the skulls of unfortunate wretches kidnapped from the coast, or their enslaved offspring. It was from Negro skulls of this description that those proportional measurements were taken by Soemmering and others, from which an attempt was made to prove that the amplitude of the brain is less in the Negro than in other races of men.....I have endeavoured to prove, that there is a fallacy in all those statements, arising from the standard of comparison, which is a given extent of facial bones, or length of the superior *maxilla*; that one of the prominent peculiarities of the strongly-marked Negro head is an absolute excess in the length of the upper jaw, the extent of which, therefore, ought to be the basis of comparison; and that from these measurements of Soemmering no decisive result can be deduced. This opinion has received a

* DR. PRICHARD'S "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," vol. ii. pp. 317, 348.

most ample confirmation from the results of a series of observations by Professor Tidemann, published in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1836, on the brain of the Negro in comparison with the brain of the European and that of the orang-outang. In this paper the learned author proposes to answer the two following questions:—

"First. Is there any important and essential difference in the structure of the brain between the Negro and the European?"

"Secondly. Has the brain of the Negro any greater resemblance to the brain of the orang-outang than has the brain of the European?"

To these inquiries the author has obtained very satisfactory solutions.....In comparing the Africans with other races of men in relation to the capacity of the cranium, by which he estimates the magnitude of the brain, M. Tidemann adopted the following method of proceeding: 1. He weighed the skull with and without the under jaw-bone. 2. He then filled the cavity of the skull with dry millet-seed, through the *foramen occipitale magnum*. The skull was then weighed again carefully filled. 3. He then deducted the weight of the empty skull from that of the filled one, and thus obtained a measure of the capacity of the cavity of the cranium. Tidemann has given the results of a great number of observations made on this method. Forty-one instances display the capacity of the cavity of the cranium in Negroes of different races. Seventy-seven similar measurements of male European skulls are added, twenty-four of male Asiatics of the so-termed Caucasian race, twelve of female Europeans, twenty of skulls of the Mongolian, and twenty-seven of the American race, and forty-three of the Malayan and Polynesian nations, in which Australians are included. The general result of these comparisons is, that the cavity of the skull in the Negro is generally in no degree smaller than in Europeans and others of the human race. Tidemann concludes, that "the opinion of many naturalists, such as Camper, Soemmering, Cuvier, Laurence, and Vievey, who maintain that the Negro has a smaller brain than the European, is ill-founded and entirely refuted by my researches." He says, "I look upon Camper's facial line and facial angle as very unsatisfactory in determining the capacity of the skull, the size of the brain, and the degree of intellectual power."*

In harmony with this we may add, in the language of another able writer, "And, for Negro physiognomy, as though that should shut out the light of intellect, go to your national museum; contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms; and there see, in close resemblance to the Negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creations of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste, and grandeur. In the imperishable porphyry and granite is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the Negro under cultivation. If he now presents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting. That solves the whole case."†

* DR. PRICHARD'S "Researches into the Physical History of Mankind," &c.

† REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95.

It appears, then, from the preceding extracts, in the inferences from which I have been confirmed by personal observation, that there is nothing in the physical character and constitution of the African,—nothing in the organization of the brain, the contour of the countenance, the colour of the skin, or the formation of the woolly-haired head,—which affords the least presumption of inferior endowment of intellectual or moral faculties. The Rev. J. Ramsay, from whom we have already quoted, who spent many years in the West Indies, and who had an opportunity of judging of the mental character of the Africans, even in a state of slavery, in the fifth section of his “*Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*,” observes:—

Having shown how little can be rationally concluded against the capacity of Negroes from their equatorial settlement, flat nose, woolly head, projecting chin, high calves, and black skin, we come to facts.

Now we know, that house Negroes, who are generally Creoles, and are conversant with their white masters, have all the address, intrigue, and cunning of family servants in Europe. In their masters they can mark the ridiculous point, the improper conduct, and often give these superior beings that advice, which they have not wisdom enough to follow; often manage their foibles, and mould them to their own interest.....Negroes are capable of learning any thing that requires attention and correctness of manner. They have powers of description and mimicry that would not have disgraced the talents of our modern Aristophanes. The distillation of rum, the tempering of the cane-juice for sugar, which may be considered as nice chemical operations, are universally committed to them. They become good mechanics; they use the square and compass, and easily become masters of whatever business they are put to. They have a particular turn for music, and often attain a considerable proficiency in it without the advantage of a master. Negro sick nurses acquire a surprising skill in the cure of ordinary diseases, and often conquer disorders that have baffled a host of regulars. Hence our black beaux, black belles, black gamesters, black keepers, black quacks, black conjurers, and all that variety of character which strikes in their masters, or promises to add to their own dignity or interest. But what can we expect them to attempt in the higher departments of reason? Their slavish employments and condition; their being abandoned to the caprice of any master; the subjection in which it is thought necessary to keep them: all these things depress their minds, and subdue whatever is manly, spirited, ingenuous, and independent among them. And these are weights sufficient to crush a first-rate human genius. Had it been the lot of a paradoxical Hume, or of a benevolent Kaimes, to have cultivated the sugar-cane, under a planter, in one of our old islands, the first probably would have tried to have eked out his scanty pittance of two pounds of flour or grain per week, by taking up the profession of a John Crowman, or conjurer; and doubtless would have got many a flogging for playing tricks with, and imposing on the credulity of, his fellows, to cheat them of their allowance. The turn of the other to works of taste might have expressed itself in learning to blow a rude sort of music from his nostril, through a hollowed piece of stick; or, if blessed with an indulgent master, he might have learned to play by the ear a few minuets, and fiddle a few country dances, to enable the family and neighbours to pass an evening cheerfully together.

The truth is, a depth of cunning that enables them to overreach, conceal, deceive, is the only province of the mind left for them, as slaves, to occupy. And this they cultivate, and enjoy the fruits of, to a surprising degree. I have, as a Magistrate, heard examinations and defences of culprits, that for quibbling, subterfuge, and subtlety, would have done credit to the abilities of an attorney, most notoriously conversant in the villanous tricks of his profession. Their command of countenance is so perfect, as not to give the least clue for discovering the truth; nor can they be caught tripping in a story. Nothing in the turn or degree of their mental faculties distinguishes them from Europeans; though some difference must appear, if they were of a different or an inferior race.*

This brings us again to the fact of the universal corruption of human nature. The African has actually got the family mark upon him. Originally, "the Negro was God's image carved in ebony," but he is fallen; and now,

"His follies and his crimes have stamp'd him man."

But we hasten to a different process or mode of meeting the charge of mental imbecility urged against the teeming millions of the descendants of Adam who are scattered over the vast continent of Africa: for the sacred scriptures have not left us to determine the title of any tribe, or nation, or continent, to the full honours of humanity by accidental circumstances. "To man has been given the law, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' and to be capable of loving God is the infallible criterion of our peculiar nature. So extensively has this principle been applied by Missionary Societies, that the philosophy in question is now refuted more by facts than by reasoning. They have determined whether the races cast out and spurned by this theory are our brethren, and, as such, entitled to our fraternal yearnings; they have determined who are men, by determining who are capable of that universal and exclusive law to man,—the love of God. The Negro through all his shades, the Hottentot through all his varieties, the Indians of America, and the natives of New-Holland, have all, in our own days, been inspired with the love of God through the gospel; and again we see, that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but that Christ is all in all.'" "They have dived into that mine from which, we were often told, no valuable ore or precious stone could be extracted; and they have brought up the gem of an immortal spirit, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of Christian graces."† We say nothing of by-gone days, of Africa's ancient glory, where still moulder

* RAMSAY'S "Essay," pp. 242—246.

† REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. pp. 90, 93.

the ruins of Thebes with its hundred gates, and where the mighty pyramids still rear their lofty fronts, after the lapse of three thousand years. We say nothing of that day when "she poured forth her heroes on the field, gave bishops to the church, and martyrs to the fires:"—"Modern times have witnessed, in the persons of African Negroes, generals, physicians, philosophers, linguists, poets, mathematicians, and merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character; and even the Mission-schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel."* Still more modern times have produced "a great cloud of witnesses" to bear their testimony, that, however degraded, and even brutalized, the mind of the African may be by sin and deep-rooted superstition,—a superstition interwoven and dovetailed in his nature, and rendered venerable from its antiquity and long-continued habit,—yet there is in the "gospel of Christ," which is "the power of God," a mighty moral lever that can and does raise him in the scale of civil and religious society; a principle which can disinter the mental faculties, and quicken into quivering sensibility what appeared to be a mass of unconscious brutality; a principle which takes hold of the heart, transforms and expands the mind, elevates and ennobles the whole man, and makes him altogether "in Christ a new creature." And many an African Negro—"the savage all wild in his glen"—has been arrested by the triumphs of gospel-grace; and those that "went out to see what was done, have found the man sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind;" and therefore, without mixing the smallest particle of acrimony in replying to this unfounded slander against the Negroes, we say that "the charge of mental inferiority must in future lie rather against those who bring it, than against the African;" † for he has been proved to be "a man and a brother," a Christian and a scholar.‡

* REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. pp. 94, 95.

† DR. HARRIS'S "Great Commission."

‡ The spirited author of an admirable little work, entitled "Jamaica Enslaved and Free," touching on the Negro character, says,—“But let facts bring out the truth, as they do in the circumstance, that two native Africans are gone back to the wild plains which gave them birth, as English clergymen!” And he then asks, “Can Hume’s lie be again repeated, after this additional confutation of his theoretical statements, when in the arrogance of his mind he said of native Africans, ‘They are inferior to the rest of the species, and utterly incapable of the higher attainments of the mind?’”

This fact, therefore, it is contended, gives the direct negative to the other charge, "the judicial sentence of God resting upon the Negro." A part of Africa has been reclaimed, Christianized, and civilized;—no one dares question this: testimonies the most disinterested and impartial have been voluntarily borne to this fact, by naval, military, and civil officers, as well as by intelligent and enterprising travellers who have visited the various evangelical Mission-stations in Southern and Western Africa. It is true the bright spots on this dark continent "are few and far between." But if a part has already been enlightened and evangelized, however small a portion, why may not the whole?

And yet, strange to say, to this one-fifth part of the population of our world is applied the prophetic malediction of Noah: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." (Gen. ix. 25.) And it is inferred from this passage, that Africa is still under the ban of the Almighty; and from this supposed fact the inference has been, that Africa is the common plunder of any invader who has hardihood enough to steel his heart against every principle of justice and humanity. What an accumulation of misery and wrong has been inflicted upon that unhappy country for many generations past, in the shameful traffic in human flesh and blood! And yet there is nothing in scripture to warrant, or even to palliate, these enormous injuries perpetrated upon Africa: for, as the eloquent advocate and friend of the Negro already quoted observes, "The malediction of Noah (if we even allow it to be one, and not a simple prediction) fell not upon the Negro races; it fell chiefly on Asia, and only to a very limited extent upon Africa; it fell, as the terms of the prophecy explicitly declare, upon Canaan; that is, in scripture style, upon his descendants, the Canaanites, who were destroyed, or made subjects, by the Israelites; and perhaps upon the Carthaginians, who were subverted by the Romans. Here was its range and its limit: the curse never expanded so as to encompass a single Negro tribe." *

But, waving this somewhat controverted point, whatever may have been the intention of that passage originally, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to state, in reply, that the gospel repeals every national malediction, and addresses itself to men everywhere: "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." (John i. 17.) The anathemas, therefore, of former dispensations have long since been rescinded and abolished; for no nation or tribe can remain

* REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. p. 96.

accursed under the Christian economy, since Christ, "the Desire of all nations," hath appeared "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace." (Luke i. 79.) "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved." (John iii. 17.) It was for this very purpose that "God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless" mankind, "in turning away every one from his iniquities." (Acts iii. 26.) Christianity, therefore, we repeat, turns all curses into benedictions. Its office is to bless, and to bless "all the kindreds of the earth:" it is light after darkness, health after sickness; it announces "liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;" it proclaims "the acceptable year of the Lord;" (Isai. lxi. 1, 2;) and it is emphatically "good tidings of great joy to all people." (Luke ii. 10.)

Having, as I hope, satisfactorily proved that the inhabitants of the vast continent of Africa have a common origin with ourselves; that they are the descendants of Adam and Eve; and that, though morally and mentally degraded, they are nevertheless capable of improvement; that there is in the gospel a divinity and power that can and does meet their case; it follows, that Africa, as well as other nations of the earth, is destined to become subject to the dominion of the Redeemer, and to "be blessed in him whom all nations shall call blessed." For the teeming millions of Africa "God spared not his own Son;" for them Christ shed his "precious blood;" and therefore "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." (1 Tim. ii. 4—6.) It was not for a few out of each quarter of the globe that the Saviour died, or for many out of all nations, or even for the greater part of the human race; but "He tasted death *for every man*." (Heb. ii. 9.) And to Africa the commission of the risen Saviour doubtless extended, when he said to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." (Mark xvi. 15.) And Africa is unquestionably included in those glorious and sublime passages of holy writ which predict the universal empire of the Son of God; when "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth;" (Psalm lxxii. 8;) and shall receive "the Heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;" (Psalm ii. 8;) when "the

earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea ;” (Isai. xi. 9 ;) “ and there shall be one fold, and one Shepherd.” (John x. 16.)

To these general scriptural truths we may add, that there are special and particular allusions to this part of God’s creation in the sacred volume : not only as regards the past, but also with respect to the future. From sacred as well as from profane history, we know what Africa has been. But here we cannot enlarge : suffice it to say that Africa, though not the birth-place of the adorable Redeemer, was the asylum of the infant Saviour ; for “ the young child departed into Egypt,” and there found a refuge from his blood-thirsty foes ; that Africa was the cradle of the Christian church, and the repository of ancient literature ; and that in that part of the globe Christianity achieved some of its proudest conquests, and secured many of the noblest testimonies to its truth and power which were ever supplied in any region where the banner of the cross has been unfurled. And we know that there was a period, and that for centuries, when Northern Africa occupied no subordinate station in ecclesiastical rank ; when, from her episcopal thrones and councils, she issued her decrees in all the dignity of conscious authority, and enforced them with a power which she knew could not be disputed : twelve centuries of darkness and degradation intervene between that period and the present. But though the voice of Africa has been for centuries silent amid the Christian communities of the earth, her candlestick removed, her light extinguished, and little or nothing left of her once numerous and flourishing churches ; yet she is not forgotten, much less excluded from the compassion of the Saviour ; she is not doomed to outer darkness, but shall come “ forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.” It is true “ the young child ” tarried in Africa but for a short period : he “ was there until the death of Herod : that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, ‘ Out of Egypt have I called my Son.’ ” (Hosea xi. 1 ; Matt. ii. 15.) But, though he was called out of Egypt, he “ shall come into ” it again, “ and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it. For they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a Saviour, and a Great One, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land : whom the Lord of

hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." (Isai. xix. 1, 20, 21, 24, 25.)

"Africa," then, "with all thy just complaints" against thy slanderous foes and cruel oppressors, and "against the practice of Christian states, thou hast none against the doctrines of the Christian's Bible! That is not a book, as some have interpreted it, written, as to thee, 'within and without,' in 'lamentation, and mourning, and woe:' it registers against thee no curse; but, on the contrary, exhibits to thee its fulness of blessings;" and "establishes thy right to its covenant of mercy, in common with all mankind."* Nay, it foretells thy future greatness; for thy name is written there, not with a curse, but thou too "shalt know the Lord," and "the Lord of hosts shall bless" thee, "saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands." And it is further written, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." (Psalm lxxviii. 31.)

The conversion of Africa to God, then, is clearly predicted: not merely some parts of it, such as Egypt, Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, but the whole continent. Africa! lift up thy head: for though thou art fallen, "thy redemption draweth nigh!" The blessed Jesus gave thee honour, and bade thee hope, at the baptism of the "man of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians" by Philip the deacon, who "preached unto him Jesus:" and when he was baptized, though he "saw Philip no more," yet he "went on his way rejoicing." (Acts viii. 27, 35, 39.) And soon shall all thy peoples and nations "be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Africa, weep no more! Deeply as thou art plunged in ignorance and vice, thou art included in the purchase of redeeming mercy; and in all thy sun-burnt plains, and in all thy trackless forests, shall thy children ultimately stretch out their hands unto God! Teneriffe, lift up thy voice from thy throne of clouds, nor let Atlas refuse an answer to the watchman's cry, and let it echo along the sides of the hills, and on the tops of the mountains, and in the dales and valleys, "The morning cometh!" Break forth into singing, ye noble rivers Senegal and Gambia, ye Niger and Nile, and let the whole continent, in its every latitude and longitude, join in the swelling, bursting chorus that shall be heard "in heaven," on earth, and in hades, saying, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever!" (Rev. xi. 15.)

* REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. p. 96.

CHAPTER II.

AFRICA, AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

By whom and at what Time Africa was circumnavigated—The Discovery of America, and the Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope—Both these Events proved injurious to Africa—Origin of the African Slave-Trade—Cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Aborigines of America—Las Casas' Proposal to Cardinal Ximenes, Regent of Spain—The Emperor, Charles V., grants a Patent—Las Casas' Account of Spanish Cruelty to the native Indians—Heylin's and Dr. Robertson's Account of an Indian Nobleman—The Inconsistency of sending to Africa for a Supply of Slaves—Charles V. and Las Casas saw their Error—The Spanish Slave-Trade revived—The English engage in the Slave-Trade—Captain Hawkins—Queen Elizabeth—Contradictory Accounts of the English Slave-Trade cleared up by James Bandinel, Esq.—The English Slave-Trade continued—Thrown open by Act of Parliament—The Trade rapidly increased—The French actively engage in it—Great Britain, though not the First to embark in it, was soon Foremost—As a Nation we are verily guilty—The Voice of our Brother's Blood crieth against us from the Ground.

THE whole of Africa, except in that part where it is joined to Asia, was known to be surrounded by the sea; but of its general figure, and its extent towards the south, the ancients had no accurate knowledge. If we may credit the story of Herodotus, however, Africa was circumnavigated, instrumentally, at least, by Necho king of Egypt, upwards of two thousand years ago. For though the Egyptians themselves were not navigators, their country necessarily became the channel of a large portion of the Indian trade, as well as that of Ethiopia; and Necho, one of the most illustrious of the native kings of Egypt, who was in advance of the age in which he lived, eagerly sought the solution of the grand mystery regarding the form and termination of Africa. For this purpose he employed a number of Phenician sailors, who, proceeding down the Red Sea, entered the Indian Ocean, and made the circuit of the southern promontory, passing through the Pillars of Hercules, and ascending up the Mediterranean back to Egypt. "They related that, in the course of this very long voyage, which occupied three years, they had frequently drawn their boats on land, sown grain in a favourable place and season, waited till the crop grew and ripened under the influence of a tropical heat, then reaped it and continued their progress. They added, that, in passing the most southern coast of Africa, they were surprised by observing the sun on their right hand, that is, to the north of them; a statement which causes Herodotus himself to reject their report: and yet

this very fact affords the strongest confirmation of it to us who know that to the south of the equator this must have really taken place.”* Subsequently to this, we have another account of the circumnavigation of Africa by a private adventurer of the name of Eudoxus, a native of Cyzicus, who lived about one hundred and thirty years before Christ. This account is perhaps somewhat apocryphal, though by some it is contended that Eudoxus actually made the circuit of Africa: but, whether these statements be true or not, for the actual discovery of the southern extremity of Africa we are indebted to the Portuguese.

The fifteenth century of the Christian era was the age of maritime enterprise and inquiry. Though the science of navigation was then in its infancy, and the mariner's compass but little understood, there were not wanting a few bold spirits, who, actuated by an ardent passion for discovery, ventured to brave the terrors of the deep, far from the sight of land. In the year 1487 Bartholomew Diaz, under the patronage of John II. of Portugal, fitted out a fleet, and proceeded along the coast of Africa; and, having endured many hardships, he at length came in sight of the Cape which terminates Southern Africa. But he proceeded no farther, fancying that he had arrived at the boundary of the earth; and, being intimidated by the darkness and tempests with which he was surrounded, he returned without effecting a landing on its shores. On account of the heavy gales which he experienced, he gave it the name of *Cabo des totes Tormentos*, or “the Cape of Storms,” which, however, was subsequently exchanged, by the king his master, for *Cabo du bonne Esperanse*, or “the Cape of Good Hope,” from the prospect or “good hope” which it afforded him of opening a maritime path to India. Thus one grand incitement to European enterprise, at that time, was the discovery of a passage by sea to the East Indies, which laid open to all nations the commerce of that country, then monopolized by the Venetians.

It was in the year 1492 that Columbus, in quest of a westerly passage to the East Indies, was unexpectedly interrupted in his course by the islands of America; and, five years afterwards, (in 1497,) another enterprising nautical spirit was found in the person of Vasco de Gama, who pursued and accomplished the same object by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; and to him belongs the honour of first setting foot on that part of the vast continent of Africa. It was in the spring of the same year that “John Cabot, the father of Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian by

* MURRAY'S “Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa.” (Edinburgh.)

birth, but who resided many years in Bristol, was sent by the king of England, Henry VII., on an expedition of discovery in the same direction; the main object being to find a north-west passage to the Indies. He steered directly west, and arrived in June at a large island, which he called *Prima Vista*, but which has since become well known under the familiar name of Newfoundland. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.”*

But the treasures of the East were still the objects of pursuit to the Portuguese and other nations; and therefore each of these events, the two former especially, (the discovery of America by Columbus, and the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama,) operated greatly to the disadvantage of Africa. For the coast of that continent, after having served as a clue to conduct navigators to India, was itself comparatively neglected, not on account of any natural inferiority in its soil, climate, or productions, but because the Africans, not having advanced so far in the arts as the East Indians, nor having then discovered such quantities of the precious metals as the Americans, could not immediately supply the European demand for those desirable productions which the commerce of the East and West afforded. Thus Asia and America became the principal theatres of the ambition and cupidity of Europeans; and happy had it been for Africa if they had so continued. It is distressing to record the rapid progress of European iniquity among the simple and untutored nations inhabiting the other quarters of the world. Its operation in America was deplorably injurious to Africa; for it was soon found, that the aborigines of the Western world could not endure the toils imposed on them by their new masters. “Hence arose the *apparent*, or rather *pretended*, necessity of resorting to Africa for a supply of labourers in the form of slaves; and here commenced the Slave-Trade,† that

* CONDER’S “Modern Traveller,” vol. xxii. p. 73.

† This, we say, was the commencement or origin of the African Slave-Trade, but not of Slavery itself; for that, in one form or other, had existed in the world from the most remote period of history. It was tolerated among the patriarchs, and recognised among the Jews. It also existed among the ancient Pagan nations, —the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Greeks; and, eighteen centuries ago, when Britain was a distant colony of Rome, the unfortunate inhabitants of our own island were torn from their homes, and toiled for a Roman master, along with the dark-skinned and more pliant natives of Ethiopia. Long before the first voyage of the enterprising Columbus, the celebrated Portuguese navigator Anthony Gonzales, of whom more will be said anon, in exploring the coast of Africa, had, in 1434, seized

scourge of the human race which has kept down a great part of the Africans in a state of anarchy and blood, and which, while its nefarious existence is tolerated, will prove the grand obstacle to their improvement and civilization.”*

It was not, however, till the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Slave-Trade assumed a regular form. “So early as the year 1503, a few slaves had been sent from the Portuguese settlements in Africa into the Spanish colonies in America.”† But still the native Indians sank under the harassing tasks assigned to them by their masters, which were so overwhelming, that the extinction of the whole race seemed inevitable; for “the natives of Hispaniola alone were reduced, in the short space of fifteen years, from at least one million to about sixty thousand souls.”‡ In 1511, Ferdinand V., king of Spain, permitted them to be carried in great numbers; and, after Ferdinand’s death, and during the minority of Charles V., Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, styled the Protector of the Indians, proposed to Cardinal Ximènes, then regent, to establish a regular system of importing Negro slaves from Africa into Hispaniola to work the mines of the island. The bishop urged the cardinal to adopt this measure upon the ground of humanity to the natives of Hispaniola. But this enlightened statesman dismissed the plan altogether, declaring it to be, in his opinion, unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and wholly inconsistent with humanity to deliver the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by consigning to that state the inhabitants of another country. “The cardinal, however, in rejecting the scheme of Las Casas, was not inattentive to the miseries suffered by the Indians. He gave directions that strict inquiry should be made into their state, and stringent regulations adopted for securing their kind treatment; but his views as to the African Slave-Trade, and his wishes as to the Indians, were alike disregarded.”

Charles V. soon afterwards assumed the reins of empire; and representations were made to him of the diminution of the Indians in the several islands settled by the Spaniards; and of

a number of Negroes, whom he carried to the south of Spain; and from that time it became customary for the captains of vessels who landed on the Gold-Coast, or other parts of the coast of Guinea, to carry away a few young Negroes of both sexes; and thus the practice soon grew into a traffic.

* C. B. WADSTROM’S “Essay on the Colonization of Western Africa,” p. 4. (1794.)

† CLARKSON’S “History of the Slave-Trade,” p. 48.

‡ ROBERTSON’S “History of America,” p. 60.

the superior patience and hardihood of the Africans; and he was urged to permit a further importation of the latter into the islands, *porque era mas util el trabajo de un Negro que de quatro Indios*: "because the work of one Negro was more than equal to that of four Indians." * In 1517 he "granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Africans into America;" and the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto-Rico received at that time the annual supply of four thousand Africans to work their mines and cultivate their lands. The conduct of the Spaniards towards the aborigines of the New World appears to have been, about this time, almost without a parallel, even in the history of the Slave-Trade itself; and it has been well observed, that "although the suggestion of Las Casas is not justifiable, yet his pity for the Indians is not to be wondered at, when the horrors he witnessed are considered. 'The whole story of mankind,' says Edwards, (vol. i. p. 104,) 'affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards on the unoffending natives of the Leeward Islands.' The Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines without intermission till death put an end to their sufferings. Such as attempted resistance or escape were hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. Some Spaniards called-in religion to sanctify their cruelty; forced their captives into the water, and, after baptizing them, cut their throats to prevent their apostasy." †

Las Casas mentions, himself, the following story: "I once beheld," says he, "four or five principal Indians roasted at a slow fire; and as the victims poured forth screams which disturbed the commanding officer in his slumbers, he sent word they should be strangled. But the officer on guard (I know his name, and I know his relations in Seville) would not suffer it; but, causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own hand, and roasted them till they all expired: I saw it myself." ‡ Dr. Peter Heylin, in his "History of the whole World," who wrote about eighty years after Las Casas, after speaking of the probable origin or peopling of America, says, "But from what root soever they did first descend, certain it is that they had settled here many ages since, and overspread all the parts

* BANDINEL, "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," p. 29.

† *Idem*, *ibid*.

‡ EDWARDS'S "History of the British West Indies," vol. i. p. 111. From LAS CASAS, *Ant.* 1579.

and quarters of this spacious continent : there being no place which the Spaniards, or any other adventurers, found desolate, or waste, and without inhabitants. But their numbers are much diminished since these late discoveries ; the Spaniards behaving themselves most inhumanly towards this unarmed and naked people ; killing them up like sheep appointed to the slaughter, or otherwise consuming them in their mines and works of drudgery. And had not Charles V. ordained, with most Christian prudence, that the natives should not be compelled to work in the mines against their will, but that the Spaniards should provide themselves of slaves elsewhere, the natives in a little longer time had been quite exterminated, to the great reproach of Christianity and the gospel. For so exceeding barbarous and bloody were they at their first coming thither, that Haithney, a nobleman amongst them, being persuaded to embrace the Christian faith, demanded, first, what he should get by being of that religion ; and was answered, that he should get heaven, and the joys thereof : then would he know, what place was destinate to such as died unbaptized ; and was answered, that they went to hell, and the torments of it : finally, asking unto which of these two places the Spaniards went, and being told they went to heaven, he renounced his baptism, protesting that he would rather go to hell with the unbaptized, *than to live in heaven with so cruel a people.*" *

The "nobleman," or chief, here referred to, must have been very imperfectly acquainted with the principles of our holy religion, even in its theory ; nor could he have formed any just conception of the miseries of that place "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched ;" or he would not have expressed himself as he did, when he said, "he would rather go to hell with the unbaptized, than to live in heaven with so cruel a people : " but it shows the man's strong feeling of indignation at the oppressive and barbarous conduct of the Spaniards ; and so far as the Slave-Trade is concerned, and in protesting against its iniquitous and diabolical traffic, it reflects no discredit either on his head or his heart. This strong feeling he entertained against the Spanish nation up to his death ; for on the conquest of Cuba in 1511, under the command of Diego Velasquez, "the only obstruction the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cazique, who had fled from Hispaniola, and had taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive at their first landing, and endeavoured to drive them

* HEYLIN'S "Cosmographie, and History of the whole World," p. 1017. (1657.)

back to their ships. His feeble troops, however, were soon broken and dispersed; and he himself being taken prisoner, Velasquez, according to the barbarous maxim of the Spaniards, considered him as a slave who had taken arms against his master, and condemned him to the flames. When Hatuey was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar, labouring to convert him, promised him immediately admittance into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. 'Are there any Spaniards,' says he, after some pause, 'in that region of bliss which you describe?' 'Yes,' replied the monk; 'but only such as are worthy and good.' 'The best of them,' returned the indignant cazique, 'have neither worth nor goodness: I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race.' " *

But to return to the importation of Africans into the American islands: as they were found to be a more docile and hardier race than the Indians, so they were worked accordingly; and we shall be at a loss to find the principle of humanity either in the one case or the other. The island of Margarita was discovered in the third voyage of Columbus, in 1498; and it grew rapidly into importance "by reason of the rich pearl fishing which they found on the shores thereof. But the Spaniards either could not, or would not, compel the natives to dive into the sea for pearl; but bought Negro slaves from Guinea, and the coast of Africa, whom they enforced with great torments to dive unto the bottom of the sea, many times seven or eight fathoms deep, to bring up the shells in which that treasure was included: where many of them were drowned, and some maimed with sharks and other fishes." † The natives of Western Africa, therefore, who were forcibly shipped and sent to the Spanish colonies in America, under the soft name of "Negro labourers," were compelled to dig in the mines, dive into the sea, or cultivate the land, namely, the sugar plantations. Now, whether the sugar-cane be indigenous to the West Indies, is doubtful; but it is certain that it grows spontaneously in Africa; and therefore, to take no higher ground, it was surely a preposterous thing to drag the Africans across the Atlantic to the West Indies, there to drudge and toil amidst whips and chains, in cultivating a commodity which, had they been prudently and humanely dealt with, they might have been induced to raise as an article of commerce upon their own soil, and that much

* ROBERTSON'S "History of America," vol. i. p. 60. From LAS CASAS, p. 40.

† HEYLIN'S "Cosmographie," p. 1090.

nearer to the European markets than the nearest of the West-Indian islands. We cannot, therefore, join with the historian previously quoted, in commending the "Christian prudence" of the sovereign of Spain, in compelling his subjects in America to "provide themselves of slaves elsewhere," much as we may admire him for interposing on behalf of the aborigines of the New World in protecting them "from working in the mines against their will." There is a difficulty, also, in reconciling the proposal of Las Casas, with the humane and charitable spirit of that excellent man; but "the fault was in the head, not in the upright heart;" and it is some relief to know that the Spanish philanthropist at length saw his error and confessed it, as appears from the following quotation: "It was proposed by Las Casas to relieve the natives by sending out Castilian labourers, and by importing Negro slaves into the islands. This last proposition has brought heavy obloquy on the head of its author, who has been freely accused of having thus introduced Negro Slavery into the New World. Others, with equal groundlessness, have attempted to vindicate his memory from the reproach of having recommended the measure at all. Unfortunately for the latter assertion," but opportunely for the full vindication of his purity of intention, "Las Casas, in his '*History of the Indies*,' confesses, with deep regret and humiliation, his advice on this occasion, founded on the most erroneous views, as he frankly states; since, to use his own words, '*the same law applies equally to the Negro as to the Indian.*' But so far from having introduced Slavery by this measure into the islands, the importation of Blacks there dates from the beginning of the century. It was recommended by some persons in the colony, as the means of diminishing the amount of human suffering; since the African was more fitted by his constitution to endure the climate and the severe toil imposed on the slave, than the effeminate islanders. It was a suggestion of humanity, however mistaken; and, considering the circumstances under which it occurred, and the age, it may well be forgiven in Las Casas, especially taking into view, that, as he became more enlightened himself, he was so ready to testify his regret at having unadvisedly countenanced the measure."*

Charles V. also "lived long enough to repent of what he had inconsiderately done" by the patent he had granted in 1517; for, "in the year 1542, he made a code of laws for the better protection of the unfortunate Indians in his foreign dominions,

* PRESCOTT'S "*History of the Conquest of Mexico.*"

and he stopped the progress of African Slavery by an order that all slaves in his American islands should be made free," thus showing that he was a friend both to the Indians and to the Africans, as a part of the human race: manumission took place as well in Hispaniola as on the Continent. Shortly afterwards, however, Charles abdicated the throne; and on Philip assuming the reins of government, the order was reversed; Slavery was revived in America; and the importation of slaves from Africa was again permitted.* Not only so, but they were imported in such quantities, that there was soon a Negro for every Spaniard in the colonies; and in whatever new direction the Spaniards advanced in their career of conquest, Negroes went along with them, not willingly, but of necessity. But though they bore, with tolerable patience and fortitude, the hardships connected with their new situation, we have instances recorded, even of an early date, when they attempted to rescue themselves from servitude, and thus become their own masters; but they were generally severely chastised for their temerity, or cruelly put to death.

The precise time when the English Slave-Trade commenced is not known; but the first importation of slaves from Africa by our own countrymen, of which we have any authentic record, was in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1562: this was by a Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins, who, having received information that Negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that slaves or Negroes might easily be had on the coast of Guinea, fitted out three ships, sailed to Guinea, obtained three hundred Negroes, carried them to Hispaniola, sold them, and returned to England with the produce. Queen Elizabeth is reported to have sent for him on his return from this voyage, to have expressed her concern at the undertaking, and to have told him that "if any Africans should be carried away without their free consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertaking." Captain Hawkins promised to comply with the injunctions of Elizabeth in this respect; but he did not keep his word; for, being a species of freebooter, he persisted in his lawless enterprises; and, in two years after, he made another voyage, when he seized many of the inhabitants, and carried them off as slaves, which occasioned Hill, in his "Naval History," in the account he gives of this second voyage, to use these remarkable words: "Here began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," p. 50.

slavery, an injustice and barbarity which, so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will some time be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it." In 1568 Hawkins made his third and last piratical and kidnapping voyage to Africa; and the remarkable words of Hill just quoted, and the fate which Elizabeth had predicted, fell upon him; for this last voyage terminated miserably.* Surprise has been expressed by some writers, "that such a trade should have been suffered to continue under a queen who had so solemnly and properly expressed her abhorrence of its injustice and cruelty; but this is attributed to the pains taken, by those interested, to keep her in ignorance of the truth:" whilst some affirm that "the first recognition of the trade by the English government was in 1562—3, in the reign of Elizabeth, when an Act was passed legalizing the purchase of Negroes; yet, as the earlier attempts made by the English to plant colonies in North America were unsuccessful, there did not, for some time after the passing of this Act, exist any demand for Negroes sufficient to induce the owners of English trading-vessels visiting the coast of Africa to make Negroes a part of their cargo."

There appears to be some discrepancy in these two statements. How an Act could be passed "legalizing the purchase of Negroes," and Queen Elizabeth "kept ignorant of the truth," is difficult to solve. But this little mist is dispersed in a work of great merit by James Bandinel, Esq., a gentleman long employed in the Foreign Office, and who, from his official connexion with the Government, is well qualified to give to the public an authentic and correct record of its transactions. The work alluded to is entitled, "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," and was published in 1842. It is inscribed to the Earl of Aberdeen, at that time Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was placed at the disposal of Government. Mr. Bandinel states, that, in 1585, (not in 1562,) Elizabeth granted to Lords Leicester and Warwick a patent to trade to Barbary for a period of twelve years; and in three years afterwards (1588) she granted another patent to a company to trade to the Senegal and Gambia for the space of ten years. Many authors insinuate, that by this patent she virtually gave permission to trade in slaves; whilst some affirm, that no voyage was actually undertaken under the patent which she granted. Mr. Bandinel observes: "Those writers, however,

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," p. 52; "Parliamentary Debates," p. 212. (1806.) See also BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," pp. 36, 37.

appear to have been mistaken in both points; for I find in Hakluyt and in Astell a mention of three voyages undertaken under this patent: one in 1589; a second in 1590, by Thomas Dassell and others; and a third in 1591, by R. Rainolds and Dassell; and this last voyage is specially declared to have been undertaken in virtue of Her Majesty's most gracious patent given in the year 1588. The account of it, though short, is very precise: the several places visited, and the trade at each of the places resorted to, are particularized: hides, gums, ivory, grains, ambergris, rice, ostrich-feathers, and some gold. But Negroes are not mentioned; so that I see no ground for supposing that, excepting Hawkins, any Englishman had, as yet, mixed himself up with the African Slave-Trade.* Mr. Baudinel adds in a note, from Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 610, "Hakluyt considers this patent to be of sufficient importance to give it *in extenso*. No mention in it is made of a trade in slaves." In 1631, Charles I. granted a charter to Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others, for trade to Africa. "This was the second British chartered company for trading to Africa; and Edwards says, that the merchants under that charter supplied the British settlements in the West Indies with Negroes for working the estates. This," observes Mr. Baudinel, "is the first record I find of the English embarking in undertakings for the African Slave-Trade since the solitary instance of Hawkins."†

But, detestable as every pure mind must perceive it to be, the trade in slaves was so lucrative, and so gratifying to the lust of gold, that it blinded the mind to all its horrors, and so blunted the feelings of Europeans to all sense of justice, that it is not improbable that some of our own countrymen engaged in trade, vigilant and calculating as they are, had, previous to this, embarked in the traffic. One instance we have upon record, (in addition to that of Captain Hawkins,) which has escaped, it is presumed, the notice of Mr. Baudinel. This was on the island of Margarita, at one time so famous for its pearls, but since of less note. This island was visited "in the year 1601, by the English under Captain Parker, who received here £500 in pearls for the ransom of prisoners; and took a ship which came from the coast of Angola, laden with three hundred and seventy Negroes, to be sold for slaves."‡ This was about forty years after Hawkins had first disgraced the British nation and

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," pp. 38, 39.

† *Idem*, p. 44. FROM ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 42.

‡ HEYLIN'S "Cosmographie," p. 1090.

name. But, according to Mr. Bandinel's statement, the chartered company of 1631 did not actually embark in this trade till ten years after the charter had been granted, which would make about other forty years subsequent to Captain Parker's visit to Margarita. It was "in 1641 the industrious planters in Barbadoes procured some sugar-canes from Pernambuco in Brazil. This was the first of our colonies which fell into sugar-plantations; and as it was impossible to manage the planting of that commodity by white people in so hot a climate, so neither could a sufficient number of such be had at any rate. Necessity, therefore, and the example of Portugal, gave birth to the Negro Slave-Trade from the coast of Guinea."* "This seems to mark the time, when the English began to embark in undertakings for importing slaves from Africa; but it does not appear that they yet entered into what was called the 'carrying trade' for other nations. They contented themselves with supplying to the British settlements already mentioned (Bermuda, Antigua, Montserrat, &c.) the few slaves which they wanted."† This, therefore, clears up the contradictory statements of previous writers, so far as the British Government is concerned, up to that period.

But though Great Britain did not take the lead in commencing the Slave-Trade, yet, as her settlements were forming in the West-India islands, and the shameful traffic in human beings having once begun, it proceeded and gathered strength from day to day: every where the colonists commenced plantations, and these colonies were stocked with slaves. Sanctioned by Charles I. and Charles II., and by succeeding monarchs, this new species of commerce rapidly increased. In the year 1662 a third chartered company was formed, entitled, "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading to Africa." That company undertook to supply the British West-India colonies with three thousand slaves annually; but they soon amounted to about four thousand five hundred, and in a few years afterwards to treble that number; so that the island of Jamaica, which was added to the British crown in 1655, and which contained at that period only about fifteen hundred Whites, and about an equal number of Negroes, had so greatly increased, that, in 1673, there were 7,768 Whites and 9,504 Negroes on the island; and Barbadoes, about the same time, had 50,000 Whites, and 100,000 Negroes.‡

* BANDINEL'S "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," p. 47. From ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 72.

† *Idem*, p. 48.

‡ *Idem*, p. 53.

But "in 1697 the trade was thrown open by Act of Parliament," and the statute-book of Britain was stained with the foul blot of thus officially and publicly recognising this inhuman traffic; the consequence was, that at this period about 25,000 Negroes were landed in the British colonies annually, partly by the Royal African Company, and partly by British traders; yet, after the passing of this Act, "the annual exportation was at once nearly doubled. In 1712 the number of British ships engaged in the Slave-Trade was thirty-three; but so rapidly did the trade increase in the succeeding thirteen years, that in 1725 the number of ships had risen to two hundred."* "Macpherson, in his 'History of Commerce,' states that the number of Africans shipped in 1768, by all nations, for America and the West Indies, was estimated at 97,000; that of these the British shipping took 60,000, and the French 23,000; the remainder being divided in small portions among the shipping of other nations; the Portuguese at that time only taking 1,700."† But the French soon after this were found to be more energetic in this trade. "The average export of France from Africa for 1786, 1787, and 1788, is given by Arnould (*Balance de Commerce*, part ii. § 3) at 30,000; and this statement is confirmed by the official returns, which make the importation for the year 1787, 30,839, and for 1788, 29,506. Thus, in the five years immediately preceding the revolution, about 150,000 Negroes had been imported into the island of St. Domingo, of whom, if the usual proportions were preserved, near two-thirds must have been male adults. Can we wonder at the scenes which have since passed there, when we combine with this circumstance the absurd, perfidious, and cruel proceedings of the French Government towards the colonies, and the manner in which it has uniformly sported with the hopes and fears of the Negro race?"‡ It appears from Mr. Bandinel's statistics on the European Slave-Trade, that about the middle of the last century, there were in the European settlements in America, and in the British possessions in the West Indies, 777,736 Negro slaves, nearly one half of whom belonged to Britain; and that "list does not include the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch possessions in the West Indies; nor the English, French, or Dutch possessions in Guyana; nor the Spanish possessions on the mainland of America, and in Cuba and Porto Rico; nor the Portu-

* "Parliamentary Debates," p. 199. (1806.)

† BANDINEL'S "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," p. 63.

‡ "Parliamentary Debates," p. 197. (1806.)

guese possessions in Brazil and elsewhere."* At this period Jamaica contained 90,000; but from 1700 to 1786 the number of slaves imported by Britons into that one island was computed at 610,000; and in little more than a single century, from the year 1680 to 1786, 2,130,000 Negroes were imported into the British West Indies alone!

Great Britain, then, has nothing to boast in the simple fact, that the guilt of originating this horrible system does not belong to her; for she was not far behind in the start; and having once followed the example of other nations, and embarked in it, she threw into it her accustomed energy, and soon outstripped all the rest. The language of the sons of Jacob, therefore, when they said one to another, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear," is but too applicable to us as a nation. "*We are verily guilty*," recklessly guilty, ten-fold more guilty, concerning our African brother, than any other nation, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us to come to his rescue, and we would not hear. It was not because we did not hear, or that we could not feel for him. It was because we would not hear. Humanity gave way to avarice, justice to oppression; and a power that ought and might have been exerted in protecting the Africans, and in punishing the man-stealer, was, alas! more energetically employed than any other state in robbing Africa of her children, to increase her own comfort and private wealth, and thus add to her public revenues.

I repeat, *we are verily guilty*; guilty in proportion to our station in the scale of nations; *more* guilty, because mentally, morally, and physically superior to the puny, popish, and half-civilized countries which had originated this monstrous evil. We are verily guilty, "in that we *saw* the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear." Yes; "when he besought us;" for as this language is not metaphorical, but was doubtless literally true in reference to Joseph's captivity, so has this petition been presented, with uplifted hands, with imploring looks and gestures, by many a poor Negro: he has "besought us," with streaming eyes and pathetic appeals; appeals which would have melted into pity any heart save that of the slave-dealer, who goes out sometimes singly, and, when a convenient opportunity presents itself, he then, tiger-like, springs upon his prey, drags his victim into the thicket, and in the

* BANDINEL'S "Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa," pp.64—66.

night carries him off a slave. And this has been the case not merely with here and there an individual, or now and then a family ; but whole villages have been depopulated ; and cargo after cargo of the defenceless, innocent Negroes have we as a nation carried away from their native land. And year after year, and generation after generation, have British ships, and British capital, and British subjects been engaged in trading with the flesh and blood, the bones and muscles, of their fellow-creatures !

Surely, “the voice of our brother’s blood crieth” against us “from the ground.” Yes, the sands of Africa, saturated with the life’s blood of tens of thousands who have been slain in the seizure, cry against us from the ground ; the deserts and the trackless forests, strewed with the skulls and bones of the thousands who have sickened and died in the march to the coast, cry against us from the ground ; the prison-houses and slave-barracoons planted along the skirts of the coast on the borders of the Atlantic, crammed with hundreds of Negroes who have survived the deadly march, promiscuously thrown together with shackles on their legs, half perished with hunger,—these cry against us from the ground. And, now that the black hull of the rakish vessel is approaching the coast, and these prisoners are liberated,—liberated only to be the more closely packed on board the slaver,—O, what bitter lamentations, what multitude of voices, cry against us from the ground ! The wind and the waves, the mighty surge on the beach,—these join in the melancholy chorus ; and the scores of Negroes who are often swamped and drowned on their passage to the slave-ships, and whose bodies are washed ashore by the swelling tide,—these, once more, cry against us from the ground. But the bitter cries that are heard on board those floating tombs of gasping humanity on the mighty deep, by the hundreds who are stowed below the decks, and the sum total of misery endured by those who live to reach the opposite continent, are known only to God himself !

CHAPTER III.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Existence of the Slave-Trade to be deeply regretted—The Attention of some eminent Men directed to its Abolition—High Tribute to Granville Sharp—Negro Slaves coming to England—Famous Case of SOMERSET, in 1772—Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce—The Society of Friends—Writers in Favour of Abolition—Godwyn—Baxter—Whitefield—John Wesley—Ramsey—First Petition sent to Parliament—Small Committee of Quakers—The Inhabitants of Bridgewater petition Parliament—Clarkson's "Essay on the Slave-Trade"—Importance of its Publication—Clarkson devotes his Life to the Cause—A Society organized and Committee formed—Magnitude of the Object—The Subject introduced into Parliament—Opposition to the Measure—The Friends of Abolition persevere—Debates in Parliament—Memorable Session of 1807—The Slave-Trade abolished by the British Parliament.

A REVIEW of the origin, progress, and frightful extent of the African Slave-Trade, with the dreadful evils and miseries connected with it, cannot but awaken, in the mind of every lover of his species, surprise and deep regret that the statute-book of Great Britain should ever have been tarnished with so foul a stain. That such a crime should have been allowed to continue so long without bringing down upon us some heavy national judgment from Heaven, can only be attributed to the long-suffering and abundant goodness of Him who is "slow to anger," and who "delighteth in mercy." But, "after this scourge had been permitted to desolate Africa and to disgrace mankind for two centuries and a half, the attention of men was at length directed to it by some eminent philanthropists of this country. Among these, a high place must be assigned to Granville Sharp, than whom a purer spirit never resided in the human form.....The wholesale violation of all human rights, and flagrant wreck of all Christian duties, with which the Slave-Trade and West Indian Slavery had so long outraged and insulted the world, early attracted his regard; and he persevered in trying the legal question, at first held to be desperate,—How far a slave, coming to this country under the power of his master, continues subject to that authority, or gains his personal liberty in common with the other subjects of the realm. Although not bred to the legal profession, he devoted himself to the study of the law, for the purpose of prosecuting this contention; he enlightened lawyers with the result of his

researches; he overpowered opposition by the force and the closeness of his reasonings; he disarmed all personal opposition by the unruffled serenity of his temper, the unequalled suavity of his simple yet frank and honest manners; he gave his fortune as well as his toil to the cause; and he ceased not until he obtained the celebrated judgment of the King's Bench, so honourable to the law and constitution of this country,—that a slave cannot touch our soil, but immediately his chains fall away.”*

Of “the celebrated judgment of the King's Bench,” to which allusion has been made, and which took place in 1772, the following was the origin:—It had been a common practice with planters, merchants, and others, residing in the West Indies, even before the year 1700, when they occasionally came to England, to bring with them Negro slaves to act as servants during their stay. It was perfectly natural that persons thus circumstanced should compare their own condition of slavery and hardship with the freedom and comfort enjoyed by servants in England; and that, considering what would be their own hard fate on their return to the islands, they should frequently abscond from their masters. By the slaveholders it was contended that the Negroes were as much their slaves when on British ground as when in the colonies; and therefore the masters, by advertisement and otherwise, made search for them, and often had them seized and carried away by force. The London papers not only contained descriptions of the persons of the runaways, and stated the rewards offered for their apprehension, but sometimes inserted advertisements of auctions at which slaves who had *not* absconded were to be sold, either by themselves, or in the same lot with horses, carriages, and harness, or any other stock of the proprietor. An announcement of this kind was published in the “Gazetteer,” April 18th, 1769, and reads as follows:—“At the Bull and Gate Inn, Holborn, a Chestnut Gelding, a Tim Whisky, and a well-made, good-tempered Black Boy.” And on November 28th of the same year, an advertisement appeared in the “Public Advertiser” to this effect: “To be sold, a Black Girl, the property of J. B——, eleven years of age; who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English perfectly well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition. Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement's Church, in the Strand.”†

* “Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham,” vol. ii.

† “Memoirs of Granville Sharp,” vol. i. pp. 8, 75.

Thus was England for a time disgraced, as the seat both of Slavery and the Slave-Trade. "The slaves could be sold, with all their good qualities particularized; and those who had absconded were seized by their masters, or by men employed by them, in the very streets, and dragged from thence to the ships: and so unprotected were these poor slaves, that people in nowise connected with them began to institute a trade in their persons, making agreements with captains of ships going to the West Indies to put them on board at a certain price."* What a palpable contradiction was this to the bold assertion of the advocates of Slavery,—that Negroes were *not* kidnapped in Africa,—when the thing was actually done in the streets of London! But matters of this kind were not allowed to continue with impunity; and Granville Sharp was one of the first, most active, and energetic agents in putting a stop to such disgraceful proceedings.

In the year 1765, an African slave, named Jonathan Strong, was brought from Barbadoes by his master, who, while in England, treated him very cruelly, particularly by beating him on the head with a pistol, which occasioned it to swell, and afterwards produced a disorder in the eyes, which threatened the loss of his sight. To this an ague and fever succeeded, and a lameness in both his legs. In this deplorable condition he was turned adrift by his master, and left to go whither he pleased. He was happily directed to Mr. Granville Sharp's brother,—a surgeon, whose kindness and humanity led him to devote a portion of his time to healing the diseases of the poor. Here it was that Granville Sharp met with him, who, pitying his hard case, supplied him with money, and afterwards got him a situation in the family of an apothecary, to carry out medicine. When Strong had become healthy and robust in his appearance, his master (Mr. David Lisle, a lawyer) happened to see him engaged in this new employment; and immediately formed the design of repossessing himself of him. Having found out Strong's residence, he employed two persons to kidnap him. This was managed by sending for him to a public-house in Fenchurch-street, and there seizing him. By these men he was conveyed without a warrant to the Poultry Compter, where he was sold by his master to John Kerr, for thirty pounds. In his distress, Strong sent to Mr. Sharp, who immediately went to see the prisoner, but was refused access to him. He, however, insisted on being admitted to him, and charged the keeper

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," p. 65.

of the prison at his peril to deliver him up, until he had been carried before a magistrate. Mr. Sharp then waited upon Sir Robert Kite, the lord mayor, and obtained from him an appointment to hear the case. At the time assigned, Mr. Sharp attended, as did also a notary public, and the captain of a ship which was to have conveyed Strong to Jamaica. After a long discussion, the lord mayor discharged Strong, as he had been taken up without a warrant. But no sooner was the poor African thus discharged, than the captain took hold of him, and said aloud, "Then I now seize him as my slave." On this, Mr. Sharp promptly laid his hand on the shoulder of the captain, and said to him, "I charge you, in the name of the king, with an assault upon the person of Jonathan Strong; and all these are my witnesses." At this charge, made in the presence of the lord mayor and others, the captain was greatly intimidated, and, fearing a prosecution, let go his prisoner, who departed under the protection of Mr. Sharp.*

But though the injured Africans, whose causes had been tried, escaped slavery; and though many who had been forcibly conveyed into dungeons and on ship-board, ready to be transported into the colonies, had been delivered from their captivity through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Sharp; he was not yet satisfied. The issue had not hitherto been put on the broad ground, "Whether an African slave coming into England became free." This was the question which he wished to see determined; and he resolved to have it fairly settled at the first opportunity that offered. A case exactly in point soon occurred. A Negro, named JAMES SOMERSET, was brought to England by his master in 1769, who intended after a time to take him back: but, before their departure, Somerset, anxious to avoid another exposure to the evils of Slavery, absconded. A strict search was made for him, and he was taken and forcibly conveyed on board ship. The circumstance was brought under the notice of Mr. Sharp, who immediately commenced legal proceedings upon it; and as the master defended his right to the Negro, it was brought to a trial, and was argued at three different sittings, in January, February, and May, 1772. The ablest counsellors were employed on both sides, and the opinion of the judges was taken on the point. The memorable result was a glorious triumph for the cause of humanity. It was declared, that as soon as the Negro set his foot on British ground, he was free.

In allusion to this decision Cowper wrote his beautiful lines:—

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," pp. 66, 67.

“ Slaves cannot breathe in England : if their lungs
 Imbibe our air, that moment they are free :
 They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
 That ’s noble, and bespeaks a nation prond
 And jealous of the blessing. Spread on, then,
 And let it circulate through every vein
 Of all your empire : that where Britain’s power
 Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.”

“ Thus ended,” says Mr. Clarkson, “ the great case of Somerset, which, having been determined after so deliberate an investigation of the law, can never be reversed while the British constitution remains. The eloquence displayed in it by those who were engaged on the side of liberty, was perhaps never exceeded on any occasion ; and the names of the counsellors, Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne, ought always to be remembered with gratitude by the friends of this great cause.” But chiefly to Granville Sharp, under Divine Providence, are we to give the praise, as being the man “ who became the first great actor in it, who devoted his time, his talents, and his substance to this Christian undertaking, and by whose laborious researches the very pleaders themselves were instructed and benefited. By means of his almost incessant vigilance and attention and unwearied efforts, the poor African ceased to be hunted in our streets as a beast of prey. Miserable as the roof might be under which he slept, he slept in security. He walked by the side of the stately ship, and he feared no dungeon in her hold. To him we owe it, that we no longer see our public papers polluted by hateful advertisements of the sale of the human species,* or that we are no longer distressed by the perusal of impious rewards for bringing back the poor and the helpless into slavery, or that we are prohibited the disgusting spectacle of seeing man bought by his fellow-man. To him, in short, we owe this restoration of the beauty of our constitution, this prevention of the continuance of our national disgrace.”†

This benevolent and distinguished individual stopped not here, but continued to be a zealous and useful coadjutor,

* This execrable practice was not, however, wholly abolished at once. For several years afterwards, rebels against humanity were still to be found. The following advertisement was sent to Mr. Sharp in 1782, copied from a Liverpool newspaper : —“ Liverpool, Oct. 15th, 1779. To be sold by auction, at George Dunbar’s office, on Thursday next, the 21st inst., at one o’clock, a *Black Boy, about fourteen years old, and a large Mountain Tiger-Cat.*” —“ Memoirs of Granville Sharp,” vol. i. p. 140.

† CLARKSON’S “ History of the Slave-Trade,” pp. 71, 72.

through the long period of his after-life, in all that related to the extinction of the African traffic and the Slavery of the colonies. He was soon after followed in his bright course by Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce. Of the former "it has been justly said,—nor can higher praise be earned by man,—that to the great and good qualities of Las Casas,—his benevolence, his unwearied perseverance, his inflexible determination of purpose, piety which would honour a saint, courage which would accomplish a martyr,—he added the sound judgment and strict sense of justice which were wanting in the otherwise perfect character of the Spanish philanthropist." And of Mr. Wilberforce it has been observed, with equal truth, that "few persons have ever either reached a higher or more enviable place in the esteem of their fellow-creatures, or have better deserved the place they had gained, than William Wilberforce. He was naturally a person of great quickness and even subtilty of mind, with a lively imagination, approaching to playfulness of fancy. And hence he had wit in an immeasurable abundance, and in all its varieties; for he was endowed with an exquisite sense of the ludicrous in character,—the foundation of humour,—as well as the perception of remote resemblances,—the essence of wit. These qualities, however, he had so far disciplined his faculties as to keep in habitual restraint, lest he should ever offend against strict decorum, by introducing light matter into serious discussion, or be betrayed into personal remarks too poignant for the feelings of individuals. For his nature was mild and amiable, beyond that of most men; fearful of giving the least pain in any quarter, even while heated with the zeal of controversy on questions that roused all his passions; and more anxious, if it were possible, to gain over, rather than to overpower, an adversary; disarming him by kindness, or the force of reason, or awakening appeals to his feelings, rather than defeating him by hostile attack.

"His eloquence was of the highest order. It was persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree; but it was occasionally bold and impassioned, animated with the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought, chastened by a pure taste, varied by extensive information, enriched by classical allusion, sometimes elevated by the more sublime topics of holy writ,—the thoughts

'That wrapt Isaiah's hallow'd soul in fire.'

"Few passages can be cited in the oratory of modern times of a more electrical effect than the singularly felicitous and striking

allusion to Mr. Pitt's resisting the torrent of Jacobin principles : ' He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed.' . . . Wherefore, when he stood forward as the leader of the Abolition, vowed implacable war against Slavery and the Slave-Trade, and consecrated his life to the accomplishment of its destruction, there was every advantage conferred upon this great cause."*

But without detracting one iota from the well-earned fame of the three illustrious individuals already mentioned, who may be regarded as the leading stars in this moral hemisphere, whose brilliancy and usefulness to mankind death itself could not extinguish ; for, though dead, they are yet speaking by their writings ;—yet justice to other friends of Africa and the Abolition cause, who had previously exerted themselves on behalf of the oppressed Negroes, demands here a passing notice of their efforts.

It cannot be denied, then, that in a collective capacity the Society of Friends have the fairest claim to be considered, if not the originators, yet among the earliest, the warmest, and the most persevering supporters of Abolition. Their founder, George Fox, had solemnly warned them not to engage in a traffic so utterly indefensible ; and the celebrated William Penn, as early as 1668, denounced it as cruel, impolitic, and unchristian. At their Annual Meeting in 1696, the subject was introduced to the whole society in America ; and the members, some of whom, notwithstanding the instructions of their leaders, had engaged in the traffic, were cautioned not to purchase any more slaves, and enjoined to treat most mercifully those whom they might then possess. Similar injunctions and cautions were given at every Annual Meeting for many successive years ; and, in 1727, at the general Yearly Meeting in London, it was resolved, "That the importing of Negroes was cruel and unjust, and was therefore severely censured by the Meeting." At each Annual Meeting for twenty years afterwards, they invariably passed substantially the same resolution ; thus keeping the subject continually before their members. But, in 1760, they proceeded still farther : for they passed a declaration, at their Annual Meeting of that year, that they would exclude from their Society all who participated in any way in the guilty traffic. Almost the first recorded instance of a voluntary surrender of slave-property occurred in 1770, when a gentleman of that Society, named Mifflin, having inherited from his father

* " Speeches of Lord Brougham."

nearly forty slaves, generously gave them their liberty, and employed them as freemen.*

It appears, then, that, as a body, the Friends were the earliest advocates of the Negro race, and made the most vigorous and systematic efforts to effect their rescue. But while we give them the commendation which is so justly their due, it would be absurd to assign to them all the merit of Abolition. Several of the old English writers of eminence, without expressly referring to African Slavery, had in a general way testified against the criminality of "bringing one human being into absolute subjection to the will of another." Our great poet Milton, Bishop Sanderson, and others had gone thus far; and were followed by several distinguished individuals of the English Church, and of other communities, who raised their voice against the accursed traffic by writing expressly on the subject.

The first English writer who specially advocated the cause of the Africans was Morgan Godwyn, a Clergyman of the Church of England. He wrote a treatise entitled, "The Negro's and Indian's Advocate," which he dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the island of Barbadoes he had been an eye-witness of the sufferings of the oppressed Blacks, and in an affecting manner he exposed to his countrymen the brutal sentiments and conduct of their tyrants. About the same time, the celebrated Richard Baxter on several occasions pleaded the rights of the Negroes. In his "Christian Directory" he severely animadverted upon the trade, saying, that "those who go out as pirates, and take any poor Africans, and people of another land, who never forfeited life or liberty, and make them slaves or sell them, are the worst of robbers, and ought to be considered as the common enemies of mankind; and that they who buy them, and use them as mere beasts of burden, for their own convenience, regardless of their spiritual welfare, are fitter to be called demons than Christians." He then proposes several queries, which he answers in a close and forcible manner, showing the great inconsistency of this traffic, and the necessity of treating those already in bondage with tenderness, and with a due regard to their spiritual concerns.

About this time, and subsequently, many other tracts and pamphlets relating to Slavery issued from the press; and several authors who did not write expressly on the subject, took care to denounce the traffic in Negroes as one which is no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

religion. Poets, as well as divines and historians, and even dramatic writers, did not fail to lift up their voice in its execration. The Rev. Messrs. J. Wesley and G. Whitefield, both of whom had witnessed the worse than brutal treatment of the Blacks in America, fearlessly proclaimed, from the pulpit and from the press, the evils of "this complicated villany." As far back as 1739, Mr. Whitefield, when in America, addressed a printed letter to the settlers of several of the States in which Slavery most abounded. This production had the desired effect upon many of those who perused it. He continued a firm friend to the poor Africans, pleading their cause through life, and was the means of enlisting many thousands of his followers in their favour. Mr. Wesley, too, wrote a spirited and able pamphlet on the subject, which he entitled "Thoughts upon Slavery," and which was published in 1774, two years after the famous case of Somerset had been decided. In this little work Mr. Wesley grapples with the monster evil in a masterly manner. After defining Slavery, and distinguishing it from that mild domestic service which obtains in our country, he refers to the place whence the slaves are taken, and describes Africa, in its physical and moral aspects. He states that the soil is productive, and in many parts well cultivated, bringing forth fruits, vegetables, and grain in abundance; and that the meadows are capable of feeding large herds of cattle. He speaks of the inhabitants as being comparatively mild and well disposed; and affirms that they are by no means difficult to govern, and that, instead of being the stupid, senseless savages which they have been described to be, they are, considering their few advantages, the very reverse. He next touches upon the manner in which the slaves are procured, the places to which they are conveyed, and the treatment which they undergo in the colonies; and he closes the pamphlet with an appeal to merchants, captains, planters, and others interested in the continuance of the Slave-Trade. The last paragraph consists of a prayer devoutly offered up to Almighty God, and is as follows:—

"O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast mingled of one blood all the nations upon earth; have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise, and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the ground like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of

their captivity, and let their complaint come up before thee ; let it enter into thy ears ! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder ; more especially the chains of their sins ! Thou Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed ! ”*

Nor did Mr. Wesley stop here ; for Mr. Clarkson, in his “History of the Slave-Trade,” after speaking of “the celebrated divine” who “undertook the cause of the poor Africans” in the above-mentioned tractate, adds, “Mr. Wesley had this great cause much at heart, and frequently recommended it to the support of those who attended his useful ministry :” and soon after the first Abolition Committee was formed, one of their sittings “was distinguished by the receipt of letters from two celebrated persons.” One of these “was Mr. John Wesley, whose useful labours as a minister of the gospel are so well known to our countrymen.” The date of this Committee was August 27th, 1787. Mr. Clarkson further remarks, “Mr. Wesley, whose letter was read next, informed the Committee of the great satisfaction which he also had experienced, when he heard of their formation. He conceived that their design, while it would destroy the Slave-Trade, would also strike at the root of the shocking abomination of Slavery also. He desired to forewarn them that they must expect difficulties and great opposition from those who were interested in the system ; that these were a powerful body ; and that they would raise all their forces, when they perceived their craft to be in danger. They would employ hireling writers, who would have neither justice nor mercy. But the Committee were not to be dismayed by such treatment, nor even if some of those who professed good-will towards them should turn against them. As for himself, he would do all he could to promote the object of their institution. He would reprint a new and large edition of his ‘Thoughts on Slavery,’ and circulate it among his friends in England and Ireland, to whom he would add a few words in favour of their design. And then he concluded in these words : ‘I commend you to Him who is able to carry you through all opposition, and support you under all discouragements.’ ”†

On October 30th, 1787, “a second letter was read from Mr. John Wesley. He said that he had now read the publications which the Committee had sent him, and that he took, if possible, a still deeper interest in their cause. He exhorted them

* WESLEY'S Works, vol. xi. pp. 75, 76.

† CLARKSON'S “History of the Slave-Trade,” p. 259.

to more than ordinary diligence and perseverance; to be prepared for opposition; to be cautious about the manner of procuring information and evidence, that no stain might fall upon their character; and to take care that the question should be argued as well upon the consideration of interest as of humanity and justice; the former of which, he feared, would have more weight than the latter: and he recommended them and their glorious concern, as before, to the protection of Him who was able to support them.* Nor was this all: for it may be further added, as proof of the deep and unabated interest which he took in the abolition of Negro Slavery, that one of the last letters he ever wrote was addressed to Mr. Wilberforce only four days before his death, exhorting him to persevere in the "glorious enterprise" of effecting the abolition of the traffic in the sinews and blood of men. "Go on," he writes, "in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American Slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."† Such was Mr. Wesley's brief, but strong and dying, testimony against Slavery: for it is believed that this was actually the last letter he ever wrote; and the eminent statesman and Christian philanthropist to whom it was addressed, docketed the letter, "John Wesley's Last Words."‡

Several able pamphlets and tracts preceded and followed Mr. Wesley's publication in 1774, which assisted the good cause; but which we cannot particularize in this brief account of the Slave-Trade. It must not be omitted, however, that in 1784, another able and zealous advocate of the Negroes was found in the Rev. James Ramsay, vicar of Teston, in Kent, who had resided nineteen years in the island of St. Christopher's, where he had abundant opportunities of observing the treatment of the Negroes, and had studied the laws relating to them. Some two or three years after his return to England, he published a work which he called, "An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies." Attempts were made by interested parties to answer and refute the charges contained in Mr. Ramsay's Essay; but these attacks only served to call forth "A Reply to personal Invectives and Objections," by the same author: and Captain J. S. Smith, R.N., who had been an eye-witness, nobly came forward and corroborated the statements of Mr. Ramsay; so that by this controversy the cause of truth gained increased sway.

Public attention being thus in some degree arrested, the

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," p. 261.

† WESLEY'S Works, vol. xiii. p. 127. ‡ "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 297.

wrongs of Africa soon found an active commiseration among the body of Friends, of whom we have already spoken. From this time that benevolent Society appears to have entertained a growing desire to step out of its ordinary course in behalf of this injured people. It had hitherto confined itself to the keeping of its own members unpolluted by any gain from the oppression of the Blacks. But it was now ready to make an appeal to others, and to bear a public testimony in favour of the Negroes. Accordingly, in the month of June, 1783, when a Bill had been brought into the House of Commons, providing certain regulations with respect to the African trade, the Society of Friends presented a petition to the legislature, praying that something might be done to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. This was the first petition which was ever presented to parliament in favour of the abolition of the Slave-Trade.*

These efforts led to the combined exertions of a few individuals, who met together to consult what steps could be taken to abolish the Slave-Trade, and to liberate the slaves in the West Indies. The first meeting was held in July, 1783, one month after the Friends had petitioned the House of Commons; and it consisted of only six individuals; namely, William Dillwyn, George Harrison, Samuel Hoare, Thomas Knowles, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods. To promote the object which they had in view, they conceived it necessary that the public mind should be enlightened respecting it. They had recourse, therefore, to the public papers; to which each member in turn was appointed to write. Several articles, consequently, appeared in two of the London, and in many of the provincial, newspapers. The next year, (1784,) they began to print books on the subject. The first was from the pen of Joseph Woods, one of the Committee. It was entitled, "Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes;" and contained a sober and dispassionate appeal to the reason of all, without offering offence to the prejudices of any. It was distributed at the expense of the Association, and proved to be highly useful to the cause which it was intended to promote.†

About the same time, the Society of Friends, in their collective capacity, published a pamphlet exposing the horrors of Slavery; copies of which were sent to the king, the queen, and most of the members of parliament. This work was entitled, "The Case of our Fellow-creatures, the oppressed Africans, respectfully recommended to the serious Consideration of the Legislature of Great Britain. By the People called Quakers."

* CLARKSON'S "History of the Slave-Trade," p. 93.

† Ibid. p. 96.

Two thousand copies of this pamphlet were printed: these were soon disposed of; and shortly after orders were given by the same body of Christians for the reprinting and circulation of ten thousand additional copies of "the Case."

In the following year, (1785,) the Association continued their exertions as before, and the public attention was again called to the subject by Benezet's "Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies on the calamitous State of the enslaved Negroes." Copies of this pamphlet were sent by the Society of Friends to magistrates, clergymen, and ministers of all denominations, and to the masters of all the great schools, and several academies. In this year, this little band of philanthropists was strengthened by the addition of David Barclay, an active member of the Society of Friends, who soon gave practical proof of his abhorrence of Slavery and his love of liberty: for, on becoming possessed of an estate in Jamaica, on which were more than thirty slaves, he very honourably emancipated them all. In this same year, a public meeting was held in the town of Bridgewater, when the mayor, the Rev. G. White, and some other gentlemen, advocated the cause of Abolition. The result of this meeting was, that a petition to the British Parliament from the inhabitants of Bridgewater, in favour of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, was agreed upon, and was presented to the House of Commons by the Honourable A. Poulet and Alexander Hood, Esq., the members for the town. This was the second petition that was drawn up respecting this important subject.

Thus this little Association, though "small and feeble was its day," was nevertheless silently doing a great work; and by not being "weary in well doing," but continuing their publications and other means, they had already effected a happy change in the minds of many influential individuals, and won them to the support of their great undertaking. Every year now brought with it some fresh and able friends; whereby their faith was strengthened, their hope encouraged, and their exertions stimulated.

But the year 1785 was perhaps most remarkable on account of the publication of a pamphlet by Thomas Clarkson, to whom, while pursuing his studies at Cambridge, "the Slave-Trade" was given as the subject of an Essay which gained one of the University prizes. The origin of this important event was as follows:—Dr. Peckard, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, had distinguished himself in the early part of his life by certain publications on the intermediate state of the soul, and by others in favour of civil and religious liberty, and had read with attention and inter-

est the publications of the Association against the Slave-Trade. When it devolved upon him to preach a sermon before the University, he powerfully and eloquently exposed the evils of Slavery, and denounced it as a system utterly at variance with every Christian precept. As he was then considering what subject he should select for a Latin prize-essay for the Senior Bachelors, it occurred to him that none would be more suitable than some point connected with Slavery: he therefore fixed upon the question, "Is it right to make slaves of others against their will?" Only a few weeks were allowed for the composition.

Clarkson, having in the preceding year gained the first prize for the Latin dissertation, entered with all the ardour of rival scholarship on the subject, determined, if possible, to sustain his reputation. To obtain all the information he could upon Slavery, he repaired to London; and, having purchased Benezet's "Historical Account of Guinea," with such other books bearing on the question as he could then procure, he returned to Cambridge, and commenced his task. Little did he imagine what would be the result. Instead of the pleasure he had anticipated in the skilful arrangement of his materials to secure success in his literary contest, his mind was continually on the rack by the successive narrations, in the course of his reading, of oppression the most villanous and cruel. "It is impossible," he remarks in his "History of Slavery," "to imagine the severe anguish which the composition of this Essay cost me. All the pleasure I had promised myself from the contest was exchanged for pain by the astounding facts that were now continually before me. It was one gloomy subject from morning till night. In the day I was agitated and uneasy; in the night I had little or no rest. I was so overwhelmed with grief, that I sometimes never closed my eyes during the whole night; and I no longer regarded my Essay as a mere trial for literary distinction. My great desire now was to produce a work that should call forth a vigorous public effort to redress the wrongs of injured Africa."

Bearing this idea constantly in mind, and being extremely anxious that no thought that was connected with the subject should escape unrecorded, Clarkson always slept with a light in his room, so that he might rise at any time in the night, and put down any thing that occurred to his mind. An Essay composed under such intensely excited feelings, and with such great care, could hardly fail to be successful. On completing it, Clarkson handed it to the Vice-Chancellor, and was again honoured with the first prize. But neither his literary reputation, though he was by no means insensible to this, nor the time which elapsed from the period when he finished his Essay to the day when its merits were adjudged, could divert his attention from the all-absorbing subject. His desire to expose the cruelties of Slavery abated not. After reading his Essay in the Senate-house, in June, 1785, as is the usual practice, when the interest in such compositions commonly subsides, the subject continued to engross all his thoughts. "I could not," he says, "divest myself of the feeling that it was the duty of some one to expose the horrors of this bloody traffic. It grew upon me from day to day, and I could no longer keep my mind at rest." *

It will be seen, then, that though, previously to Clarkson's Essay, much had been done, but little good comparatively had

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

been the result. Some more decided step required to be taken to bring the facts of the case fully before the public. An individual was needed who would boldly and incessantly labour in the work. Such an one was now raised up by a gracious Providence in the person of Clarkson, on whose mind a growing conviction fastened itself, that a vigorous personal effort ought immediately to be made. His feelings on repairing to London, after having read his Essay before the University Senate, he thus touchingly describes: "During my journey, the melancholy subject was not a moment absent from my thoughts. I became several times seriously affected on the road. I occasionally stopped my horse, dismounted, and walked. I tried frequently to persuade myself that the statements in my Essay could not be true. But the more I reflected on the authorities on which they were founded, the more constrained was I to give them credit. I sat down disconsolate on the turf by the roadside; and here it forcibly occurred to me, that if the statements I had made were facts, it was high time that something should be done to put an end to such cruelties."

This was in the summer of 1785. In the autumn this conviction became, if possible, deeper. The Abolition question was the sole object of his thoughts: waking or sleeping, he scarcely ever forgot it. He sometimes walked into the woods, that he might meditate on it in solitude. But there the question still recurred, "Are these things true?" and the reply was the same: "They are:" and the same inference was drawn: "Then surely some person should interfere." At length, with a modest hesitation arising from his being "a young man of only twenty-four," he embarked on his glorious career by translating his Essay into English, and enriching it with such additional facts and illustrations as had occurred to him since he first composed it,—facts which were the most likely to impress the public mind with the abominations practised in the horrid traffic. The work was printed, and entitled, "An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African, translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was honoured with the First Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the year 1785: with Additions." It was ushered into the world, as he himself tells us, "in the month of June, 1786, or in about a year after it had been read in the Senate-house in the first form."

This work contained a much more able exposure of the evils connected with the African Slave-Trade than was to be found in any former one. It was welcomed by all the friends of liberty and humanity; and Clarkson soon found, by the nume-

rous invitations which he received from different families, that there were some who took a lively interest in the welfare of the despised and oppressed Negro.

While the Essay was making its way, and bringing many new friends to the cause of Abolition, Clarkson was using his utmost efforts to acquire more knowledge on the subject, that he might the more effectually expose its evils. He remarks, "I considered, lastly, that if I took up the question, I must devote myself wholly to it. I was sensible that a little labour now and then would be inadequate to the purpose, and that, where the interests of so many thousand persons were likely to be affected, constant exertion would be necessary. I felt certain that if ever the matter were to be taken up, there could be no hope of success, except it should be taken up by some one who would make it an object or business of his life." This Mr. Clarkson emphatically did, though not without due deliberation. Dining one day with some friends of the cause at the house of Sir Charles Middleton, then Comptroller of the Navy, and afterwards Lord Barham, he avowed that he was ready cheerfully to relinquish all other pursuits and prospects, and to devote himself entirely to the cause of Abolition. This declaration was made in the presence of several gentlemen, all of whom applauded it highly, and promised to further the great object by every means in their power.

Clarkson, though he had not made this avowal inconsiderately, was nevertheless the next morning "a little uneasy," and questioned whether he had deliberated sufficiently to be able to fulfil the pledge which he had given to the company on the preceding day. He therefore determined to give the subject a full consideration, and to balance every thing on both sides of the question. For this purpose he took a walk to the favourite place of his meditations,—the woods; and having reached their solitude, he reviewed the whole matter. He derived encouragement, on the one hand, from his interview with Sir Charles Middleton, M.P., which opened to him a new source of information and knowledge on the Slave-Trade, Sir Charles being connected with the naval department of the public service. Clarkson could also calculate on the assistance and support of Dr. Porteus and Lord Scarsdale, both of whom were members of the House of Lords. He had likewise secured the co-operation of Mr. Langton, who had an extensive acquaintance with members of both Houses of the legislature; and he could depend upon Granville Sharp, J. Phillips, Ramsay, Dillwyn, and the little Committee to which he belonged, as well as on the whole Society of Friends, and some of his own personal

acquaintance. On the other hand, he had been designed for the Church, had already advanced as far as deacon's orders in it: his prospects were brilliant, and the idea of sacrificing them all staggered him not a little. He felt, too, a thirst after worldly interests and honours, which he could not at once extinguish. He then asked himself seriously, "Am I prepared to make the sacrifices that will be required, and to endure the hardships that will probably have to be borne? And is there any chance that my efforts will be successful?" He "was more than two hours in solitude under this painful conflict:" but at length he yielded, grace triumphed, divine power was imparted, and he made up his mind according to the pledge he had given,—“not because I saw any reasonable prospect of success in my new undertaking, but in obedience, I believe, to a higher Power.” He adds, “I can say, that both on the moment of this resolution, and for some time afterwards, I had more sublime and happy feelings than at any former period of my life.”

In Mr. Clarkson we have a fine illustration of Christian philanthropy,—that charity which “seeketh not her own.” He had, on other occasions, as well as in the instance which thus determined his public career, obtained sufficient academical honours to open before him the high road to further fame; and he had at his command private property enough to set him at liberty from any necessity of taking up the labours of a learned profession as the means of his support. Having a higher ambition than that which is content to receive honour from men, he was at once determined in the one object of his disinterested pursuit,—one which was of sufficient interest to demand all the energies of his soul, while it would most assuredly be blessed with “the honour which cometh from God only.”

Being fully decided, Clarkson now entered on his work with renewed zeal. He visited every person that he could find in and around London who had been in Africa, or in the West-Indian colonies, or in any situation which gave them an insight into the Slave-Trade. He boarded all the vessels that had been engaged in that traffic, and inspected the wretched apartments in which the slaves had been confined during the voyage. In short, he devoted his life to waging an implacable war with the huge monster of Slavery. The evidence which he collected, and brought before a Committee formed to obtain the Abolition of the trade, drew the attention of Mr. Wilberforce, and secured at once the services of that great man, whose subsequent life was devoted to the cause of liberty, whose dying moments were cheered by its triumphs, and whose name will be immortalized in connexion with its history.

The first meeting of this Committee was held at the house of Mr. Wilberforce; and there were present, besides Mr. Clarkson, the Hon. John Villiers, Mr. Powys, Sir Charles Middleton, Sir Richard Hill, Mr. Granville Sharp, Mr. Ramsay, and Dr. Gregory. After this, several friends of the Abolition met once a week; and they were now of opinion that the time was approaching when they might petition with good effect: they were only waiting for Mr. Wilberforce to give his word that he would introduce the subject in Parliament. Mr. Langton delicately hinted this, adding that no one could do it with such good effect: on which Mr. Wilberforce pledged himself that he would do so when the proper time arrived,—a pledge which all were happy to receive, and which he nobly performed.

There was now no difficulty in forming a Committee to bring the evils of Slavery more fully before the British nation, and to organize a Society for its entire Abolition: an object which Clarkson had regarded as of great importance. Accordingly, on May 22d, 1787, he had the happiness to see it formed. The names of the individuals composing it were the twelve following:—Granville Sharp, William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoare, George Harrison, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods, Thomas Clarkson, Richard Phillips, John Boston, Joseph Hooper, James Phillips, Philip Sansom. All these were present: and Granville Sharp, who stands at the head of the list, and whom Clarkson styles “the father of the cause in England,” was called to the chair. The next five on the list had been members of the previous Association; and the whole Committee, except three,—Clarkson, Sharp, and Sansom,—were members of the Society of Friends. Several other benevolent and distinguished persons belonged to the Abolition Society, though they were not members of the Committee.

The Abolition of Slavery, and the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, were two distinct things; and as the former evil owed its existence to the latter, it was thought desirable to commence operations against the traffic. Almost their first resolution pledged them to circulate, more extensively than had yet been done, information on this subject. They therefore published a “Summary View of the Slave-Trade, and the probable Consequences of its Abolition,” besides several other powerful tracts. It was not enough for this little band of philanthropists to know that the air of England was too pure to be breathed but by freemen, and that a slave cannot touch our soil but immediately his chains fall off. No; though

“That ’s noble, and bespeaks a nation proud,”

yet that was not enough. Their object was to cut off any farther supplies from Africa for the West-India markets, to block up the impure stream at the fountain-head, to dig up the poisonous tree by the root, to destroy the monster, and lay the giant low: it was to sever the head from the trunk; for they conceived that, on the abolishing of the trade in slaves, the death of Slavery must inevitably follow.

But an object so great, and the removal of evils so numerous and complicated, were not expected to be accomplished without steady and united effort, combined and untiring perseverance. The trade in slaves was not confined to a single locality, or to one or two parts of the continent of Africa. It began at the river Senegal, and continued winding with the coast through its several geographical divisions for more than three thousand miles. It was not merely by the inhabitants skirting this long line of coast that the supplies were furnished: but towns and villages many hundred miles inland were ransacked, and their indwellers led captive to the sea-side, where vessels were waiting to carry them across the Atlantic. Besides, this species of trade had existed for nearly three hundred years; it was interwoven into the system of commerce, and was an important item in the revenue of nations. The planters and African merchants vigorously exerted themselves to oppose its annihilation: thousands, deeply interested in its continuance, lifted up their voice against its abolition. Looking, then, at these as some of the evils and difficulties in connexion with the Slave-Trade, it "may be considered, like the fabulous hydra, to have had a hundred heads, every one of which it was necessary to cut off before it could be subdued. And as none but Hercules was fitted to conquer the one, so nothing less than extraordinary prudence, courage, labour, and patience could overcome the other."

But the Committee was now formed; and, two days after its formation, its members met again to promote the object of its institution; and on June 12th its fourth meeting was held. While the Committee was prosecuting its labours in London, Clarkson was journeying from one part of the kingdom to another, visiting Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, to collect further information upon the subject. Many pamphlets and letters, illustrative of the evils of Slavery, were now printed, and distributed gratuitously throughout the country. The subject having at length excited general attention, public meetings were held, and many petitions were sent to Parliament, praying for the abolition of a traffic which had so long disgraced our national character.

The time had now arrived for the topic to be discussed in the British Parliament; which was accordingly done on May 9th, 1788. Mr. Pitt, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Wilberforce through indisposition, introduced the subject in the House of Commons. He was ably supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Sir W. Dolben, Mr. Whitbread, and several others. The Motion passed unanimously: but, as it only went to pledge the House that the Slave-Trade should be investigated the next sessions, the result could scarcely have been otherwise. "It was supposed that this would have terminated the parliamentary discussion of the subject for that session; but Sir W. Dolben, a warm friend of Abolition, desirous of at once abolishing some of the cruelties practised in the trade, moved, on May 22d, for leave to bring in a Bill, that the number of slaves brought in the vessels should be in proportion to their tonnage. The Motion was seconded by Mr. Whitbread, and ably supported by several members; and leave was given to bring in the Bill. The parties at Liverpool and Bristol now became alarmed, and resolved to oppose the measure with all their power. They got up several petitions in favour of the trade; and they so far succeeded as to obtain leave to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House in its defence." But, notwithstanding this, the Motion was carried by a large majority.

"The Bill was carried to the Lords on June 18th; and its opponents had the audacity again to apply to be heard by counsel, though they had so signally failed in the Commons. Leave was granted them, and the same witnesses were examined; but, as the same searching queries were not put to them, the impression was less favourable for Abolition. The debate was protracted for several days; the Bill was violently opposed, and it was feared by its friends that it would have been lost for the session. At length, however, it was carried, and on the last day of the session it received the royal assent."*

Thus it will appear that though a great impression had been made on the public mind generally in favour of the poor Africans, there were many both in and out of Parliament who contended for the continuance of the disgraceful traffic. Nor did this opposition easily subside; for "when Mr. Wilberforce had, with matchless powers of eloquence, sustained by a body of the clearest evidence, unveiled all the horrors of a traffic which, had it been attended with neither fraud nor cruelty of any kind, was confessedly, from beginning to end, not a commerce, but a

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

crime, he was defeated by large majorities, year after year. When, at length, for the first time, in 1804, he carried the Abolition Bill through the Commons, the Lords immediately threw it out; and the next year it was again lost in the Commons. All this happened while the opinion of the country was, with the single exception of persons having West-India connexions, unanimous in favour of the measure. At different times there was the strongest and most general expression of public feeling upon the subject; and it was a question upon which no two men endowed with reason could possibly differ; because, admitting whatever could be alleged about the profits of the traffic, it was not denied that their gain proceeded from pillage or murder. Add to all this, that the enormous evil continued to disgrace the country and its legislature for twenty years, although the voice of" nearly "every statesman of any eminence was strenuously lifted up against it, and although every press and every pulpit in the island habitually cried it down."*

But the day of redemption was drawing nigh; and the friends and advocates of the Abolition ceased not their endeavours: they were not yet "weary in well-doing;" nor did they doubt of success, though they had been defeated again and again. The indefatigable Clarkson, therefore, "took another journey" to collect fresh matters of fact; that, in case the House of Lords should insist upon hearing evidence on the general question, he might be prepared to furnish them with it: for the point was now almost certain of being carried in the next session in the House of Commons. Accordingly, on June 10th, 1806, the subject was again introduced in the Lower House by Mr. Fox, and in the Upper House, on the 24th of the same month, by Lord Grenville. The Resolution which was moved in both Houses successively was to the following effect: "That this House, considering the African Slave-Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for the Abolition of the said Trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable." This Motion led to a lengthy debate in both Houses. Its principal opponents in the House of Commons were General Tarleton, Lord Castlereagh, General Gascoyne, and Sir W. Young; and, in the House of Lords, Lord Hawkesbury and the earl of Westmoreland were the two greatest opponents. The advocates

* LORD BROUGHAM.

for Abolition in the Lower House, in addition to the illustrious names of Fox and Wilberforce, were Sir Ralph Milbank, Mr. Francis, Sir Samuel Romilly, Lord Henry Petty, Sir John Newport, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Smith; and, in the Upper House, besides Lord Grenville, who introduced the Motion, its supporters were the bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, the bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Holland, the earl of Suffolk, Earl Stanhope, Earl Grosvenor, Lord Ellenborough, and Earl Spencer.

The opponents to the measure had a variety of objections, which they hesitated not to urge. The Motion was considered as ill-timed, and likely to prove injurious to the trade of Liverpool. It was asserted to be an act of injustice to the African merchants, especially the planters and others holding property in the West Indies. It was alleged, too, that the revenue of the country would be considerably affected by the Motion. Some contended for the continuance of this iniquitous traffic on account of its antiquity, and actually quoted from the sacred volume in support of its perpetuation. Nay, they coolly urged, that it was an act of kindness to the Africans to carry them to the West Indies, inasmuch as they were so totally degraded in their moral and mental faculties, that nothing could cure them, being evidently doomed by nature to Slavery: and they complained of the harsh language which some of the advocates of the Abolition used in denouncing the Trade.

But these extraordinary views of the case were ably met and combated by the friends of the oppressed Negro. As to its being ill-timed, the bishop of St. Asaph, in the Upper House, commenced by observing, "My Lords, I cannot but assent to every part of the Resolution now before your Lordships at any season of the year, or any day of the year, or any hour of the day." Mr. Francis said, "The members for Liverpool were at liberty to ask for compensation, but he for one would never grant it, for the loss of a trade which had been declared to be contrary to humanity and justice." And as to its antiquity, the bishop of London contended that this afforded no argument for its continuance. Such a mode of defence, he observed, would prevent the removal of any evil. It would justify the practice of the Chinese, who have for many hundred years exposed their infants in the streets to perish. It would justify piracy; for that practice existed long before we knew any thing of the African Slave-Trade. Besides, as Mr. Smith, in a previous debate upon the Abolition, in replying to the antiquity of Slavery, very forcibly remarked, "Because a practice had

existed, did it necessarily follow that it was just? By this argument every crime might be defended from the time of Cain!"

The assertion that scripture countenanced this ungodly traffic, was most ably refuted in both Houses; and it was pronounced to be "one of the greatest libels that was ever published against the Christian religion." Both Mr. Wilberforce in the Commons, and two noble Lords in the Upper House, fearlessly and very justly placed the slave-dealers where the apostle places them; namely, with "man-stealers," with the "murderer of fathers and of mothers," and with the most profane criminals upon earth. Lord H. Petty rescued the slandered Africans from the imputation of mental inferiority, by showing that they had proved to be good soldiers and non-commissioned officers; and that they had been placed in situations requiring fidelity, intelligence, and courage, and had fully answered the expectations of those who thought the most favourably of them. And then, lastly, as to the "hard words" which some of the advocates of Abolition had applied to the Slave-Trade, and of which the opponents to Abolition complained, such as "robbery, rapine, and murder;" it was contended that there was no reason to recall any of those epithets; for they were the most appropriate to the system which they designated. It was proved that Mr. Bryan Edwards, himself interested in the Slave-Trade, had, in a speech in the House of Assembly of Jamaica, designated it "a system of rapine, robbery, and murder:" and Lord H. Petty well remarked, "I wish they who complain of these hard words would reserve their indignation for those who are guilty of the acts, instead of visiting it on those who only do their duty in describing them."*

After many able speeches in support of the Resolution, it was triumphantly and gloriously carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 99; there being for the Motion 114, and against it only 15. It also passed the House of Lords by a majority of 41 to 20.

Encouraged by this moral victory, the Abolition Committee and the other friends of the oppressed Negro received fresh strength and spirit; for it was now almost universally believed, in consequence of what had already taken place, that the Slave-Trade had received its death-wound, and that the hateful system could not long survive. At length the memorable session of 1807 arrived; and now a Bill called "An Act for the Abolition

* HANSARD'S "Parliamentary Debates."

of the Slave-Trade" was introduced into Parliament; and, contrary to the practice hitherto adopted, it was first brought forward in the House of Lords. Lord Grenville opened the debate with a very luminous speech; and, the question being called for at four o'clock in the morning, it appeared that the personal votes and proxies in favour of the Motion amounted to 100, and those against it to 36. Thus passed the Upper House the first Bill in England which decreed that the African Slave-Trade should cease. On February 10th, the Bill was carried to the House of Commons; and, after much able speaking, the House divided, when there were for the question 283, and against it only 16. The feeling in favour of the measure had now become so general in the Commons, that, Mr. Clarkson observes, "several of the old opponents of this righteous cause went away unable to vote against it, while others of them stood in their places and voted in its favour." On March 16th, the Bill was read a third time, and then passed without a division; and on the 23d of the same month, it received the last sanction of the House of Peers; and Lord Grenville congratulated the House on the completion, on its part, of the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world.

But even at this stage of its progress, when victory had all but crowned the mighty and long-continued efforts of its friends, there was, says Clarkson, "an awful fear throughout the kingdom, lest the Bill should not receive the royal assent before" the dissolution of the ministry, which was hourly expected. Happily, however, the commission for the royal assent to the Bill was obtained in time, and but just in time, to be executed before the dissolution took place. At half-past eleven in the morning of March 25th, 1807, letters were received by each member of the Cabinet, requesting them to deliver up the seals of office. The Lord Chancellor, having just then been informed that His Majesty had ordered his consent to be given to this Bill by commission, proceeded immediately to pass it in the usual way. "And just as the clock struck twelve, while the sun was shining in its meridian splendour, as if to witness the august act, and to sanction it by its glorious beams, the Magna Charta of Africa was completed." Thus terminated, after twenty years' struggle, one of the most glorious contests that was ever carried on in any age or country: and thus, to a certain extent, was realized the poet's aspiration,—

"That where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too!"

CHAPTER IV.

ABOLITION OF BRITISH SLAVERY.

ABOLITION of the British Slave-Trade—More stringent Measures adopted to render it effectual and complete—The Slave-Trade and Slavery two distinct Things—The Attention of the Public is now directed to the latter—Miseries of West-Indian Slavery—Anti-Slavery Society formed—Petitions to Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery—Mr. T. F. Buxton selected as the parliamentary Leader by the venerable Wilberforce—Letters of Mr. Wilberforce to Mr. Buxton—The Subject introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Buxton—His spirited Reply at the Close of the Debate—Opposition in the Colonies to any Change in the System—Persecution of Missionaries—The Rev. John Smith's Imprisonment at Demerara—Feeling of the Nation in favour of Emancipation—Death of the Rev. John Smith in the Jail at Demerara—"Smith's Case" brought before the House of Commons—Touching Incident—The Protomartyr Stephen—Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury driven from Barbadoes—Mr. Buxton brings this Case before the House—Persevering Efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society—The Cabinet Ministers, though favourable to Abolition, lean towards the Planters—The Nation becomes aroused in favour of immediate and total Abolition—Petitions sent to Parliament—Opposition of the Planters and others interested in the Continuance of Slavery—Persecutions of Missionaries—Parliamentary Session of 1833—Great Anti-Slavery Meeting at Exeter-Hall—Number of Petitions—One from the Females of Britain—Presented by Mr. Buxton—The Abolition Bill passes both Houses of Parliament—Receives the royal Assent—Memorable First of August, 1834, and 1838—British Slavery exterminated—Noble Effect of the Measure.

THE Bill for the Abolition of the British Slave-Trade, as we have seen, received the royal assent on March 25th, 1807; and this law came into operation on and after January 1st, 1808. That was a deed well done. Though the struggle was long, and the issue of the conflict sometimes appeared doubtful, at length victory came; and the authorised and shameless traffic in slaves which had so long stamped a stigma upon our country was abolished, and the gigantic foe was "cast down;" but, alas! he was "not destroyed." For though the above-mentioned Act made the Slave-Trade illegal, by whomsoever carried on, in the British dominions, and prohibited British subjects from engaging in it in any country whatsoever; yet, as forfeitures and penalties of a pecuniary kind were the only consequences of violating the law, the temptations of high profit induced many, both capitalists and adventurers, to defy the prohibitions of the statute; and the clearest proofs were soon furnished of Englishmen being employed in the Slave-Trade

under the most flimsy disguises. In the year 1811, therefore, an Act was carried by Mr. Brougham, making the Slave-Trade felony, punishable with transportation for fourteen years, or imprisonment and hard labour. But even this was found inadequate to check or bank up the poisonous stream; so that in 1824 the Slave-Trade was declared to be piracy, and the punishment enacted was death. In 1837, however, when the number of capital offences was diminished in consequence of the milder character that was given to the criminal law, the punishment for trading in slaves was changed to transportation for life. And there is every reason to think that no British subjects are now, or have for many years been, directly engaged in this execrable traffic.

But the friends and supporters of Abolition did not content themselves with the accomplishment of that victory, great and glorious as it was. The Abolition of the Slave-Trade, and the Abolition of Slavery, are two distinct things; and having succeeded in the former, they now turned their attention to the latter. For, supposing that the Slave-Trade was abolished, its effects were not annihilated. Personal and hereditary Slavery still existed in all its cruel and aggravating forms. There were thousands and tens of thousands in the British colonies in the West Indies, who were groaning under the heavy task, and bending beneath the iron yoke. Mr. Clarkson, therefore, not long after the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, composed and printed a pamphlet entitled, "Thoughts on the Necessity of abolishing Slavery." Neither he nor his coadjutors had ever regarded the Abolition of the Trade as a final measure. Their ultimate object had ever been the entire extinction of Slavery itself, which in that publication was proved to be the source of innumerable evils, and as impolitic as it was unjust. To promote this and other objects, a Society was formed in May, 1807, called "The African Institution;" which, while it directed its attention to the foreign Slave-traffic as still carried on by other nations, with the view of inducing them to adopt measures for its abolition, bestowed its chief care upon West-Indian matters, as they naturally came more within the power of this country.

The accounts received from the colonies confirmed the statements which Mr. Clarkson had made in his able pamphlet. The sufferings of the captive Negroes were still unalleviated; they were held in the most degrading bondage, and treated with the utmost cruelty. They were over-worked and ill-fed, and every means was employed to brutalize and stultify their minds.

Facts have been related in connexion with West-Indian Slavery, sufficient to wring the soul with anguish, to mingle gall in our bread in the day when we heard them, and to agonize the slumbers of the night with thoughts of horror. Many pages of true narrative have met the eye on this subject, that we should shrink from encountering a second time; deeds have been listened to, which the lips refuse to utter; books have been perused, that are laid aside, being "written within and without," full of "lamentations, and mourning, and woe." The writhing population of our colonies were "minished and brought low;" their bodies were crushed with unvarying oppression; and hope was utterly expelled from their hearts. Like the children of Israel under their Egyptian taskmasters, they "hearkened not to" the voice of the comforter, "for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage." (Exod. vi. 9.) "On the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter." (Eccles. iv. 1.) Years had passed away, but the Abolition of the Slave-Trade had not conferred on *them* the slightest boon: there was no appearance of that gradual Abolition of Slavery which, it was confidently asserted, would, without any farther legal enactment, certainly follow. Clarkson had, in his able pamphlet, exposed the folly of supposing that such would be the result. He had likewise proved Slavery to be at variance alike with Christianity and with the laws of England; and had demonstrated that its effects were most pernicious, morally and physically, to the owners as well as to the slaves; that emancipation was safe and practicable, and would be beneficial to both parties; and that liberty was essential to accountability, being the birth-right of every intelligent being, in whatever country or condition he might be born.

Similar statements had been made in several other able pamphlets, published at different times, by various authors: but the political affairs of Europe for some years prevented the matter from being vigorously taken up. In March, 1823, the Anti-Slavery Society was formed. The first thing which they did was to circulate authentic information on the subject as extensively as they could. They did this by the publication of various tracts and pamphlets descriptive of British Colonial Slavery. These were drawn up in a simple yet interesting style, and contained most powerful appeals to the sympathies of the nation in behalf of the suffering Negro. They were eagerly read by all classes; and England seemed to be suddenly aroused from its insensibility; so that, before the ensuing May, more than two hundred petitions from various parts of the country were presented

to Parliament, praying that some measure might be taken to abolish Slavery in the British Colonies. Most of the speeches delivered at the meetings held in different towns were powerful and striking; and, as these were printed, the matter was thus brought more fully before the public, and became one of deep and unusual interest.*

The magnitude of the subject was indeed worthy of all the interest it excited. The destiny of nearly a million of human beings quivered in the balance. Whether they should be treated as men endued with immortal souls, or be looked down upon as the beasts which perish; whether they should enjoy the liberty to which all God's creatures are entitled, as of right, or be harassed, oppressed, tormented, and stinted both of bodily food and of spiritual instruction; whether the colonies should be peopled with tyrants and barbarians, or be inhabited by civilized and improving Christian communities; were questions calculated to put in action all the best principles of our nature, and to move all the noblest feelings of the human heart. It was no wonder, therefore, that a matter of such vast importance was taken up by the enlightened, the humane, and the religious, all over the empire.

But, after all, Parliament was the field in which the battle was to be fought. Mr. Wilberforce, the eloquent champion of the African race, was sinking enfeebled under the weight of years, and the want was felt of a new parliamentary advocate. But a gracious Providence, always ready to help those who look for Divine aid, had provided one in the person of Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas Fowell) Buxton, whose name so early as 1817 was amongst the directors of the African Institution, and who had been in the House of Commons for five years as member for the borough of Weymouth. He had already proved himself an able ally of Sir James Mackintosh in the amelioration of our criminal code, had taken an active part in the abolition of suttees in India, and had given powerful support to Mr. Wilberforce in his endeavour to prevent an apprehended extension of Slavery in our South-African possessions. Indeed, Mr. Wilberforce had had his eye upon him for some time, as an able and active coadjutor in every thing that was humane, philanthropic, and truly good, even before he came into Parliament. In a letter which Mr. Wilberforce wrote to Mr. Buxton in November, 1816, when the latter had taken an active part in relieving the distress which prevailed in Spitalfields, and had made an

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

excellent speech on the occasion, after congratulating him on his "successful effort in behalf of the hungry and the naked," he says, "I anticipate the success of the efforts which I trust you will one day make in other instances, in an assembly in which I trust we shall be fellow-labourers." And in the following year, when Mr. Buxton had published a work on "Prison Discipline," which produced a powerful impression, Mr. Wilberforce wrote to him on the subject, and thus concluded: "May it please God to continue to animate you with as much benevolent zeal, and to direct it to worthy objects! I hope you will come soon into Parliament, and be able to contend in person, as well as with your pen, for the rights and happiness of the oppressed and the friendless. I claim you as an ally in this blessed league." And in May, 1821, Mr. Wilberforce again addressed him, in a letter of some length. After stating that "it is now more than thirty-three years since" he "for the first time gave notice in the House of Commons that he should bring forward the question concerning the Slave-Trade;" and that he was prevented from doing so, when the time arrived, by indisposition; but that Mr. Pitt readily at his request undertook the matter: he now appealed to Mr. Buxton, under somewhat similar circumstances, as he had long wished "to bring forward that great subject,—the condition of the Negro slaves in our transatlantic colonies;" but he had been waiting, with no little solicitude, for a proper time and suitable circumstances of the country for introducing this great business: and, latterly, for some Member of Parliament, who, if I were to retire or to be laid by, would be an eligible leader in this holy enterprise." He then states, "I can no longer forbear resorting to you, as I formerly did to Pitt, and earnestly conjuring you to take most seriously into consideration the expediency of your devoting yourself to this *blessed service*. . . . Let me, then, entreat you to form an 'alliance' with me, that may truly be termed 'holy;' and if I should be unable to commence the war, and, still more, if, when commenced, I should be unable to finish it, do I entreat that you would continue to prosecute it."*

It was not, however, till after long and mature deliberation that Mr. Buxton accepted the weighty charge involved in Mr. Wilberforce's proposal,—that he should become the leader of the Anti-Slavery cause in the House of Commons; though he had been nominated to it by the solemn voice of the venerable Wilberforce, and the unanimous suffrages of such men as

* "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton," pp. 62, 75, 117, 118.

Stephen, Allen, William Smith, Lushington, Zachary Macaulay, and other friends, who encouraged him to enter upon this arduous undertaking. But he appears to have arrived at his final decision in the autumn of 1822, when Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Macaulay spent some weeks at his residence at Cromer-Hall in Norfolk. The session of 1823 was now rapidly approaching: and as "the great subject has fallen into my hands," to use his own words, "I am very earnest about Slavery. It seems to me that this is to be the main business of my life,—this and Hindoo widows." Early in March, 1823, Mr. Wilberforce published his well-known "Appeal on behalf of the Slaves." Petitions, as already observed, now "began to flow in:" the lead was taken by the Society of Friends, and it was determined that the presentation of their appeal by the hands of Mr. Wilberforce should be the opening of the parliamentary campaign.

He introduced it by saying that a similar petition which he had had the honour of presenting nearly thirty years before, had been the first effort against the kindred iniquity of the Slave-Trade; and that, in presenting this one, he considered that the first stone was laid of an edifice which would flourish at some future period, an ornament to the land. Mr. Canning asked whether it was his intention to found any Motion upon it. Mr. Wilberforce said it was not, but that such was the intention of an esteemed friend of his. Mr. Buxton then gave notice that on the 15th of May he would submit a Motion, "that the House should take into consideration the state of Slavery in the British colonies." The 15th of May arrived, and just before he went to his honourable post, Mr. Buxton wrote to a friend as follows: "In five minutes I start for the House. I hope to begin at five o'clock. I am in good health, in excellent spirits, with a noble cause, and without a fear. If I am only given a nimble tongue, we shall do."*

Such was the manner in which Mr. Buxton entered upon this "holy enterprise," this "blessed service." He began by moving a Resolution, "That the state of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." This was the first sound of the trumpet in the holy war of emancipation; and from that moment the doom of

* "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton," pp. 127—129.

British Slavery was sealed: for though many a hard-fought battle and many a wearying delay intervened, the great cause of African freedom was never more to be effectually obstructed.

The debate concluded with a reply from Mr. Buxton, who had been told by his opponents that the Negro did not feel his slavery, and that the danger arose not from Slavery itself, but from the discussion of it in the House; to which he answered, "What, then, does the slave require any hint from us that he is a slave, and that Slavery is of all conditions the most miserable? Why, Sir, he hears this, he sees it, he feels it, too, in all around him. He sees his harsh, uncompensated labour; he hears the crack of the whip; he feels, he writhes under, the lash. Does not this betray the secret?"

'This is no flattery; these are counsellors
That *feelingly* persuade him what he is.'

He sees the mother of his children stripped naked before the gang of male Negroes, and flogged unmercifully; he sees his children sent to market, to be sold at the best price they will fetch; he sees in himself, not a man, but a *thing*,—by West-Indian law a chattel, an implement of husbandry, a machine to produce sugar, a beast of burden! And will any man tell me, that the Negro—with all this staring him in the face, flashing in his eyes, when he rises in the morning, and when he goes to bed at night—never dreams that there is injustice in such treatment, till he sits himself down to the perusal of an English newspaper, and there to his astonishment discovers, that there are enthusiasts in England, who from the bottom of their hearts deplore and abhor all Negro Slavery? There are such enthusiasts; I am one of them; and while we breathe, we will never abandon the cause, till that *thing*, that chattel, is reinstated in all the privileges of *man*."*

Mr. Buxton's characteristic style, and his spirited reply, are mentioned by Mr. Wilberforce as having been, "not sweet indeed, but excellent:" and a recent writer on this subject has beautifully remarked, "It must have been interesting and affecting to see the comparatively youthful senator step forward and consecrate his energies to the great cause, while the venerable Wilberforce sat by, like a parent eagle, impelling, directing, supporting, and delighting in the flight of its eaglet; or, rather, like the ancient prophet Elijah, anointing his successor, and leading him to the spot where his own prophetic mantle should

* HANSARD'S "Parliamentary Debates."

descend upon him, as the pledge of ‘a double portion of his spirit.’” * Mr. Buxton had indeed caught his spirit, and he gave the subject a voice within those walls which have so frequently echoed with the eloquence awakened by the most momentous interests. In introducing that celebrated Motion he boldly declared, “The object at which we aim is the *extinction of Slavery*,—nothing less than the extinction of Slavery,—in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions.”

The Motion, upon the whole, was well received by the House, though it involved too many interests for it to make its way to the extent so much desired by its advocates. Mr. Canning’s Amendment, therefore, varying but little from the Motion of Mr. Buxton, speedily passed both Houses of Parliament. But as the execution of the Bill was left to the colonial authorities, it proved, as had been feared, to be entirely useless. The plans for the instruction of the Negroes, and for the amelioration of their condition, with those corrections of abuses upon which Parliament had determined, were entirely disregarded by the colonial authorities; and the Bill became a mere dead letter. Indeed, the news of Mr. Buxton’s attack on what the planters considered to be their just rights, and of the acquiescence of the Government in his principles, were received in the West Indies, with two or three honourable exceptions, with the most vehement indignation. For some weeks after the arrival of the despatches, not the slightest restraint seems to have been put on the violent rage of the planters. An extract from the “Jamaica Journal” of June 28th, 1823, will furnish a specimen of the abuse lavished upon the British Parliament, and “those canting, hypocritical rascals,” the Abolitionists. The extract is as follows: “We will pray the Imperial Parliament to amend their *origin*, which is *bribery*; to cleanse their *consciences*, which are *corrupt*; to throw off their *disguise*, which is *hypocrisy*; to break with their *false allies*, who are the *saints*; and finally to banish from among them all the purchased rogues, who are three-fourths of their number.” †

The missionaries on the spot, of various denominations, received a large share of abuse and persecution, and were, in several instances, imprisoned. But the Anti-Slavery Society had been previously formed and organized; and many provincial and local societies and committees, in different parts of the

* COPLEY’S “History of Slavery.”

† “Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton,” p. 138.

country, were in active operation, in which the venerable Clarkson again took an active and distinguished part : and this great philanthropic Society took care to inform the public of all that transpired in the colonies, by means of the seasonable pamphlets and tracts which they constantly published.

It was also about this time, that is, early in the year 1824, that the great case of the missionary Smith's persecution, trial, imprisonment, and untimely death,—in which all the forms of judicature had been prostituted, all the rules of law broken, and all the principles of justice outraged,—came before the House of Commons. The Rev. John Smith was an excellent and devoted missionary belonging to the body of Independents. He was an innocent man ; yet, being brought before a court-martial of militia officers at Demerara, he was condemned to be hanged. But his treatment in prison destroyed his previously failing health, and he died in his dungeon about half-past one o'clock on the morning of February 6th, to the everlasting disgrace of the local authorities and most of the European inhabitants of that island. The persecution and imprisonment of Mr. Smith caused a great sensation in England, even before the report of his death arrived : and the conduct of the directors of the London Missionary Society, on this deeply affecting occasion, was marked by deep sympathy for their calumniated agent, as well as by much prudence, self-possession, and dignified firmness in seeking redress at the Colonial Office.

On the 1st of June a Motion respecting "Smith's Case" was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, "in a brilliant speech of four hours' length, which produced a strong effect upon public feeling." Nearly two hundred petitions, from various denominations, and from different parts of the kingdom, had been presented at that time, expressing the same sentiments of indignation. Mr. Brougham's Motion of censure was powerfully supported by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Denman, Mr. Williams, and Dr. Lushington : and though the Motion was lost, the debate was of singular service to the cause. The great speeches delivered were spread through all parts of the country ; the nakedness of the horrid system was exposed ; the corruptions as well as the cruelty of Slavery were laid bare ; the determination of the colonies to protect its worst abuses was demonstrated ; the necessity of the interference of the mother-country with a strong hand was declared ; and even the loss of the Motion showed the people of England how much their own exertions were still required, if they would see Slavery extirpated, by proving that upon them alone the fate of the

exccerable system hung. From that time the nation began to awaken to the truth; and the religious public especially was strongly enlisted on behalf of the oppressed missionaries and their persecuted converts; and this feeling soon increased into a detestation of the system of which such intolerance was the natural fruit.

I cannot forbear transferring to these pages, from "the Life of Sir T. F. Buxton," an affecting yet deeply interesting fact connected with some of the last moments of the persecuted and martyred Smith, which the amiable and excellent editor of the work has, in a most praiseworthy manner, rescued from oblivion. "When Smith was dying in his prison, (which is described as a place only suited to purposes of torture,) he was compelled by his persecutors to draw a bill upon the funds of the London Missionary Society, in order to defray the expenses of his so-called trial. Many years afterwards the secretary of that Society, in arranging some old papers, met with this bill. In looking at it, his attention was drawn to one corner of the sheet, and, on examining it more carefully, he found, written in a minute hand, the reference, 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9; on turning to which he found the text, 'We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.'"* This touching incident affords a striking proof of the divinity and power of the gospel which Mr. Smith had preached to others, in the support which it afforded him under peculiarly trying circumstances: for it may be truly said he died *in* the cause of God, and he died *for* it; but

"His God sustain'd him in his final hour:
His final hour brought glory to his God."

We have also, in this beautiful quotation, a fine illustration of that divine charity that "thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; charity" that "never faileth." (1 Cor. xiii. 5, 7, 8.) We recognise in the persecuted missionary of Demerara the spirit of the proto-martyr Stephen, who, whilst pelted to death with stones, which crushed his body, "kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep." (Acts vii. 60.)

But though there was a similarity in the deaths of these two Christian martyrs, their funerals were very dissimilar. The bitter persecuting Jews had stoned Stephen to death; but they

* "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton," p. 140.

were not so inhuman as to deny him burial, they did not prohibit his friends from attending him to the grave. Hence it is stated, "Devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him." (Acts viii. 2.) But this privilege was denied to the martyred Smith, and that in a British isle in the nineteenth century. The authorities at Demerara had even prohibited the afflicted wife from attending the body of her husband to its last resting-place; and he was interred at four o'clock in the morning instead of ten in the forenoon, as was at first intended. But "Mrs. Smith exclaimed, in a loud and frantic voice, 'General Murray shall not prevent my following my husband to the grave, and I will go in spite of all he can do.'" Accompanied, therefore, by her faithful friend Mrs. Elliott, though they were threatened with imprisonment if they attempted to follow the corpse, she "left the jail at half-past three in the morning, dark as it was, accompanied only by a free black man, with a lantern; and proceeded to the burial-place, where they beheld the mournful spectacle,—a beloved husband, and a dear friend, committed to the silent grave."*

But to return: In the following year Mr. Wilberforce, the great champion of the oppressed, retired from Parliament; on which occasion he wrote to Mr. Buxton as his "PARLIAMENTARY EXECUTOR," wishing him to move for a new writ for Bramber: and, seven years afterwards, his heart being still in the work, though he had left the House, he again wrote to his "dear friend," as his "heir-at-law," urging him to direct his attention to the subject of the Slave-Trade as conducted by foreign nations, as well as to the extinction of Slavery in the British colonies.

Soon after the insurrection at Demerara, a riot took place at Barbadoes; the Rev. William J. Shrewsbury, a Wesleyan missionary, was driven from the island by an infuriated mob of Whites, the Wesleyan chapel was demolished, and "not one stone left upon another." In June of this year, (1825,) Mr. Buxton brought this subject before the House of Commons, in a long and able speech. He did this without any application on the part of the Wesleyan Society: his speech was the spontaneous emanation of his own sense of justice, and respect for religious liberty: and in this spirit he was ably supported in the House by different Members. Mr. Canning, when speaking of Mr. Shrewsbury, said, that "there did not appear the slightest ground of blame or suspicion." Mr. Shrewsbury had been charged, among other matters, with corresponding with Mr.

* SMITH'S "History of Missionary Societies," vol. ii. p. 355.

Buxton : but the latter stated in the House, "I never received from or wrote to him a single letter ; nor did I know that such a man existed, till I happened to take up a newspaper, and there read, with some astonishment, that he was going to be hanged for corresponding with me !" The result of this discussion was the unanimous "indignation" of the House of Commons at the disgraceful transaction in Barbadoes, and an assurance, in its Address to His Majesty, of its readiness "to concur in any measure which His Majesty may deem necessary for securing ample protection and religious toleration to all His Majesty's subjects in the West-India colonies."

Mr. Buxton, in his reply, observed, "He was glad that the discussion had taken place ; he was sure it would do much service. He rejoiced, also, at the manly sentiments uttered by the Right Honourable Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It would teach the West Indians to be more moderate in their future measures. They had had their triumphs over justice and humanity : the missionary Smith was mouldering in his grave ; the missionary Shrewsbury was an exile ; and the noble-minded Austin, who vainly attempted to stem the torrent of prejudice, had lost his golden hopes of church-preferment, and was at that moment a stipendiary curate in an insignificant village. A few more such triumphs would only hasten the downfall of the whole system. He wished it to be distinctly understood, that it was his firm and unalterable resolution to devote all his life and his efforts to advocate the cause of the slaves ; and that he would persist in that course, in spite of opposition, unpopularity, obloquy, or falsehood."

The Anti-Slavery Society at this juncture commenced the issue of regular monthly publications ; and at the end of the year they held a public meeting in London, and again petitioned Parliament to take into consideration the subject of Negro Slavery, and to adopt more effective means for its Abolition. Their example was followed by the country at large ; and nearly six hundred and fifty petitions, all most respectably and numerously signed, were presented during the ensuing Session. The effects of the debates on the persecuted missionaries and the destruction of mission-property became the universal topic ; and the name of the martyred Smith especially was the general rallying cry. The Cabinet Ministers, on the whole, were rather friendly than otherwise to Abolition ; but they wished it to be carried on their own plan, and were averse to the employment of other agents than the regularly constituted colonial authorities. There was, in fact, on the part of the Government, too

much leaning towards the planters ; and the most flimsy excuses were constantly adduced for not adopting decisive measures. Mr. Buxton in 1824 had boldly charged the Government with vacillation, and with the violation of a "distinct pledge that the condition of the slave population should be ameliorated:" and when the same devoted advocate of the Negroes presented the London petition against Slavery on the 1st of March, 1826, he again pointed out how ineffectual had been the recommendations of the Government to the colonial legislatures generally. He closed his speech by saying, "I am anxious to say nothing that can give offence to any party ; but it is my duty broadly to declare my confirmed and deliberate conviction, that this House must do the work themselves, or suffer it to be altogether abandoned." *

But the Government preferred to give the West Indians "another year" before they would legislate, so that nothing was accomplished during that session. But the impossibility of any thing being done effectively by the legislatures abroad to relieve the oppressed, became daily more apparent. The accounts received from the colonies were still most unsatisfactory. The most studied inattention was paid to the parliamentary injunctions, and very determined opposition made to the introduction of any measures that would diminish the rigours of Slavery. It now became certain that Slavery would never be ameliorated by the masters of slaves ; their laws would never reach the evil : the remedy, as Mr. Buxton had stated, could only be effectually applied by the Government of a free people. At length the British lion was aroused, shook his mane, stood erect, and resolved to accomplish his purpose. The spirit-stirring lines of Cowper were the sentiment of the whole nation :

" My ear is pain'd,
My soul is sick, with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is fill'd.
We have no slaves at home : then why abroad ? "

The time was now approaching when the chains of the Negro were to be snapped asunder : their cry, and the united cry of Britain, had reached the ear of Heaven. Upwards of five thousand petitions in favour of Negro Emancipation were presented to Parliament during the session of 1831 ; and the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of that year was crowded to excess, and the Resolutions were in favour of immediate and total Abolition. The West-Indian proprietors resident in Eng-

* HANSARD'S "Parliamentary Debates."

land were panic-stricken at the mighty movement that was now going on; and, to counteract the progress of public opinion, they published and circulated through the country a manifesto, declaring Abolition to be inevitably ruinous to the slaves as well as to their owners, boldly contradicting the well-authenticated instances that had been published of the manner in which the slaves were still treated, and falsely asserting that so much was their condition now improved that they were perfectly contented and happy. These assertions were believed by a few; but by the great majority of the nation they were treated with the contempt which they merited.

The colonial authorities, finding that matters were coming to a crisis, were maddened with rage. They determined to wring from the oppressed Negroes the utmost degree of labour they could exact, and to treat them with the most rigorous severity. Their plan was, wickedly and wantonly to goad them into disobedience by their unreasonable exactions, and then to make their revolt a pretext for asserting their unfitness for emancipation.* They abridged the Christmas holidays, which from time immemorial had been allowed to the slaves; and once more vented their spleen against the missionaries, several of whom they arrested in the street, dragged them from their homes, and "cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely." (Acts xvi. 23.) The missionaries of different denominations were designated sectaries, and none was exempt from abuse and persecution. Moravians, Baptists, and Wesleyans were alike stigmatized as fanatics. The Rev. Messrs. Knibb and Burchell of the Baptist Society were driven from the island of Jamaica; and they arrived in England at the very juncture when their evidence before a Parliamentary Committee was of the utmost value. Among the Wesleyans, the Rev. Messrs. Williams, Campbell, Whitehouse, Orton, Greenwood, Box, and Rawden, had been thrown into jail, and barely escaped with their lives. The planters stopped not here, but demolished the chapels in which the poor despised Negro had worshipped the God of heaven, burnt or pulled down the mission-houses, and tried every expedient to banish the missionaries, intimating that nothing short of their removal could save the islands from ruin.

But all this outburst of feeling on the part of the planters, and others interested in the continuance of Slavery, only tended to increase the desire and determination, on the part of the

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

friends of the long-oppressed Negro, to ask for immediate and total Abolition. At length the session of 1833 arrived, and the first reformed Parliament assembled. The Anti-Slavery Society in London held their meeting this year a month earlier than usual. The Great Room at Exeter-Hall was crowded to excess. Lord Suffield took the chair. The speeches were most eloquent and interesting; and the Resolutions were to the effect that immediate emancipation was safe and practicable, and was a debt which had long been due to the oppressed Negroes. A few days afterwards, another meeting was held in the same Hall, at which were present delegates from the principal towns in the United Kingdom. Samuel Gurney, Esq., took the chair. A Resolution was passed unanimously, that Slavery must and should be exterminated; and a memorial to that effect, signed by all the delegates, was drawn up and presented the next day to Earl Grey.*

Lectures were delivered in all the counties of the kingdom. Crowded meetings were every where held; and the friends of the cause bestirred themselves from one end of the country to the other. The newspapers and periodicals caught the enthusiasm; the cause of mercy seemed the cause of religion; and many of the clergy and Dissenting ministers did not hesitate to urge upon their flocks the sinfulness of Slavery, and the righteousness of joining heart and hand for its overthrow. The flame soon spread far and wide; and from every corner of the land petitions poured in. The number of signatures attached to the petitions presented this session were calculated to amount to nearly a million and a half.† One of the petitions was from the females of Great Britain, which, within a very short period, had received no less than 187,000 signatures. This was presented by Mr. Buxton; but the document was so bulky that he was himself unable to carry it; so that "three honourable members went out with Mr. Buxton, and, by the united exertions of the four, the petition was brought in and placed upon the table, amidst the laughter and cheers of the House."‡

This was on the 14th of May, and the Government Bill for Emancipation was introduced to the House by Mr. Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, on the same evening. It underwent various modifications, and did not finally pass both Houses till the 20th of August. It was not entirely what the Abolitionists wished; but they were thankful for it as it was; and on

* TAYLOR'S "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Clarkson."

† "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton," p. 316.

‡ *Idem*, p. 321.

August 28th it received the royal assent. The Bill which was then passed enacted, that Slavery should cease to exist in the British colonies, on the 1st of August, 1834. From that time a system of apprenticeship was to commence; and the domestic slave was to have his full liberty in 1838, and the field-slave two years later. The premium of twenty millions to the planters, as a remuneration for the loss which, it was assumed, they would sustain, was strongly objected to by some of the Abolitionists, who also contended that every Negro ought at once to have been made absolutely free, without any pecuniary grant whatever. But Slavery was felt to be an evil of dreadful magnitude; and, as the nation had for ages participated in the guilt of it, both by connivance and direct sanction; though the sacrifice of twenty millions of money on the part of the country was great, the sum was cheerfully advanced; and the measure altogether gave general satisfaction, especially to the religious part of the community.

The anxiously-expected First of August, 1834, at length arrived; and the precious boon of liberty was bestowed on upwards of eight hundred thousand Negroes, who were then raised from the condition of chattels, and goods, and *things*, to the dignity of man; and our nation was freed from a load of guilt which had long hung like a mill-stone about our necks, ready to sink us to perdition. In the Statute-Book there was now an Abolition Code. Liberty of conscience was given to the too long degraded and persecuted Negro in all our Colonies; and Great Britain, from whose empire the sun never sets, became on that day universally free!

That day was hailed with unutterable delight by the recipients of the boon, as well as by the friends of Abolition. That day made the slave a free man, knocked off his fetters, and healed that soul into which the iron had so frequently entered. It was observed very generally throughout England as a day of rejoicing: and what a pleasing contrast did that morning present, in the West Indies, to the assertions of the fearful and feverish planter, and to scenes of former times! In several of the islands proclamations were issued which announced the First of August as a day of Public Thanksgiving, and ordered all churches and chapels to be opened at the usual time for morning service, as on the sabbath-day. Business was suspended, and the shops were universally closed: it was a holiday by common consent; and that ever-memorable and glorious day was passed in a religious and most happy manner. Many thousands of human beings, who had that morning, for the first time, breathed the air of freedom,—of freedom at least from

absolute bondage,—assembled in cheerful crowds to praise and worship Him who “looseth the prisoners.”

The Rev. Peter Duncan, though not in the West Indies at the time, was intimately acquainted with West-Indian affairs; and, in his interesting “Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica,” observes on this subject: “The eventful First of August at last arrived,—a day which, according to the predictions of some, was to be marked with disorder, rapine, and blood. But how delightfully were such predictions falsified! The behaviour of the emancipated Negroes exceeded the expectations of their best friends. On that day, and the following sabbath, thousands of the apprentices were seen wending their way to the house of prayer. Jamaica had never witnessed such vast religious assemblies before. Never on that island had so many voices been raised in praise to the Giver of all good: never had so many united in prayer at the throne of the heavenly grace. Thousands of petitions ascended to God on behalf of the king, and the benevolent in the mother-country, through whose efforts the oppressed had been set free. It is true, restrictions did exist under the system of apprenticeship; but much was gained. THE REIGN OF PERSECUTION WAS AT AN END; and no man was allowed to invade the sacred rights of conscience. *Sunday markets were abolished*; and all might employ the time of the day in attending to those sacred exercises for which the sabbath was instituted.”*

In some of the Wesleyan chapels watch-night services were held on the previous evening, when suitable and appropriate sermons were preached; and, just as the clock struck twelve, it was stated that the First of August had arrived, with the cheering announcement, “You are all free!” Gratitude flowed from every heart, and tears of joy ran down many a sable face; whilst some, in the fulness of their loyalty to their beloved sovereign, and with an enthusiasm which had never before been witnessed, loudly exclaimed, “God save the king! Long live King William IV.! God save the king!” Devout and fervent prayers were then offered up for the king, the royal family, the British Parliament, and British Christians generally, by whom, under God, the great boon was conferred; and the spirit of loyalty and gratitude was great and general. But was the Author and Giver of “every good and perfect gift” left out of the question? By no means. One of the missionaries, from whom we have already quoted, and who communicated the

* DUNCAN’S “Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica,” pp. 361, 362.

result of the First of August to the Missionary Committee from the island of Antigua, where the legislature wisely dispensed with the apprenticeship, thus writes: "O how did my heart thrill with ecstasy, while hundreds upon hundreds, just delivered 'from the house of bondage,' made the place ring again," whilst yet upon their knees, "with the voice of joy and thanksgiving! It was like Israel in the time of David and Solomon, when 'all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads, and worshipped the Lord, and the king.' (1 Chron. xxix. 20.)"*

Another Wesleyan missionary, in describing a parallel scene which occurred in another chapel on the same island at the same hour, says, "It seemed as if the very heavens rejoiced with us; for just at this moment the thunder rolled, with all the majesty of a royal salute, while the clouds poured down their precious contents upon the thirsty ground, as if emblematical of those hallowing influences of the Holy Spirit which we then felt."† Throughout every island, in fact, rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the Father of all; for the chains were broken, and the slaves were free. One of the Moravian missionaries, writing from Jamaica, says, "We have good reason to believe that this was a day of real blessing. The Negroes frequently expressed their thankfulness to God for the benefit conferred upon them; and promised good conduct, on their part, in their new civil condition. One said, 'First we thank the Father in heaven, and then the king, and *massa*,' his master and former owner. Surely, then, on the first day's enjoyment of freedom, a sufficient pledge was given for its future improvement. To God were its earliest hours devoted, in a grateful acknowledgment, that, while the boon was a blessing in itself, it was the more sacred, because He was the great Dispenser of it. At his feet the freed men poured out the exuberant joy of their hearts; and, from the lips of his minister, they willingly received those truths which were calculated to make them free indeed, to seal on their hearts a lasting sense of the favour that day conferred, and embody in their lives every thing which could adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour."

The interest of that auspicious day was, indeed, greatly heightened by the consideration that the pure influence of our holy religion, the religion of the gospel, had procured this great blessing, on the one hand; and, on the other, had prepared the recipients for the right use and enjoyment of it. It was the

* "Wesleyan Missionary Notices," vol. vii. p. 555.

† *Idem*, p. 554.

influence which Christianity had exerted upon the masses of the people at home, that obtained this great charter; and it was missionary toil abroad, and the preaching of the same everlasting gospel, which had supported the Negro under the infliction of grievous wrongs, and which now fitted and prepared him to enter upon the possession of his undoubted rights. "Glad tidings" of the peaceable conduct of the Negroes reached England from all the colonies, thus proving that they were worthy of the confidence which was reposed in them: and the general feeling was, "To God be all the praise!"

Thus closed the memorable First of August, 1834. By many persons that great measure was regarded as an experiment, connected with considerable hazard; but it succeeded beyond the hopes of its most devoted advocates. The religious Negroes very generally did honour to their profession; and subsequent events have proved emancipation to be productive of great good. Education now began to advance with surprising rapidity; and Christianity made a steady progress, that sanctified the boon which the emancipated Negro had received; so that the debased and crouching slave became converted into an industrious and happy peasant, whose godliness and honesty commanded general respect. The following extract from a series of articles on the West Indies, which appeared in the "Christian Times" of March 2d, 1849, will exhibit the truth of this statement:—

In Jamaica and British Guiana there are at least fifty thousand persons who, only a few years ago, were slaves, who are now living on their own freeholds, upon which they have, for the most part, erected houses for themselves of a far more durable and comfortable kind than the Negro houses they formerly occupied. It is no uncommon thing, in the latter colony, for twenty or thirty Negroes who have been refused leases of the houses and grounds they occupied when slaves, or to whom the land-owners declined to sell those houses and grounds, to become purchasers of an estate of five hundred acres; to employ a surveyor to divide it amongst them in lots proportioned to the capital which each one contributed; by their united labour to make up the sea and back dams; to open, widen, and deepen the canal by which the land is drained; to make up the roads running through the estate; to build each one a comfortable house for his family; and to erect, by their joint exertions, a place of worship in which they, and the Negroes on contiguous estates, meet for mutual instruction and the worship of the Almighty.

Four years soon passed away, and, by the praiseworthy exertions of British Christians, on the First of August, 1838, the apprenticeship system throughout all the islands ceased, and Slavery was entirely exterminated. That day was also celebrated as a day of public thanksgiving; and religious services were held, when appropriate sermons were preached, and suitable

addresses delivered. The Negro then became fully free; every link of the galling chain was broken; the sun of liberty shone upon him in unclouded glory: his sabbaths were his own, his children were his own, and he could worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. On that day the sceptre of Queen Victoria extended only over freemen in the West Indies, not a single slave being left in thralldom.

“‘But then, it has cost the country twenty millions!’ And do we grudge it? It has cost us twenty millions; but *it has saved the colonies!* It has cost us twenty millions; but *it has liberated the Negroes!* It has cost us twenty millions; but *it has preserved our honour*, and raised our fame among the nations of the earth. It has cost us twenty millions; but, I trust, *it has saved us from the anger of that Deity*, who could not but have looked upon us in wrath and indignation, had not this evil been removed.” Thus spoke Sir Fowell Buxton at the Wesleyan Missionary Anniversary in Exeter-Hall. And this feeling was general; for the poet’s philanthropic aspiration was caught by the nation: that was the feeling

“Through every vein
Of all your empire:—that where Britain’s power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.”

And therefore twenty millions of money were cheerfully given. That was a noble sacrifice; but it was in a noble cause; and we may conclude this chapter in the words of an eloquent citizen of another nation: “Great Britain, loaded with an unprecedented debt, and with a grinding taxation, contracted a new debt of a hundred million dollars, to give freedom, not to Englishmen, but to the degraded African. I know not that history records an act so disinterested, so sublime. In the progress of ages, England’s naval triumphs will shrink into a more and more narrow space in the records of our race. This moral triumph will fill a broader, brighter page.”*

* DR. CHANNING.

CHAPTER V.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Slave-Trade unsubdued—Great Britain no longer participates in the Traffic—Has used her diplomatic Influence with other Nations—Great Expenditure incurred in discouraging the Slave-Trade—The Slave-Trade not destroyed, but increased—Sir T. F. Buxton's Statement—The Construction of Slave-Ships—Enormous Profits of the Slave-Trade—The Middle Passage—Capture of the "Carolina"—Original Tonnage allowed to Slave-Ships—The "Patacho" Slaver at Rio de Janeiro—Extracts from the Rev. P. G. Hill's Pamphlet, entitled "Fifty Days on board a Slaver"—A recent Capture near Sierra-Leone—The Negroes branded with red-hot Irons—Twenty thousand Negroes constantly on the Atlantic—Villages depopulated by Slave-Hunters—The Distress of the Africans at the Loss of their Relatives—The Hebrew Maid, and Jacob's Son Joseph—An Appeal to Christian Parents.

HAVING briefly sketched the rise, progress, and abolition of the British Slave-Trade, and the termination and destruction of Slavery in the British empire, the accomplishment of which sheds an halo of glory on our nation, and which is worthy of being placed upon everlasting record; the question almost involuntarily starts up, "But is the Slave-Trade abolished?" Facts the most incontrovertible and unquestionable, and almost innumerable, not only furnish an unqualified answer in the negative, but most clearly prove that the Slave-Trade is carried on at this day to a greater extent than it ever was; and, still further, that it is attended with more horrible cruelties, and with a greater amount of mortality, than it was sixty years ago, when the attention of Great Britain was first directed to its abolition. These are lamentable facts, and furnish a proof demonstrative of the magnitude of the evil, while they vouch for the correctness of Clarkson's metaphor, when he compared the Slave-Trade "to the fabulous hydra, having a hundred heads, every one of which it was necessary to cut off before it could be subdued."

It is matter of congratulation, however, that our own country no longer participates in the guilt of buying and selling men, women, and children, like cattle in a market; that our ships, whose canvass whitens every sea, and whose flag flutters in every breeze, are not crowded above and below with living cargoes; and that our merchandise, which is carried to every

port, is now a legitimate trade, one article being given in exchange for another. English merchants do not now send a few trinkets of finery, or a piece or two of blue baft, in barter for a human being. Powder and shot and fire-arms are not now furnished by them to some petty chief, who employs and expends that powder and shot in procuring for the European some of his own subjects in payment for those very articles. No: though it is to be feared that British capital has in some instances found its way into this corrupted and contraband channel, thank God, the British Slave-Trade *is* abolished, and British Slavery too! It is also to the honour of Great Britain, that she has used her diplomatic influence in rousing the government of other countries to the importance of this subject, and that her influence has been felt, and her example followed, by most of the foreign powers; two of whom proceeded to make the traffic piracy, punishable with death, as England had done. These two were the United States and Brazil. The rest did not go quite so far; but all of them made the traffic illegal, and, with the exception of the United States, have consented to what is called "the mutual Right of Search:" that is, each nation has agreed to permit its ships to be searched at sea by the ships of the other contracting parties, so as to detect any slaves who may be on board. And for some years past a line of British cruisers has been stationed along the African coast, and others on the opposite side of the Atlantic, near South America and the West Indies, to chase and capture slave-vessels.

The people of England, indeed, have taken a more lively and intense interest in this than, perhaps, in any other foreign subject: and the Government, whether in the hands of one party or another, cannot be accused of having, for a long series of years, been wanting either in zeal or in exertion for the suppression of the Slave-traffic. Towards the end of the last century, the cruelty and the carnage which raged in Africa were exposed; and, as already stated, after twenty years' struggle, Great Britain in 1807 prohibited her subjects from engaging in the Slave-Trade: in 1833 she borrowed twenty millions of pounds sterling to purchase the freedom of the slaves in her West-India and other colonies; and on the First of August, 1834, British Slavery became extinct; and the British Government, in abolishing Slavery, then laid down the principle that no human being has a right to enslave another; and all or most of the great powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this

traffic, and with all of them treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

Eight years ago, England had expended in payment to foreign powers on account of the Slave-Trade, in bounties, and in the maintenance of courts established for the adjudication of captured slavers, upwards of fifteen millions sterling. If we add this to our twenty millions, and the large sum still annually expended in supporting a considerable force of cruisers to intercept and destroy the traffic, and the five or six millions which, it is calculated, the people of the United Kingdom annually lose—or did lose, up to 1846—in the purchase of sugar, coffee, &c., from the West Indies, by way of encouraging free labour, instead of buying them from Brazil and other slave-holding countries, whence these articles can be had much cheaper; the amount is enormous. And to this we must add the immense loss of British life which is necessarily occasioned in pursuing the object. But what is the result of all this? The question again presents itself, “Is the Slave-Trade suppressed? Does Brazil, does Cuba, does Porto Rico, does Buenos Ayres, does Texas, do the United States, import no Negroes now? Are there no slave-ships packed with Negroes crossing the Atlantic at this moment? Are they only wax, teak-wood, and elephants’ teeth that form the cargoes for which vessels now visit the Guinea coast? Are there no slave-warehouses now on the line of shore between Cape Verd and Biafra? Are the inhabitants of Timbuctoo and the banks of Lake Tchad wondering what strange thing has befallen the Whites, that there is now no demand for Negroes? And do they now find it useless to kidnap one another as they did formerly? Do no droves of slaves come westward now? Has the stream of traffic, disappointed of its western outlet, turned northward in the direction of the Barbary States and the Isthmus of Suez? Have the labours of our Sharps and Clarksons and Wilberforces, of our philanthropists and statesmen, and the struggles and negotiations of forty years, been crowned with success?”* In one word: after the millions of money that have been expended, and the multitudes of lives that have been sacrificed, once more we ask, “Is the Slave-Trade at an end?”

Startling as the assertion is, The Slave-Trade is not extinguished, the Slave-Trade is not diminished, the Slave-Trade is really abolished only in reference to Great Britain. Nay, more, the number of Negroes imported into America is twice as great

* CHAMBERS'S “Miscellany,” No. 19.

as it was half a century ago ; whilst this odious traffic is accompanied with the most unparalleled and unheard-of cruelties—cruelties aggravated, and in some measure occasioned, by the decided determination with which our country has set its face against this ungodly and detestable trade. The cause is this : During the latter period of the existence of the Slave-Trade among ourselves, the slave-merchants and traders were induced to adopt and comply with certain regulations which were intended to diminish as much as possible the horrors of the Middle Passage, that is, of the voyage from Africa to the West Indies. But, now that the whole trade is proscribed, and our own countrymen take no part in it, and many other nations have joined in reprobating the system, and in determining, if possible, to crush it, the traffic in human flesh has fallen into the hands of needy and unprincipled adventurers and desperadoes, who care not through what oceans of crime and bloodshed they wade, if they can only secure a little paltry and present advantage. The consequence is, that the Slave-Trade is now carried on with a waste of human life almost beyond conception, arising from the vessels being small, ill-contrived, badly constructed, and scantily provisioned, and from the hasty manner and various precautions which their captains are compelled to adopt, in order to escape detection.

Sir Fowell Buxton, on the failure of past efforts for the suppression of the Slave-Trade, observes : “ It is, then, but too manifest, that the efforts already made for the suppression of the Slave-Trade have not accomplished their benevolent object : we have only the afflicting conviction, that the Slave-Trade is as far as ever from being suppressed. Nay, I am afraid the fact is not to be disputed, that while we have thus been endeavouring to extinguish the traffic, it has actually doubled in amount.” And this Sir Fowell most clearly proved “ by documents which cannot be controverted,—that for every village fired, and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the number in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic. But whilst the numbers who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated : on the contrary, we know that in some particulars these have increased : so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways. Each individual has more to endure ; and the number of individuals is twice what it was. The result, therefore, is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers.”

In order to escape the British cruisers, all slave-ships are now built on the principle of fast sailing; so that the exulting expression of an old weather-beaten Spaniard mentioned by the preceding writer, "Once outside in my trim vessel, you may catch me if you can," is unhappily something more than an empty vaunt. For we know too well, that, with his slaves safely on board, and his vessel fairly at sea, it is not often that the slave-trader is captured,—probably not more than once in thirty times. Even this small risk of being captured takes away all inducement, from mere selfish motives, to make the cargo moderate: on the contrary, it is an object now to make the cargo as large as possible; because then the escape of one cargo out of three will, it is calculated, give to those engaged in this disgraceful trade a net profit of from 150 to 180 per cent. And here it is that we find the cause, the principal cause, of the continuance of the Slave-Trade. It is "Mammon," it is "filthy lucre," it is the "love of money," which is emphatically "the root" of this monster "evil." Accordingly the Negroes are now packed in the slave-ships like bales of goods in a warehouse, or herrings in a barrel. They have neither standing-room, nor sitting-room, nor lying-room. They are cooped up anyhow, squeezed into crevices, or jammed up against the curved planks, or wedged together in water-casks, and are literally fed on the "bread and water of affliction." These poor creatures are sometimes actually packed in butts or casks covered over at the top; and the owners, on being chased by a British cruiser, have been known to throw the casks, with their living contents, into the sea.

The reader may form some idea of the misery endured by these unhappy creatures on the Middle Passage, from the following account of the capture of a slaver off Whydah, in the year 1834. This narrative was kindly furnished to me, when in Africa, by the Reverend gentleman himself, soon after it was penned.

EXTRACT FROM A JOURNAL ON BOARD H. M. S. "ISIS," KEPT BY
THE REV. W. V. HENNEH, CHAPLAIN.

February 16th, 1834. Latitude 5° 4' South, longitude 4° 52' East. We yesterday fell in with the "Griffon;" and by signal were informed that she had chased a vessel, which she supposed to be a slave-vessel, all day and night, but had lost her. Guessing her course, the captain stood on all night: and early this morning she was seen in the wind's eye. After chasing her some time and nearing her, it fell calm; when our boats were hoisted out, manned and armed, and dispatched to the chase, now about seven miles distant. At noon the boats boarded; and at one P.M. a fine brigantine came alongside of us with three hundred and fifty slaves on

board. It was Sunday ; and, after sending away the boats, the duties of the day were not forgotten, and service was performed on the quarter-deck. In the afternoon I went on board, when the sight that presented itself beggars all description. The upper deck was crowded with women and children, sitting and lying down so thickly, that the sailors to whom the duty of setting and trimming sails devolved, could with difficulty make their way among them without treading upon some. All were naked, and apparently unconscious of a breach of decency. On my getting upon deck, and looking upon them with the eye of commiseration, mixed with indignation at the perpetrators of this cruel breach of laws both Divine and human, some caught me by the hand or feet, others held out to me their tongues, black and parched for want of water, and all in the most piteous accents begged for *aqua*. I took a can, and gave them enough to moisten their tongues, which they seized with the greatest avidity, licking up even that which dropped upon the deck.

But the sufferings here were light in comparison to those upon the deck below, where the men were stowed. There, with three feet from deck to deck, with irons round their legs, and panting for air as well as water, were the miserable victims of this diabolical traffic laid, groaning and exhausted with anguish. Some had been brought up into the air on the upper deck, worn out with sufferings and gasping for life : to others, alas ! the remedy had been too long delayed, they were extended lifeless corpses. Every feeling, the pangs occasioned by the being torn from friends and relations and country and home, the sense of decency and common modesty, were all forgotten, and sacrificed to the agony created by a want of food and water. *Heu, gens infelix !* Shall there be found men to advocate thy miseries ? Can man advocate the miseries of his fellow-man ? Where are the advantages to balance the miseries ? Nowhere, but in the imaginations of those who mistake gain for godliness, or who are led astray by the fallacious reasonings of man worshipping mammon instead of God.

A change was soon wrought in the melancholy scene. The irons were struck off ; food and water were distributed ; their parched and feverish bodies were well washed ; joy beamed in every countenance ; and the Divine attribute of doing good was experienced both by those who gave liberty to the captives, and by those who received the boon.

The "Carolina" was an eighty-seven Spanish tons' ship.

A law passed the British legislature in 1788 by which it was provided that vessels under a hundred and fifty tons should not carry more than five men to every three tons ; that vessels above a hundred and fifty tons should not carry more than three men to every two tons ; and that the height of slave-vessels between decks should not be less than five feet. In 1813 it was decreed by the Government of Portugal and Brazil, that two tons should be allowed for every five men ; and the Spanish "Cedula" of 1817 adopted the same scale. It should be understood, however, that the Spanish and Portuguese ton bears the proportion of one and a half to the British ton ; so that the above scale of two tons Spanish to five men, is the same as five men to three British tons. But then it is often found, on re-measuring the slave-vessels, that the tonnage is much less than that stated in their papers ; and thus the accommodation,

limited as it was at the best, has been greatly diminished. It turned out, in fact, that "the 'Carolina' was only seventy-five tons' burden, yet she had three hundred and fifty Negroes crammed on board of her; one hundred and eighty of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up when in a sitting posture." * How could they, indeed, when there was only "three feet from deck to deck," and they had "irons round their legs, and were panting for air as well as water?" No wonder that those poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues black, and parched for want of water, "which they seized with the greatest avidity, licking up even that which dropped upon the deck," and presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery. But to others, alas! the remedy had been too long delayed; death had terminated their sufferings; "they were extended lifeless corpses."

The capture of the "Patacho," reported by the Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro in 1835, affords another instance of the worse than brutal treatment which the poor Africans are called to endure on board these horrible floating, coffin-like dungeons. "This vessel was in the first instance detained only on suspicion, and the capturing party had had possession forty-eight hours, and had made every possible search, as they supposed, before it was discovered that there were any slaves concealed on board. What the state of these wretched beings, to the number of forty-seven, must have been, deprived for so long a time of air and food, and packed in the smallest possible compass, like so many bales of goods, we need not pain your Lordship by describing." †

Mr. Cowper, Consul at Pernambuco, under date of January 1st, 1844, writes, "I cannot report to your Lordship any new features connected with this traffic, further than that the vessels in it are daily diminishing the space allowed on board their ships to these unhappy beings, thereby, of course, increasing the horrors attendant upon the voyage, and sacrificing more and more the lives of their wretched victims. For instance, it must appear incredible to those unaccustomed to these details, that ninety-seven human beings could have been stowed away in a vessel (the "Conceicao") of twenty-one tons, giving five individuals to each ton, or one fifteenth of the space allowed in the transport service of Great Britain to each soldier, and this for a period of twenty days, with the thermometer certainly not

* SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON'S "Slave-Trade and its Remedy."

† *Idem.*

averaging less than 86° of Fahrenheit, without exercise even for the necessities of nature; without air, excepting such as could find its way betwixt the gratings of the hatchway; and that ninety-one of these poor creatures should have reached their prison-land in safety. I, who know this, and have seen the vessel, or rather boat, cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive how the powers of human endurance could have supported them twenty days in this floating hell.*

Other cases of equal cruelty and barbarity the reader will find in Sir Fowell Buxton's work on the Slave-Trade, and elsewhere; but since that painfully interesting book was published, a harrowing pamphlet, describing the wretched condition of the poor Negroes at sea, even after they fell into British hands, has been printed and published by the Rev. P. G. Hill, and is entitled, "Fifty Days on Board a Slave-Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843." This slaver was the "Progresso," a Brazilian vessel, and was captured on the coast of Madagascar by Her Majesty's cruiser "Cleopatra," on board of which Mr. Hill was chaplain. The "Progresso" was bound for Rio Janeiro, had quitted the coast of Africa only the previous evening, and was consequently captured within a few hours after the embarkation of the slaves. She was of about one hundred and forty tons, and the slaves on board amounted to four hundred and forty-seven. Of this number, one hundred and eighty-nine were men, few, however, if any, exceeding twenty years of age; forty-five were women; and two hundred and thirteen, boys. The slaver, immediately on being captured, was, as is usual, taken charge of by a British crew, who were to navigate her to the Cape of Good Hope, most of the sailors of the "Progresso" being placed on board the "Cleopatra." Mr. Hill, at his own request, accompanied the slaver; and his pamphlet is a narrative of what took place during the fifty days which elapsed before their arrival at the Cape, and is perhaps one of the most heart-rending tales of woe by which the history of the horrid Slave-Trade has been distinguished. We cannot here quote the details of the treatment of the Negroes given by Mr. Hill; but the following account of the horrors of a single night may suffice as a specimen.

Shortly after the "Progresso" parted company with the cruiser, a squall arose, and the Negroes, who were breathing fresh air on the deck, and rolling themselves about for glee, and

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 252.

kissing the hands and clothes of their deliverers, were all sent below.

The night (says Mr. Hill) being intensely hot, four hundred wretched beings, thus crammed into a hold twelve yards in length, seven in breadth, and only three and a half feet in height, speedily began to make an effort to re-issue to the open air. Being thrust back, and striving the more to get out, the after-hatch was forced down on them. Over the other hatchway in the fore part of the vessel, a wooden grating was fastened. To this, the sole inlet for air, the suffocating heat of the hold, and, perhaps, panic from the strangeness of their situation, made them press; and thus great part of the space below was rendered useless. They crowded to the grating; and, clinging to it for air, completely barred its entrance. They strove to force their way through apertures in length fourteen inches and barely six inches in breadth, and in some instances succeeded. The cries,—the heat,—I may say without exaggeration, “the smoke of their torment,”—which ascended, can be compared to nothing earthly. One of the Spaniards gave warning that the consequence would be “many deaths.” Next day the prediction of the Spaniard was fearfully verified. Fifty-four crushed and mangled corpses lifted up from the slave-deck have been brought to the gangway and thrown overboard. Some were emaciated from disease; many, bruised and bloody. Antonio tells me that some were found strangled, their hands still grasping each other’s throats, and tongues protruding from their mouths. The bowels of one were crushed out. They had been trampled to death for the most part, the weaker under the feet of the stronger, in the madness and torment of suffocation from crowd and heat. It was a horrid sight, as they passed one by one,—the stiff, distorted limbs smeared with blood and filth,—to be cast into the sea. Some, still quivering, were laid on the deck to die; salt water thrown on them to revive them, and a little fresh water poured into their mouths. Antonio reminded me of his last night’s warning. He actively employed himself, with his comrade Sebastian, in attendance on the wretched living beings, now released from their confinement below; distributing to them their morning meal of “*farinha*,” and their allowance of water, rather more than half a pint to each, which they grasped with inconceivable eagerness; some bending their knees to the deck, to avoid the risk of losing any of the liquid by unsteady footing: their throats doubtless parched to the utmost with crying and yelling through the night.”*

The mortality which took place within the space of fifty days, the period which elapsed from the capture of the “*Progresso*” until her arrival at the Cape,—was one hundred and sixty-nine; a little short of one half of the human cargo. Many also died after being landed. The crew of the slaver escaped, there being no court empowered to try them at the Cape.

Instances of the great cruelty with which the Slave-Trade is still carried on are daily occurring. The “*St. Helena*,” whose case was reported in a letter from the Sierra-Leone Commissioners, dated January 6th, 1844, “was of eighty tons only: she had a crew of eighteen persons, and five hundred and forty-nine slaves; making, with the crew, seven persons to a ton.

* HILL’s “*Fifty Days on board a Slave-Ship*,” pp. 23, 24.

One hundred and twenty of these died between the capture and the condemnation." Another example is communicated in a letter from Mr. Pakenham to Lord Aberdeen, respecting the American bark "Pons."

The "Pons" was at anchor at Cabenda for about twenty days before she took on board the slaves, during which time she was closely watched by Her Britannic Majesty's brig "Cygnet." At about nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th of November the "Cygnet" got under weigh, and stood to sea. Immediately Berry gave up the ship to Gallono, who commenced getting on board the water, provisions, and slaves; and so expeditions were they in their movements, that at eight o'clock that evening the vessel was under weigh, having embarked nine hundred and three slaves. Two days afterwards we captured her. The next morning I regretted to learn that eighteen had died, and one had jumped overboard. The vessel has no slave-deck; and upwards of eight hundred and fifty were piled, almost in bulk, on the water-casks below. About forty or fifty females were confined in one-half of the round-house cabin. As the ship appeared to be less than three hundred and fifty tons, it seemed impossible that one-half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. The stench from below was so great, that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. Our men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick: then all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor wretches when the hatches were closed? I am informed, that very often, in those cases, the *stronger will strangle the weaker*; and this was probably the reason why so many died, or rather were found dead, the morning after the capture. None but an eye-witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean.*

One more capture I will mention, which occurred in the month of October, 1846. It took place in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, and the particulars of it were published in the "Watchman" newspaper of that colony, in November of the same year. The article was kindly furnished to the editor by an intelligent friend under the signature of "Joliba," and is as follows:—

On the 1st instant, Her Majesty's brig "Cygnet," Commander Montresir, arrived, having in tow the Brazilian brigantine, "Paqueta de Rio," which vessel had been captured off the Sherbro on the 27th ult., having on board, at the time of capture, five hundred and fifty-six slaves, nine of whom died on the passage here. Through the politeness of the prize-officer, I was permitted to inspect the vessel. Although I have frequently been on board full slavers on their arrival at this port, I certainly never was on board of one where human beings were stowed in the smallest imaginable space, as was the case in this vessel:—five hundred and forty-seven human beings, *besides* the crew and "passengers," (as they styled themselves,) twenty-eight in number, in a vessel of about ninety tons!

The slaves were all stowed together perfectly naked, with nothing but the surfaces of the water-casks, which were made level by filling-in billets of wood, which formed the slave-deck. The slaves who were confined in the hold,—it being utterly impossible for the whole of them to remain on deck at one time,—were in

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 252.

a profuse perspiration, and panting like so many hounds for air and water. The smell on board was dreadful. I was informed that on the officers of the "Cyguet" boarding the slaver, the greater part of the slaves were chained together with pieces of chain which were passed through iron collars round their necks; iron shackles were also secured round their legs and arms. After the officers had boarded, and the slaves were made to understand they were free, their acclamations were long and loud. They set to work, and, with the billets of wood which had hitherto formed their bed, knocked off each other's shackles, and threw most of them overboard. There were several left, which were shown to me. We will leave it to the imagination of your readers, what must have been the feelings of those poor people, when they found they were again free,—free through the energy and activity of a British cruiser. On examining the poor creatures, who were principally of the Kosso nation, I found they belonged to, and were shipped to, different individuals: they were branded like sheep. Letters were burnt in the skin, of two inches in length. Many of them, from the recent period at which it had been done, were in a state of ulceration. Both males and females were marked as follows: On the right breast, J.; on the left arm, P.: over women's right and left breast, S. and A.; under the left shoulder, P.; right breast, R. and R. J.; on the right and left breast, S. S.; and on the right and left shoulder, S. S. She was captured off the Sherbro, not eighty miles from this place, on Thursday the 27th of October. This is the same vessel that cleared out from here, about three weeks previous to the capture from Rio de Janeiro. The slaves were all embarked from the slave-factories at Gallinas, under the notorious Don Luiz; and the vessel was under weigh in five hours; and had there been the slightest breeze, she would have escaped. Amongst the slaves were two men belonging to Sierra-Leone:—a man named Peter, once employed by Mr. Elliott the pilot. He stated that he had been employed by a Mr. Smith, a Popah-man, to go to the Sherbro to purchase palm-oil; and that whilst pursuing that object, he was seized and sold by a Sherbro chief, named Sherry. The other man, who stated his name to be James, had once worked for Mr. Hornell, merchant of this town. While at the Gallinas, he was sold by a chief named Mannah. During the day, the marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court landed two hundred and ninety-seven men, sixty-seven women, one hundred and fifty-four boys, and twenty-nine girls: nine deaths on the passage made a total of five hundred and fifty-six slaves on board at the time of capture. The poor creatures were amply supplied with clothing, and their wants attended to, when lodged in the capacious quarters at the Liberated African Yard.

It was a happy circumstance for these unfortunate Negroes, branded though they had been with the red-hot iron, and placed in the slave-ship, and consigned to certain dealers in human flesh on the opposite side of the Atlantic, and already under weigh, that the sharp cut and black hull of this Brazilian slaver were so soon discovered by the watchful eye, and then captured by the activity, of our brave officers and crew of the "Cygnet." A vast amount of misery was thus prevented, and many lives were saved. But it is often the case, that, when a slaver is captured, hundreds of these our fellow-creatures, men, women, and children, have been on board, and in the holds of these dismal dens, for two or three or four weeks, wedged together between the decks, in a space which, in some cases, is not

more than twenty-two inches from the floor to the ceiling. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves must be dreadful ; and when they are once fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is next to impossible. The body frequently stiffens ; and, on being rescued, the poor creatures cannot stand, and it requires the utmost exertions, favoured by a hot sun, to straighten their rigid and distorted limbs ; while many can never resume the upright position.

Let the reader also bear in mind, that the preceding facts are not gleaned from the records of former times, and preserved by historians as illustrations of the strange and prodigious wickedness of a darker age. They are the common occurrences of our own era, the "customs" which prevail at this very hour. Every day that we pass in security and peace at home, witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa to slavery or death : every night, villages are roused from their sleep, and exposed to the alternatives of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle. "At the time I am writing," remarks one of Africa's best friends, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, "there are at least *twenty thousand human beings* on the Atlantic ;"—not, it may be added, free, voluntary emigrants from Great Britain to America or Australia, as cabin or steerage passengers, who are crossing "the wide blue sea" in the hope of bettering their temporal condition. No ; these twenty thousand human beings are Negroes from Africa, who have been kidnapped, torn from their native land, and forced on board, who are *now* between the decks of the slave-ship, and who are suffering from every variety of wretchedness that the preceding pages describe, or that can well be imagined : or rather, as Mr. Pitt once eloquently said, when speaking of the Slave-Traffic, "there is something in the horrors of it which surpasses all the bounds of imagination."

The Slave-Trade, then, *still exists* ; and this appalling fact is every day receiving confirmation. It is proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that, notwithstanding all our past efforts, the traffic in slaves is still carried on, to an alarming extent, by some other nations. Accursed system ! who can contemplate it without feelings of indignation ? I have myself seen villages depopulated, the huts reduced to ashes, and the inhabitants led captive to the sea-coast, or taken from one petty state to another, to be exchanged for cattle, or sold for merchandise. I have seen the husband lamenting the loss of his wife,—not by death ; but in his absence a marauding banditti had fallen upon his native town, and his wife was carried away into all the horrors of Slavery. I have seen Negro parents wringing their hands, and with bitter cries and tears mourning

the loss of their children,—not, I repeat, by death : though such bereavement is distressing enough, yet there is no comparison between the sorrow excited by the death of a child, and the anguish caused by its being kidnapped and enslaved. The loss of a son at sea must be deeply felt ; and the removal of a child from the domestic circle by the wasting disease of “slowly rolling years,” or by the sudden sickness of a day, must leave an aching void in the heart of a parent. But to have a son, or perhaps a daughter, carried off by robbers, and made a captive, a slave, exposed to infamy, to abuse, to insult, and to contamination,—this, this is far more painful.

Which of us has not sympathized with the little Hebrew maid mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, that was carried “away captive out of the land of Israel” by the Syrians who “had gone out by companies?” (2 Kings v. 2.) Had those Syrians killed the father and mother of the Israelitish maid? Perhaps so ; but if they escaped and were still alive, what agony, what inexpressible distress must they have felt, when they thought of the condition of their daughter, of their “little maid !” Who has perused the history of Joseph, and has not been deeply affected with that touching narrative? O yes, we have sympathized with the mother of the little maid ; and with the good old patriarch, bereaved and afflicted, when his son Joseph was sold into slavery : but have we no hearts to feel for the thousands of Jacobs in Western Africa who are bitterly lamenting that Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and that Benjamin, too, has been stolen from them ! Mothers of Britain ! ye who are so alive to Christian sympathy, ye who can retire to rest with your “olive branches” in perfect safety, “none daring to make you afraid,” you know not how many Rachels are now weeping in Africa, and refusing to be comforted, because their children “are not.” Their offspring are not dead, but the man-stealer has taken them away : and though

“Skins may differ, yet affection

Dwells in Blacks and Whites the same.”

This is not a mere poetic effusion from the fancy of some benevolent and humane individual : it is matter of fact. Oft have I seen the Negro mother wrap her swarthy infant to her bosom, and plant upon its little sun-burnt lips ten thousand kisses. There may be exceptions ; we know there are, and in other lands besides Africa : but the rule is for African mothers to love their children. And yet how often are their infants cruelly torn from them, or barbarously put to death in their sight !

CHAPTER VI.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Method of procuring Slaves—A Definition of true Humanity—The principal Wars in Africa originate in the Slave-Trade—Towns and Villages burnt, and the Inhabitants led into Captivity—The great Amount of Mortality involved in the Seizure—Testimony of M. Brue, French Director at the Senegal in 1697—Mr. Moore at the Gambia in 1730—Bruce of Abyssinia in 1770—Laird and Rankin in 1832—4—Communications from Africa by the Author in 1837—8 and 1841—Extract from the Narrative of Joseph Wright, a liberated African at Sierra-Leone—Rev. R. M. MacBrair's Statement of two liberated African Youths at Macarthy's Island—The March down to the Coast—Major Gray's Account of a Caravan of Slaves—The Slave-Barracoons on the Coast—Letter from a Gentleman at Senegal in 1818—Captain Cook in 1837—Joseph Wright's Narrative continued—Rev. W. Allen's Description of Whydah and Badagry, two notorious slave-trading Ports in the Bight of Benin—Hasty Manner in which the Slaves are put on Board—Cruel Treatment in the Middle-Passage—Insurrections on Board Slave-Ships—The Arrival of a Cargo of Slaves in America—Disposal of the Negroes—Letter from the Havannah in 1838—Miserable Condition of newly-imported Negroes—Brazilian Slavery—Disgraceful Advertisement—Slavery and the Slave-Trade contrary to the Principles of Justice and Humanity—Great Mortality incident on the Seizure—March and Detention—The annual Loss to Africa immense—Vast Amount of Guilt and Misery involved in the Traffic—Comparison of the Effects of Napoleon's destructive Career with those of the Slave-Trade—The probable Loss to Africa up to the Close of the last Century, and from the Commencement of the Slave-Trade to the present Period—The Misery consequent.

THE mode of taking or procuring slaves, in the first instance, is now pretty generally understood; and I have no wish to harrow the feelings of my readers by going into lengthened details respecting this part of my subject, especially as in the preceding pages a tolerable specimen has been given of the cruelties and miseries inflicted upon the unhappy Africans in what is called "the Middle Passage." Yet I cannot help thinking with a celebrated member of the House of Commons,* who, in the course of a debate on the Slave-Trade, observed, "True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrinking at such tales as these; but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavours to execute the actions which it sug-

* The Right Honourable Charles James Fox.

gests." In the spirit, then, of this observation, let us look at the mode in which the Africans are made slaves. It has been said, on high authority, "that the principal, and almost the only, cause of war," on the Western Coast and "in the interior of Africa, arises from the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that every species of violence, from the invasion of an army to that of robbery by a single individual, is had recourse to for the attainment of this object."* And in this opinion I substantially concur. I am aware that there are other causes of war besides that inhuman traffic; and I am also aware that there are other sources of African Slavery besides war; such, for instance, as debt, famine, and crime: but very few slaves are thus supplied, in comparison of the great numbers furnished by the wars and marauding excursions which are perpetually occurring in some part or other of the vast continent of Africa. This assertion is substantiated by the experience of every person at all conversant with African affairs. Bruce and Park, Denham and Clapperton, Lander and Laird, and almost every other writer, ancient and modern, unite in the declaration, that the Slave-Trade has produced the most baneful effects, causing anarchy, injustice, and oppression to reign in Africa, and exciting nation to rise up against nation, and man against man.

The towns or villages are usually attacked in the night; in order to increase the confusion, they are frequently set on fire; and, as the huts are mostly constructed of wattled cane, and roofed with long dry grass, there is immediately a general conflagration; and the wretched inhabitants, as they are flying naked from the flames, are seized and carried into slavery. They massacre all the men that offer any resistance; and often the aged and infirm are deliberately killed, while the infants are left in the streets to die, or are thrown into the devouring flames.

If we go back towards the close of the seventeenth century, we find the testimony of M. Brue, Director-General of the French Senegal Company, who resided several years in Western Africa, and penetrated some distance into the interior, and who, from the position he occupied as the Director-General of the Company's affairs on the coast, as well as from the opportunities for observation afforded him in his travels, must be regarded as a competent judge. This gentleman thus writes: "The Europeans are far from desiring to act as peace-makers amongst them" (namely, the natives of Africa). "It would be too contrary to

* SIR T. F. BUXTON'S "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

their interests; for the only object of their wars is to carry off slaves; and, as these make the principal part of their traffic, they would be apprehensive of drying up the source of it, were they to encourage these people to live well together." Again: "The neighbourhood of the Damel and Tin keep them perpetually at war, the benefit of which accrues to the Company, who buy all the prisoners made on their side; and the more there are to sell, the greater is their profit; for the only end of their armaments is to make captives, to sell them to white traders." "They have every thing they wish to aim at from their wars, when they are able to make captives from one another. Avarice, and the desire of making slaves, are often the veritable motives for going to war."

The testimony of M. Brue, not an advocate, let it be remembered, for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, but a Director-General of that commerce, is fully confirmed by Le Maire, Barbot, Bosman, Smith, and all the old writers. They concur in stating, not only that wars are entered into by the natives for the sole purpose of making slaves, but that they are also fomented by Europeans with a view to that object. But the Slave-Trade not merely excites wars between neighbouring nations; it gives birth to the most dreadful outrages which are perpetrated by kings on their own subjects. On this point the author above cited says, "The Negro kings have not always slaves to treat with; but they have always a sure and ready way of supplying their deficiency; that is, by making inroads upon their own subjects, carrying them off and selling them, for which they never want pretensions in order to justify their pillage and rapine." And then he states an instance in which, in order to trade with M. Brue himself, the king of Damel made incursions on his own subjects, seized about three hundred of them, and then sent word that he was ready to trade with him.

Mr. Moore, a factor to the English Royal African Company in the river Gambia, about the year 1730, a writer of acknowledged credit, and, it will be admitted, a very competent witness with respect to the real nature of the Slave-Trade, writes: "Whenever the king of Barsally wants goods or brandy, he sends a messenger to the Governor, at James Fort, to desire he would send a sloop there with a cargo. This news being not at all unwelcome, the Governor sends accordingly. Against the arrival of the sloop, the king goes and ransacks some of his enemies' towns, seizing the people, and selling them for such commodities as he is in want of. In case he is not at war with any neighbouring king, *he then falls upon one of his own towns,*

which are numerous, and uses them in the very same manner. He very often goes with some of his troops by a town in the day-time, and returns in the night and sets fire to three parts of it, and sets guards to the fourth to seize the people as they run out from the fire. He ties their arms behind them, and marches them to the place where he sells them." He then gives, in illustration of his general statement, the following instance: "Yesterday, March 20th, 1732, the king fell upon one of his own towns, and, having taken a good many prisoners, brought them along with him, with intent to sell them."

Bruce, the enterprising Scotchman, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1770, in describing the slave-hunting expeditions there, says, "The grown-up men are all killed, and are then mutilated, parts of their bodies being always carried away as trophies. Several of the old mothers are also killed; while others, frantic with fear and despair, kill themselves. The boys and girls of a more tender age are then carried off in brutal triumph."

"In 1822 our Minister at Paris thus addressed Count de Villèle: 'There seems to be scarcely a spot on that coast (from Sierra-Leone to Cape Mount) which does not show traces of the Slave-Trade, with all its attendant horrors; for, the arrival of a ship, in any of the rivers on the windward coast, being the signal for war between the natives, the hamlets of the weaker party are burnt, and the miserable survivors carried off, and sold to the Slave-Traders.'"

"Laird ascended the Niger, and its tributary the Tschadda, in 1832, and was an eye-witness of the cruelties consequent on the Slave-Trade, while in the river near to the confluence of the two streams. He says, speaking of the incursions of the Felatahs, 'Scarcely a night passed but we heard the screams of some unfortunate beings that were carried off into Slavery by those villanous depredators. The inhabitants of the towns in the route of the Felatahs fled across the river on the approach of the enemy.' 'A few days after the arrival of the fugitives, a column of smoke rising in the air, about five miles above the confluence, marked the advance of the Felatahs; and in two days afterwards the whole of the towns, including Addah, Cuddah, and five or six others, were in a blaze. The shrieks of the unfortunate wretches that had not escaped, answered by the loud wailings and lamentations of their friends and relations, (encamped on the opposite bank of the river,) at seeing them carried off into Slavery, and their habitations destroyed, produced a scene

* SIR T. F. BUXTON on the "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

which, though *common enough in the country*, had seldom, if ever before, been witnessed by European eyes, and showed to me, in a more striking light than I had hitherto beheld it, the horrors attendant on Slavery.’”*

Mr. Rankin, in the narrative of his visit to Sierra-Leone in 1834, says, that the warlike Sherbros had recently invaded the territories of the Timmanees, and had fallen on the unguarded Rokel, which became a prey to the flames. “The inhabitants who could not escape across the river to Magbelly perished, or were made slaves; and the town was reduced to ashes.”†

From these statements it appears, that the mode of procuring slaves is precisely the same now as it was upwards of a hundred years ago; that the inhabitants are taken by surprise, kidnapped, and “forced from home with all its pleasures;” and that this mode of seizure is attended with many horrible cruelties, and a vast amount of mortality. It would be almost an endless task to cite all the evidence which might be adduced: but two or three specimens of what I have seen and heard myself, while in Africa, will serve still further to corroborate these positions.

The following is an extract from a letter which I addressed to the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, a part of which the reader may find in Sir T. F. Buxton’s work on the African Slave-Trade. It is dated,

“*Macarthy’s Island, River Gambia, March 13th, 1837.*”

“The Foolahs, Teucolors, and Mandingoes from Jamalli have all dispersed, in consequence of an attack made upon them, not by Kemmingtan himself, though he was the cause of it. This desperate chief had sent to Bambarra for assistance to make war upon Woolli, when his messenger happened to meet a number of the Bambarras, who had left their country in search of plunder, and who immediately proceeded with the messenger to Dunkaseen, Kemmingtan’s residence; but they, it appears, refused to join him against Woolli, owing to some previous pledge which they or their fathers had given, never to make war upon that kingdom. The consequence was that Kemmingtan had to point them to some place where they might obtain something, they having come so far at his request. He therefore sent them into this neighbourhood, and gave them his son and several other warriors to assist them. They immediately commenced their marauding excursion, driving all the cattle before

* SIR T. F. BUXTON on the “Slave-Trade, and its Remedy.”

† RANKIN’S “Sierra-Leone,” vol. ii. p. 259.

them, the inhabitants flying for their lives. They came close to the river's bank, opposite where I am writing, and carried off near one hundred head of cattle belonging to persons on this Island. But the militia, and about thirty soldiers, being sent off immediately, overtook them near Jamalli,* where they were feasting upon one or two bullocks which they had just killed; but, seeing our soldiers and militia, they immediately fled, and most of the cattle were re-captured, with one man and a horse. Another was killed, whose body was consumed by wild beasts the following night.

"I visited Jamalli a few weeks ago, and also Laming, another small Mandingo town on the way. At the latter place I counted twelve huts that had been destroyed by fire, and at the former about forty. Proceeding to the Foulah town, about half a mile eastward, I found it was not in the least injured, but, like the other two, was without inhabitants; not a soul was to be seen.

"Foolokolong, a large Foolah town in Kemmingtan's dominions, has lately been attacked by Woolli, and, I believe, nearly the whole of it destroyed, the cattle driven away, many of the inhabitants killed, and many others taken prisoners. On Wednesday evening last, I returned from a hasty visit to the upper river. I went as far as Fattatenda. At Bannatenda, not quite half the way, I found a poor aged Foolah woman in irons. Upon inquiry I found that she was from Foolokolong, one of the many who were captured in the recent war; and that she was sent on the south side of the river to be sold for a *horse*. I immediately rescued the half-famished and three-parts-naked female from the horrors of slavery, by giving a good horse in exchange for her. I then broke off her chains, and brought her to this settlement, where, by a singular but happy coincidence, she met with her own brother, who lives upon Kattaba's land, and who, hearing that she, her daughter, and her daughter's children had been taken in the war, had been a considerable way up the river to inquire after them, but heard nothing of them, and had consequently returned. I, of course, gave the woman up to her brother; from whom, as well as from herself and several Foolahs who came to see her, I received a number of blessings.

"From Fattatenda, supposed to be three hundred miles from this, (though I do not think it is so far,) I proceeded to Madina, the capital of Woolli, about twenty-four miles in the interior,

* In the kingdom of Kattaba, about three miles from Macarthy's Island.

and had an agreeable interview with His sable Majesty, Mansa Koi, who promised to give me land, his own children to be educated, &c. &c., if I wished to sit down in his kingdom. In this journey I gathered some further particulars of the recent war; and from the king himself I learnt that they brought three hundred and fifty Foolahs from Foolokolong, (Kemmingtan's largest Foolah town,) besides one hundred whom they killed on the spot."

In another letter, of the 5th of January, 1838, I again wrote from the same place:—

"The neighbourhood of Macarthy's Island is again in a very disturbed state. Scarcely are the rains over, and the produce of a plentiful harvest gathered in, ere the noise of battle and the din of warfare are heard at a distance, with all its attendant horrors. Mothers, snatching up their children, with a few necessary articles, flee for their lives; towns, after being pillaged of as much cattle, &c., as the banditti require, are immediately set on fire; columns of smoke ascend the heavens; the cries of those who are being butchered may be more easily conceived than expressed; and those who escape destruction are carried into the miseries of hopeless slavery. A number of Bambarras are again on the north bank of the river, not far from this place; and the poor Foolahs at Jamalli have consequently fled to this Island for protection, bringing with them as many of their cattle and other things as they could."

From my next communication to the Committee, which was written only about a fortnight after the preceding one, and which was printed in the Annual Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1838, I make the following extract: "Brooko and Jamalli have not been regularly visited for some time, owing to the very disturbed state of the country, and other causes of a very discouraging nature. The horrors of war, and the number of bandits who are constantly going about, literally 'seeking whom' or what they 'may devour,' are truly terrific; and the desolation and misery that follow are very deplorable. In my last few hurried lines I gave you some account of a marauding party of Bambarras, who were on the north side of the river, and of Habdurcheem,* a powerful chief of the Foolah tribe and of the Mahometan creed, from the neighbourhood of Foota Jallon or Teembo, who was on the south side; both not far distant from Macarthy's Island. The Bambarras have proceeded a considerable distance down the

* Perhaps Abdaracheem, or "The Servant of the Merciful."

north bank of the river, have pillaged and destroyed several small towns, and have taken some of the inhabitants into slavery; and a few people have been killed."

Perhaps one more instance will be sufficient to show that the slave-wars of Africa are not merely the events of a by-gone period. In a letter, dated "St. Mary's, Gambia, July 13th, 1841," I wrote to Dr. Maddon, who had been sent to the coast on a commission of inquiry. The substance of that communication I also forwarded to the Wesleyan Mission-House: but the following extract from my letter was published in the Appendix to the Report of the West-African Committee: "The day after you sailed, I embarked for Macarthy's Island; and, while there, an alarm was given on Thursday morning, the 10th ult., that the Island was attacked. The soldiers and militia were, consequently, immediately turned out; the former, with one or two field-pieces, proceeding to the supposed place of attack; the militia, in the mean time, guarding the barracks and town. But it turned out as I expected; namely, some warriors had fallen upon two or three small towns near the south-east end of Macarthy's Island; and those of the inhabitants who could escape fled to Macarthy's Island for safety and protection. This is only one instance, out of a great many that have come under my notice, of these desperate marauding banditti. It appears, on this occasion, it was some Foota Foulahs and Cabu Mandingoes, who came down and fell upon a town called Barsansang, and another town called Brooko, not more than two or three miles from the south-east end of Macarthy's Island; and report says, they took away an immense number of cattle, and about two hundred slaves. Some few of these will probably be redeemed at double prices; and the rest will be sent down to the coast, and sold to these horrible persons engaged in this nefarious and abominable traffic."

From the preceding pages, then, it is evident that the wholesale method of seizure is by far the most frequent; and that without this plan a sufficient number of victims could not be procured for the market. Indeed, having resided on Macarthy's Island for several years, which was frequently filled for a time with refugees from all the country round about; and having visited the kingdoms of Barra and Kombo, on the north and south bank of the Gambia, near the Atlantic, and most or nearly all the chief and petty states from thence up the river as far as Cantalicunda, and in the interior of the continent as far as Boollibany, the capital of Bondou; and, moreover, having been in close connexion with those unfortunate, and yet fortu-

nate, Negroes, the liberated Africans; I had many opportunities of learning the various modes in which they were made slaves. And from what I have seen myself, as well as from the statements of those who made a precipitous flight to Macarthy's Island; and especially from the testimony of the liberated Africans who had been taken from various parts of the interior, some as far as from Houssa, and who are of different nations and kingdoms, speaking distinct languages; I am fully convinced that the frequent wars and marauding excursions are by far the most common and the prevailing way of obtaining slaves.

I will, however, offer two additional illustrations of this inland traffic, derived from eye-witnesses and sufferers from this unhappy state of Africa. The first is an extract from a narrative written by Joseph Wright, a member of the Wesleyan society at Sierra-Seone, who is of the Aku tribe. The narrative is too long for the whole to be inserted here; but the reader may find it in the Appendix to Dr. Beecham's admirable work on "*Ashantee and the Gold-Coast.*" It appears that Joseph, with his family, resided in a large and populous town, which was surrounded by a strong well-built mud-wall; that the attack made upon them was by a *party of their own nation*; that the inhabitants nobly defended themselves, until they were "almost destitute of food;" and that,

In this hard case of ours, we had no God to go to for help; but we were constantly sacrificing. At last the famine overcame us, so that the chosen men of war could not forbear; and one night, in about seven months after the war had besieged us, they consulted together to go to another place, in order to buy us some food, to preserve us children of the land. And so they did; and in this band were my father and mother. They went to get us some food too; for they pitied us, when they saw us perishing with hunger. Short time after, they were gone, with all the mighty men of war. May be, the enemies knew this; so they got ready to take the city, before the people who gone for food should come back. The town had become very poor, for want of people to fight; because the greater part of the people determined to go to seek food.

O sorrowful, sorrowful morning! Many had fled; and many of the aged men had put an end to their lives. Among these was one in our house,—my father's near and very dear relation: he had put an end to his life too. The enemy had fully taken the city: we came out into the street; and, when we had walked about fifty fathoms from our house, we saw the city on fire, and before us were the enemies; and they caught us. They separated me from all my brethren, except one of my father's children, born to him by his second wife. I and this were caught together by one man. By the time we left the house, I saw my father's mother pass the other gate. She and I had no hope of seeing her again in this flesh; doubtless they would kill her. Many were killed. There were two cities beside our own, that those enemies had besieged. The enemies satisfied themselves with

little girls, young men, and young women. They did not care for the elderly and old people: they killed them without mercy; and then the father knew not the son, and the son knew not the father. Abundant heaps of dead bodies were in the streets, and there was none to bury them; suckling babes crying at the point of death, and there was none to take them up. These three cities were consumed in one day; and many of the inhabitants were taken as slaves.

I was with them (the enemies) in the camp about ten days, and saw many wonderful instances, all of which I cannot now mention. I saw some people bound in the streets; and I saw a child of about eighteen months old, which was cast out of the camp, because the child was too young, that nobody would buy him; and that poor orphan was there crying at the point of death, for about two days, and none to pity or take him up. Another time, I took a walk about in the camp, when I saw my own brother. I was not allowed to speak to him, although they knew him to be my own brother.

Few days after this, we came to the market, where many hundreds of slaves. We were put in rows; and in about five hours a trade-man came and bought me, and put me in a canoe at once, and we were sailing all that night. Next morning we came to another slaves' market, and there we remained the whole day; for the man wanted to buy more slaves. Early in the morning we were brought to white Portuguese for sale. After strict examination, the white man put me and some others aside; after that, they then bargained how much he would take for each one of us. After they were well agreed, the white man sent us to the slave-fold. The articles which the Portuguese paid for slaves were tobacco, rum, clothes, powder, guns, cutlasses, brass, iron rod, and *jaki*,—that is our country money.

The other illustration which I shall offer is the case of two liberated African youths of Macarthy's Island, one of whom was my servant for several years. Their history is so well told by the Rev. R. M. MacBrair, that I shall give it in his own words:—

The dreadful evils which the Slave-Trade has entailed upon Africa may be farther illustrated by an account which two of our boys gave me of their capture and subsequent sufferings. They were natives of Brecau, a small town beyond the country of Catabar; and Joseph's father was head-man, or chief, of the place. A spy had come to search out the town; in which he appears to have found few men, but many women and children. One night, therefore, after the usual recreations of music and dancing, which the Negroes keep up to a late hour, they had retired to their respective huts, and were buried in balmy sleep; when suddenly the shout of an invading troop was heard, as they rushed through the stockade, and set fire to the thatched dwellings of Brecau. Aroused by the cry and the din of arms, each warrior grasped his weapon, and rushed forth to repel the assailants, but instantly received the shot or the spear-thrust of a watchful foe. Thus Charles's father was numbered amongst the slain; and, as the women and children fled out of their flaming dwellings, they were surrounded and captured. The man-hunters in this case were also cannibals; (a few of whom live in the interior of Central Africa;) and they afterwards deliberated upon the choice of new victims. Some talked of devouring the children; and Charles and Joseph hid themselves during the awful moment behind some litter. "But we can get goods for them," was the suggestion of a warrior, to whose lot they had fallen; and so a more useless victim must be selected. This they found in Charles's mother, who was then in such a condition as rendered her little fit to undergo the fatigues of a long journey. The child-

ren saw a man perform the bloody deed, which was accompanied with such revolting brutalities as memory would fain endeavour to hide under the cloak of forgetfulness.

A long road now lay before the captives, during which they suffered much from toil and weariness. The children were sold to one party for cloth, to another for salt, and finally to a Portuguese slaver for tobacco. They formed part of a cargo of eight hundred human victims, several of whom speedily died on the passage, and found a grave in the ocean's bed. But, as they proceeded on their voyage, the shot of a cannon was heard athwart the deep; for a British cruiser now summoned the slaver to "haul to." The latter was well armed and manned; and, being of far greater force than the little cruiser, prepared for a desperate resistance. But after the engagement had commenced, the breechings of the slaver's guns gave way, (being rotted by the climate of Africa,) and she therefore became defenceless. Her captain, furious to desperation, though he had received several severe wounds, upon seeing his vessel about to be boarded by the British, gave orders to a seaman to fire the powder-magazine, and blow her up, that they might all perish together. The latter disobeyed, and the English took possession of their prize; upon which the poor slaves, who had been in a state of indescribable emotion whilst the conflict lasted, now set up a loud shout of joy at the prospect of freedom.

Some time afterwards, a man came one day to our mission-house to sell some little article of merchandise. Upon accidentally seeing him, Charles and Joseph instantly fell upon him with all the fury of their tongues, and launched out the bitterest invectives in their native language. Being interrogated as to the cause of this passion, "That is the man," cried Charles, "who killed and ate my mother; and so I curse him." (The Negroes use "cursing" in the sense of scolding, as well as of malediction.) It was indeed the self-same individual; who, shortly after perpetrating the foul deed above narrated, had himself been surprised by a superior foe, had been sold as a slave, liberated on the high seas by another British cruiser, and actually landed on Macarthy's Island before the children who had been the victims of his barbarity. Such a fact speaks volumes (observes Mr. MacBair). And for such deeds of cruelty as these, European and American slave-dealers have to answer at the bar of God, since it is they who incite the naturally-peaceful African to violence and murder in procuring slaves.*

Mungo Park, one of Africa's best and most faithful historians, has given some affecting accounts of Slavery, and of the manner in which the slaves are treated on their march down to the coast. But we hasten to a more recent date for a specimen of the cruelties practised upon these unhappy captives on their journey to the slave-ship. Major Gray in 1825 published his "Travels in Western Africa;" from which the following is an extract:—

"I had an opportunity of witnessing the sufferings to which the new-made slaves are subjected in their first state of bondage. They were hurried along, the men tied in pairs by the necks, their hands secured behind their backs; the women, by the necks only, with their hands left free; not, however, from any sense of feeling

* MACBRAIR'S "Sketches of a Missionary's Travels," pp. 258—261.

towards them, but in order to enable them to balance the immense loads of corn or rice which they were forced to carry on their heads, besides the children, who were unable to walk, on their backs. Their pace was little short of running, to enable them to keep up with the horsemen, who drove them on as Smithfield drovers do fatigued bullocks. Many of the women were old, and by no means able to endure such treatment. One in particular would not have failed to excite the tenderest feelings of compassion in the breast of any, save a savage African: she was at least sixty years old, in the most miserable state of emaciation and debility nearly doubled together, and with difficulty dragging her tottering limbs along. All this did not prevent her inhuman captor from making her carry a heavy load of water; while, with a rope round her neck, he drove her before his horse; and, whenever she showed the least inclination to stop, he beat her in the most unmerciful manner with a stick."

Of a subsequent day's toil the major writes: "The sufferings of the poor slaves during a march of nearly eight hours, partly under an excessively hot sun and east wind, heavily laden with water, of which they were allowed to drink but very sparingly, and travelling bare-foot on a hard and broken soil, covered with long dried reeds and thorny underwood, may be more easily conceived than described.

"One young woman, who had for the first time become a mother two days only before she was taken, and whose child, being thought by her captor too young to be worth saving, was thrown by the monster into the burning hut from which the flames had just obliged the mother to retreat, suffered so much from the swollen state of her bosom, that her moans might frequently be heard at a distance of some hundred yards, when, refusing to go on, she implored her fiend-like captor to put an end to her existence: but that would have been too great a sacrifice to humanity; and a few blows with a leathern horse-fetter soon made the wretched creature move again."*

On arriving on the Coast, the captives are placed in the slave-barracoons, with gyves round their necks, and shackles on their feet, and are fed on the "bread and water of affliction," till the slave-vessel arrives. A gentleman resident at Senegal in 1818 stated, to his correspondent at Paris, "No one in the town is ignorant that there are here six hundred wretched creatures shut up in the slave-yards, waiting for embarkation. The delay which has occurred causing a serious expense, they receive only

* GRAY'S "Travels in Africa," pp. 290, 292, 296.

what is sufficient to keep them alive; and they are made to go out for a short space of time, morning and evening, loaded with irons.”*

Captain Cook mentions a distressing case which occurred in August, 1837, and which came under his own observation. He says, “Slaves to the number of two hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, male and female, adults and children, were brought in canoes from Senna, a Portuguese settlement at some distance in the interior of Africa, to be sold at Quillimane, there being at that time several slavers lying in the river. Those unfortunate beings were consigned to a person holding a high civil appointment under the Portuguese Government (the collector of customs). These poor creatures were from a part of the country where it is said that the natives make bad slaves; consequently, and as there was abundance of human flesh in the market, they did not meet with a ready sale. The wretch to whom they were consigned actually refused them sustenance of any kind. Often have I been compelled to witness the melancholy spectacle of from twelve to twenty of my fellow-creatures, without distinction of age or sex, chained together, with a heavy iron chain round the neck, wandering about the town in quest of food to satisfy the cravings of nature; picking up bones and garbage of every description from the dung-heaps, snails from the fields, and frogs from the ditches; and, when the tide receded, collecting the shell-fish that were left on the bank of the river; or sitting round a fire, roasting and eagerly devouring the sea-weed.

“Again and again have I seen one or more of these poor creatures, when unable from sickness to walk, crawling on their hands and knees, accompanying the gang to which they were chained, when they went in search of their daily food; for one could not move without the whole.”†

We followed Joseph Wright in his affecting narrative down to the “slave-fold,” as he calls it. He then goes on to say, “I was there in the fold for about two months, with a rope on my neck. All the young boys have ropes on their necks in a row; and all the men with chains in a long row, for about fifty persons in row; so that no one could make escape without the other. At once the town took fire, and about fifty slaves were consumed; because the entry was so crowded that these slaves could not get out.—Next day, early in the morning, we were all brought down close to the salt water for to be put in canoes. We all were heavy and sorrowful in heart, because we were going to

* SIR T. F. BUXTON'S “Slave-Trade, and its Remedy.”

† Ibid.

leave our land for another which we never knew; and not only so, but, when we see the waves of the salt water on which we were just to enter, it discouraged us the more; for we had heard that the Portuguese were going to eat us when we got to their country. This put us more to despair; and, when they began to place in canoes to bring us to the brig, one of the canoes sunk; and half of the slaves died. After they had done loading the brig, they stowed all the men at the bottom under the deck; the boys and women were left on the deck. The brig sailed in the evening.”*

The Rev. W. Allen, Wesleyan Missionary on the Gold-Coast, has furnished the Christian public, through one of the Society’s publications, with a lively description of Whydah and Badagry, two slave-dealing ports in the Bight of Benin, where this inhuman traffic is pursued on a very large scale. After stating the geographical position of Whydah, the size of the town, its population, &c., and noticing its beautiful scenery, he observes:—

The two principal establishments in this place are, Mr. De Souza’s, and Mr. Tangronie’s, two slave-dealers: the latter died early in the year 1843. Mr. De Souza’s premises occupy at least three acres of ground, surrounded by a substantial swish wall, two feet thick and twelve feet high. Inside this wall are his slave-barracoons. His house stands in front of his premises; and, being coloured white, is visible from the sea. Mr. Tangronie’s premises are similar, only not quite so extensive. These two large slave-establishments are separated from each other by a street running in a direct line between them. Mr. De Souza’s house is elegantly furnished; and such a display of silver I never beheld in any house in Europe. There are other slave-dealers’ premises on the same principle, but not quite so extensive as these. I cannot attempt to describe my distressed feelings while walking along the streets, generally formed by the dreary walls which surround the barracoons, knowing that hundreds of poor innocent creatures were there deposited, all in irons, to be shipped off at the first opportunity. The thought was almost more than I could bear. While I was at Angway, a slave-port fifty miles to the windward, a large slave-brig passed down, called in at Whydah, and in three hours took on board eleven hundred and seventy slaves, and sailed off with them. It is distressing to be made acquainted with the treatment of these poor creatures. When the Portuguese and Spaniards buy the slaves from the interior, they put their feet in irons to secure them, deposit them in their barracoons; and, before they ship them off, they brand them, with a red-hot iron between the shoulders, with the initials of the individual to whom they belong. When a slave-vessel comes in to Whydah, and none of Her Majesty’s ships of war are in sight, these poor creatures are marched down to the beach, stowed away under the athwarts of the canoe, and taken to the vessel. Owing to the surf running high, canoes are frequently swamped, and many are drowned before they reach the vessel. “Slave” is painted on the head-board of these slave-canoes in large letters. The canoes and canoe-men employed on the Slave-Coast for shipping slaves are all procured from the Gold-Coast. Vessels, under a false national flag, call in at some of the ports on

* BEECHAM’S “Ashantee and the Gold-Coast,” pp. 355—357.

the Gold-Coast to sell rum and roll-tobacco; they then purchase canoes, and engage canoe-men to go down with them to the Slave-Coast to work them; and many are never allowed to return. The barbarous manner in which the unfortunate slaves are stowed away on board the slavers, is distressing. In small crafts, where you would suppose it was not possible to find room for one hundred men, they will stow away five hundred. It is not an uncommon thing for one-third of them to die on board from suffocation.

Whydah forms part of the kingdom of Dahomi. The inhabitants are cruel and barbarous: this need not be wondered at, if we consider the examples which are set them by these slave-dealers. While I was there, not fewer than two hundred Portuguese and Spaniards were engaged in this inhuman traffic, besides many of the influential natives.*

We have already given some account of the miseries of the Middle Passage, and therefore need not enter into a recapitulation: but a specimen or two of this species of commerce on the other side of the Atlantic may be here adduced. Having been forcibly torn from their native towns in the interior by a stronger foe, or kidnapped whilst engaged in their fields and gardens, or suddenly seized upon in the foot-path while journeying from one village to another, these poor creatures are lashed together; and, after a fatiguing and tedious march over burning sands and under the rays of the scorching sun, in some cases for a distance of upwards of five hundred miles, they at length arrive on the coast; and, as soon as the slave-ship is ready, hundreds of these innocent Africans are hurried on board of one of these vessels in the course of a few hours, and, amid the sighs and sobs and tears of bitter regret and pain, they bid adieu to their native land. But they are now safely lodged in their floating prison; and, as we have already seen, are crammed together like herrings in a barrel. In addition to this, they are surrounded with every thing nauseous and disgusting. A very scanty allowance of water is afforded them; and horse-beans are allotted as their food. If they manifest any external signs of uneasiness at their hard fate, the lash is applied as the only remedy for their grief: if they refuse to eat, they are compelled by instruments of torture to swallow their victuals. They are sometimes requested to dance and sing; and, if any reluctance is exhibited, the cat-o'-nine-tails is employed to enforce obedience. Yes, strange as it may seem, many of these poor creatures may say, in the language of the Israelites, "They that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth." (Psalm cxxxvii. 3.) But, labouring under a fixed melancholy at the loss of their relatives, friends, and country,

* "Wesleyan Missionary Notices," September, 1847.

they can neither dance nor sing; and many of them, instead of complying with the unfeeling and unreasonable request, attempt self-destruction; and some actually accomplish it. Suicide is sometimes effected by choking and strangling themselves; but more frequently by jumping overboard, and thus seeking rest in a watery grave. Pairs of them have been known mutually to agree to this, and have thrown themselves into the sea locked in each other's arms.

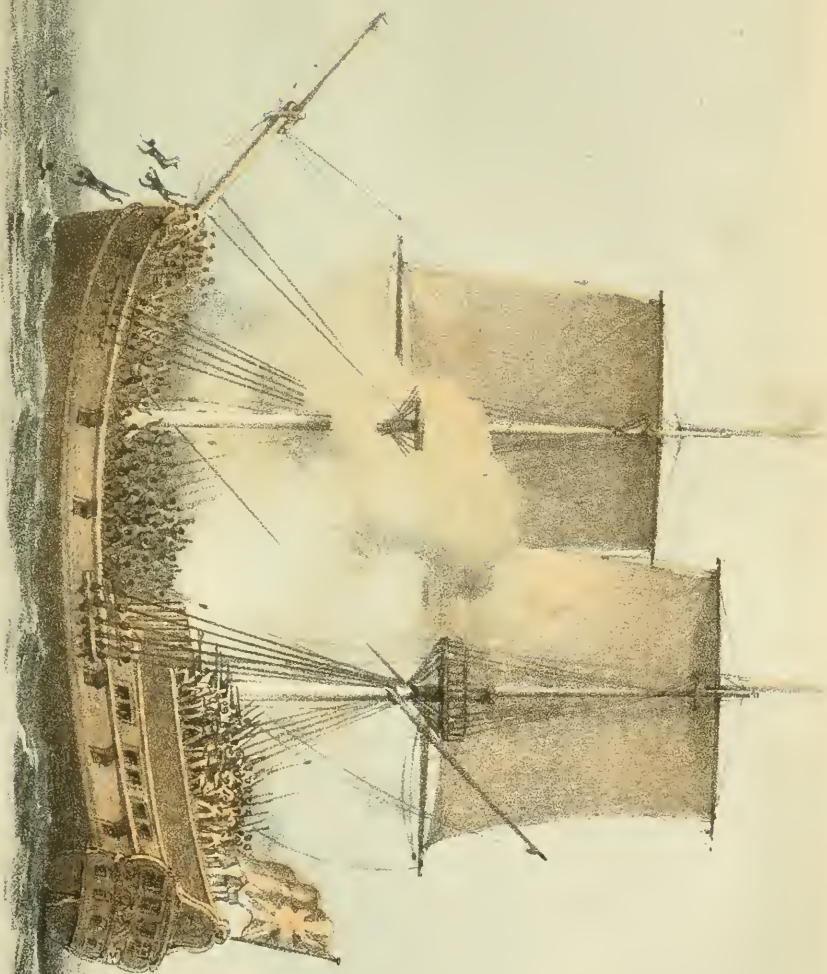
In some cases the slaves rise in a mass to liberate themselves; and then force is opposed to force, and in the scuffle many of them are shot, and others jump overboard and are drowned; and some, whilst actually drowning, have been seen to wave their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped, thus preferring death to the misery of their situation.

Wadstrom, in his "Essay on Colonization in Western Africa," published in 1795, mentions one or two instances of this kind. The annexed sketch represents an insurrection on board a slaver, and is copied from one in his work, the original of which, he informs us, was furnished to him at Goree in 1787.

The particulars narrated below are from the Report of the Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company: "I have just heard that an American brig has been cut off by the slaves, seven or eight leagues north of Cape Sierra-Leone. A single slave began the attack, rushed into the cabin, laid open the captain's face and breast with an axe, and severely wounded a passenger. As the seamen made no resistance, they were permitted to go off, with the wounded, in the boat. The captain died. The ship was re-taken by a Liverpool vessel, after an encounter in which some of the slaves were killed."

The following is an account of a similar catastrophe to that which the sketch represents: "I have got considerable light into the history of Mahady, the famous Mahometan prophet, who appeared in these parts, with an immense concourse of followers, about three years ago. When he was killed, his generals contended for the mastery; and one of them, being taken by his antagonist, was immediately sold to a French slave-ship lying off a factory near Sierra-Leone. There he behaved with a sullen dignity, and, even in chains, addressed his fellow-slaves in his wonted tone of authority. I heard this from a slave-trader, who had seen him, both as a great chief or general, and as a prisoner on board a slave-ship. The slave-trader and the captive chief mutually recognised each other. On the same day, when the slave-trader was on board, it happened that the chief was permitted to walk on deck without his fetters. No

INSTRUCTION ON BOARD A SLAVE SHIP.



sooner had the captain and his friends sat down to dinner, than a signal was given. The slaves rose to a man, knocked off each other's fetters, and, headed by the chief, attacked the barricade. But they failed. The guns were pointed at them; some were killed, many leaped into the sea, and the insurrection was quelled. The captain inquiring for the ringleader, the chief came boldly forward, and avowed that he was the man; that he wished to give liberty to all the slaves on board; that he regretted his defeat on their account; but that, as to himself, he was well satisfied with the prospect of immediately obtaining what he termed his own liberty. The captain hung him up instantly to the yard-arm."

Mr. Wadstrom mentions another case,—that of a Boston slave-ship, in which "the slaves rose, and cut to pieces the second mate and a seaman on deck. They then attacked the cabin, and killed the captain and chief mate. The rest of the crew surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared, and the ship given to them, with the promise that they would navigate her into some place where the slaves might escape. In steering towards a neighbouring river, she ran aground; and they came in contact with a slave-trader with a number of armed men. An obstinate engagement followed; but the slaves were overpowered, several of them were killed, and the rest, being eighteen, were sold again into slavery."*

But we have a more recent account of a slave-ship mutiny, furnished by the Rio Commissioners, under date of the 21st of March, 1845; and given in the evidence of James Bandinel, Esq., before a select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, during the session of 1848. It is as follows: "The 'Kentucky' had taken a cargo of slaves at Inhambane. The next day, after the vessel crossed the bar on leaving Inhambane, the Negroes rose upon the officers and crew. The majority of the men, all of whom were in irons, got their irons off, broke through the bulk-head, and likewise into the fore-castle. Upon this, the captain armed the crew with cutlasses, and got all the muskets and pistols, and loaded them; and the crew were firing down amongst the slaves for half an hour or more. In the mean time deponent was nailing the hatches down, shot no musket or pistol; and there was no occasion, as the Brazilian sailors seemed to like the sport. In about half an hour they were subdued, and became quiet again. The slaves were then brought on deck, eight or ten at a time, and ironed

* WADSTROM'S "Essay on Colonization," part ii. pp. 86, 87.

afresh; they were all re-ironed that afternoon, and put below, excepting about seven, who remained on deck. There were but eight or ten more or less wounded. On the next day they were brought upon deck, two or three dozen at a time, all being well ironed, and tried by Captain Fonseca and officers; and, within two or three days afterwards, *forty-six men and one woman were hung and shot, and thrown overboard*. They were ironed or chained two together; and, when hung, a rope was put round their necks, and they were drawn up to the yard-arm clear of the sail. This did not kill them; but only choked or strangled them: they were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two that were ironed together was to be hung, a rope was put round his neck, and he was drawn up clear of the deck, beside of the bulwarks, and *his leg laid across the rail, and chopped off, to save the irons, and release him from his companion*, who at the same time lifted up his leg till the other's was chopped off, and he released. *The bleeding Negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast, and thrown overboard. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way. When the feet fell on deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew, and thrown overboard, and sometimes at the body, while it still hung living; and all kinds of sport were made of the business.*"*

The preceding are but a few instances, out of many others, of the attempts which the slaves naturally make to liberate themselves, but in which they rarely succeed. Indeed, how can success be expected, when they are ironed and doubly-ironed, chained together below the deck, and carefully guarded and watched? Even when they succeed in knocking off their fetters, they have nothing with which to defend their naked bodies against the cutlasses and fire-arms of their merciless foes. But the account of the occurrences on board the "Kentucky" presents a scene of such barbarity, a picture of such hideous atrocity and butchery, as practised by the captain and crew towards the slaves, that a parallel, if sought for, can only be found in the cannibalism of the savages of New Zealand or Feejee.

But even when the slaves who are stowed away on board these unhallowed vessels do quietly submit to their hard fate, such is the impurity of the atmosphere arising from close confinement and a deficiency of fresh air, and from the filth and

* "First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-Trade, 1848," p. 253.

stench consequent thercon, that they may be said barely to exist while detained in these floating hospitals. For hospitals indeed they are, with this difference,—they are places where diseases originate, and where but few cures take place. For Captain Cook, when speaking on this subject, says, “With all this probability, or rather certainty, of disease, I never knew but one slaver that carried a surgeon.” But, supposing every slaver carried a surgeon on board, that would only prove the necessity that existed for medical treatment, and the absolute certainty that diseases do originate there, and that they require prompt and skilful attention. It is well known that the Negroes are far more violently affected by sea-sickness than Europeans; and that this frequently terminates in death, especially among the women. Divers diseases, such as dysentery, ophthalmia, scurvy, the small-pox, and other putrid and fatal disorders, frequently occur; and are so rapid in their progress, that, when the inspector goes in the morning, he has often to pick out dead slaves out of the wedged rows, and to unchain their dead carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers, to whom they had been fastened.

Of the effects of ophthalmia the Fifteenth Report of the African Institution furnishes a terrible instance, which took place on board a French slaver, the “*Le Rodeur*,” in 1819. This vessel left the Bonny with one hundred and sixty Negroes on board, and a crew of twenty-two men. After she had been about fifteen days on her voyage, it was discovered that many of the slaves had contracted a considerable redness of the eyes; and, though this vessel had a surgeon on board, the disease spread so rapidly, that the crew were seized with it. “Twelve of them lost their sight entirely, among whom was the surgeon; five became blind of one eye, one of them being the captain; and four were partially injured.” The vessel, however, reached Guadaloupe on June 21st, 1819; and, three days after her arrival, the only man who during the voyage had withstood the influence of the contagion was seized with the same malady. Of the Negroes, thirty-nine had become perfectly blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable.

It was stated that the captain caused several of the Negroes who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that the example might deter the rest from similar conduct. It was further said that upwards of thirty of the slaves who became blind were thrown into the sea and drowned; upon the principle that, had they

been landed at Guadaloupe, no one would have bought them ; while, by throwing them overboard, the expense of maintaining them was avoided ; and a ground was laid for a claim on the underwriters by whom the cargo had been insured, who are said to have allowed the claim, and made good the value of the slaves thus destroyed.

But the supplement must not be omitted. At the time when only one of the crew on board the “Rodeur” could see to steer that vessel, they fell in with a Spanish slave-ship, the “St. Leon.” A contagion had seized the eyes of all on board of her ; so that there was not an individual, sailor or slave, who could see. They implored help from the “Rodeur ;” but, alas ! it was in vain ; they were unable to render them any assistance ; and the “St. Leon” passed on, and, being totally at the mercy of the wind and the waves, without an helmsman to steer, or any one to work the ship, she was never more heard of !

But we cannot linger here. The wretched cargo, in ordinary cases, has now crossed the vast Atlantic, and the slaves are being landed in the colonies of the far West. From the horrors of the Middle Passage the slaves often arrive in a sickly, disordered state, with wounds or eruptions ; and the captain now acts the part of an English horse-jockey, in improving their appearance, and concealing their defects, and thus preparing his cattle for the market. For this purpose, astringent washes, mercurial ointments, and repelling drugs are applied, that their wounds and diseases may be hid. These preparations being completed, they are led to the market like cattle, examined, handled, selected, separated, and sold : except in those cases where the Negroes are branded—not like sheep, who have the farmer’s initial marked with tar upon their wool, but—*with the red-hot iron upon the bare flesh*. As these marks show that they belonged to, and were shipped on account of, different individuals, they are at once transferred to their owners.

A letter from the Havannah, in 1838, contains the following account : “In the cool of the evening we made a visit to the bazaar. A newly-imported cargo of two hundred and twenty human beings was here exposed for sale. They were crouched down upon their forms around a large room. During a visit of more than an hour that we were there, not a word was uttered by one of them. On entering the room the eyes of all were turned towards us, as if to read in our countenances their fate. They were all nearly naked, being but slightly clad in a light check shirt, upon which was a mark upon the breast. With a few exceptions they were but skin and bone. Too weak to

support their languid forms, they were reclining on the floor, their backs resting against the wall. When a purchaser came, they were motioned to stand, which order they obeyed, though with apparent pain. A few were old and grey; but the greater proportion were children, of from ten to thirteen or fifteen years of age. When they stood, their legs looked as thin as reeds, and hardly capable of supporting the skeletons of their wasted forms. The keeper informed us, they were of several distinct tribes, and that they did not understand one another; and this was apparent, also, from the formation of the head. While we were there, five little boys and girls were selected and bought to go into the interior. No regard is paid to relationship; and, once separated, they never meet again.”*

The population of Brazil in South America is estimated at upwards of five millions; and of these more than two millions are slaves. Notwithstanding, that country took part with other nations in the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, made it illegal in 1831, and even declared it punishable as piracy; yet an active Slave-Trade is still carried on between it and the African coast; and the number of Negroes landed at five of the principal ports of Brazil is upwards of seventy thousand annually. So eager, indeed, is the demand for slaves, that it is believed that, were ten thousand Africans to be brought into that province every month, they would be all bought up. The slaves, when landed, are generally taken to *dépôts* along the coast, until recruited after their voyage. If not sold at the *dépôt*, a case which often happens, they are marched openly in gangs into the interior, and distributed over the country, and are employed in the mines or on the plantations. The following extract from a letter written on board of a British vessel, and dated January 9th, 1843, will give an idea of the conduct of the Brazilian government with reference to the Slave-Trade, and of the way in which the Negroes are disposed of on landing in Brazil:—

“We arrived off Santos on November 12th, and received information that a slave-vessel was daily expected from the east coast. The vessel arrived; but, having gained intelligence from the Portuguese on shore that our boats were at the mouth of the river, she landed her cargo a few miles lower down, and thus escaped being captured. The commander of the English cruiser wrote to the governor of Mozambique, who, not being friendly to the Slave-Trade, fined the vessel severely for a breach

* SIR T. F. BUXTON on the “Slave-Trade, and its Remedy.”

of the custom-laws; which was reported to the Portuguese government at home; and an order was despatched for his supersession, it having been found that he was too strict, and that, in consequence, the colonial treasury was impoverished. A duty is paid upon each slave of seven dollars; and the authorities, instead of suppressing the abominable traffic, encourage it by every means in their power.

"The ship in question sailed from Quillimane with eight hundred and fifty slaves, all children, and landed six hundred and twenty, having lost two hundred and thirty on the passage. The cost of slaves at Quillimane is about thirty-two milreis each; (about £4 sterling;) and the price obtained for them on landing was six hundred milreis, (£75 sterling,) ready money, leaving a profit, after a deduction of eighteen milreis for their subsistence on shore previous to being sold, of five hundred and fifty milreis on each slave, to pay the expense of their transit, and to reimburse the vile wretches employed in the nefarious traffic, and also to enable them to fee the authorities, in order to hoodwink them. In a conversation I had with the English consul, Mr. Whittaker, he said that the authorities are all determined to encourage the traffic, alleging that no act can become law by the Portuguese constitution unless it be beneficial to the country generally; and that, as the importation of Negroes is beneficial, and desired by a majority of the people, the treaty entered into by the mother country is not binding upon them."*

It appears from authentic documents that the slaves on the plantations and in the mines of Brazil are, on the whole, better treated than those in the planting states of America; that they have more holidays in the course of the year; that the law compels the master to manumit the slave for the price at which he was first purchased, or for his present value, if it be greater than prime cost; and that instances of manumission are far from uncommon.

But, with the exception of these meliorating circumstances, Slavery in Brazil is as miserable a state of bondage as could well be pictured. "If *we* be the most merciful," says the author of a Brazilian pamphlet on Slavery, "what must the rest be? On the great sugar estates in the north of Brazil, it would horrify you to witness the misery of the slaves, whose bodies, covered with wounds, sufficiently indicate the treatment of which they are continually the victims.

"In the province of Maranhão and Piauí, *as novenas*, that is, 'whippings for nine successive days,' is an ordinary punishment. The culprit is fastened to a cart,

and there receives two or three hundred lashes; the mangled flesh is then cut, and Cayenne pepper and salt are put into the wounds, to prevent, as they suppose, gangrene and corruption. I know a man named Joao. Alvarenga, in Piahy, who, when he wished to get rid of a slave, ordered him a *novena*, and then exposed him in a sack to the burning sun, where the unhappy victim was farther tortured to death. The punishment of the *torniquette*, hand and neck-stocks, thumb-screws, irons, stocks, and many other instruments of torture, are common on our plantations; and even in our cities they are not rare. The art of torturing is far advanced amongst us. To expose a slave for a whole night tied to a stake over an ants' nest, as is customary in some provinces, or on a cross to the stinging of musquitoes, as in Rio Grande de Sul, are refinements of barbarity peculiar to Brazil."

As in other slave-using countries, so in Brazil, the cruel treatment which the slaves experience drive many of them to the most desperate means of escaping it. "Suicide," says the Rev. Dr. Walsh, "is the daily practice in Brazil. Respectable persons have told me they frequently encountered black bodies, when they went to bathe. I have seen them myself, left by the tide on the strand, and some weltering just under our windows. The wretched slave often inflicts death on himself in an extraordinary manner. They have a method of burying their tongue in the throat, in such a way as to produce suffocation. A friend of mine was passing when a slave was tied up and flogged. After a few lashes he hung down his head, apparently lifeless; and, when taken down, he was actually dead, and his tongue found wedged in the *æsofagus* so completely as to cover the *trachea*. Negresses are known to be very fond mothers; yet this very affection often impels them to commit infanticide. Many of them, particularly the Minas slaves, have the strongest repugnance to have children, or, as they say, to bring slaves into the world."*

Instances of runaway or strayed Negroes are of frequent occurrence, when advertisements are published, offering a reward for their apprehension. If recovered, they are severely punished.

Advertisements are also to be seen of sales of Negroes, such as the following, which occurs in the Rio Janeiro paper, the *Journal de Commerce*, July 21st, 1840: "For sale, in the Rua de Cano, No. 119, with or without her infant of four months, a Negress. She has good milk, is very healthy, and very kind and tender to children. She has neither vices nor defects; can sew, wash, starch, and cook, all in perfection, which will be guaranteed by the Publisher. The motive for selling her is her being disobedient to her Senhora."†

Where is there a Briton that can read this cold-blooded piece of barbarous inhumanity, this daring insult to our common nature, without feelings of the utmost repugnance and the deepest indignation? Or, as Cowper expresses it,

"What man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head, to think himself a man?"

A mother offered for sale, "*with or without her infant of four*

* CHAMBERS'S "Miscellany."

† *Idem*.

months !" No wonder that the Negresses "have the strongest repugnance to have children, or, as they say, to bring slaves into the world." What English grazier would thus separate the young of his sheep-fold, or any of his other cattle, from their dams at a corresponding tender age? "*She has good milk !*" Whose face, male or female, does not exhibit a crimson blush of shame at this short sentence? "*Is very healthy, and very kind and tender to children : she has neither vices nor defects,*" &c. : and yet this healthy, kind, and tender-hearted mother, groaning under the cruel usage of her task-master, must suffer an additional pang, by having her infant torn from her bosom ! O ! there is something, in the system of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, so contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, something so unearthly, so diabolical and infernal, that it makes one's blood to chill and one's pulse to stand still with horror. Who does not pity poor Africa, and the millions of Africans who are toiling in other lands, for another's gain ?

Abundantly has Africa multiplied, but only to furnish fresh victims to the fraud and avarice of other nations. Brazil alone, as we have already stated, receives an annual importation of upwards of seventy thousand Negroes : and Sir Fowell Buxton has most clearly proved, that Africa has been annually robbed by the abominable Slave-Traders, Christian and Mahometan, of upwards of two hundred thousand of her children ; that this immense number of Africans are periodically torn from the land of their birth and of liberty, and sent into a state of cruel captivity. To this amount may be added fully 125 per cent, as the average of lives destroyed, first, by the wholesale murders which take place in the primary seizure of these unhappy creatures ; secondly, by the mortality which rages amongst them on their march down to the coast, and during their detention, often in a state of starvation, in the slave-barracoons ; and thirdly, by the multiplied horrors of the Middle Passage ; thus making the total loss to Africa of not less than five hundred thousand per annum. In the preceding calculation we have not included the 20 per cent, or the one-fifth of the number imported, that perish in the seasoning, after they are landed in a foreign country ; nor the seven or eight thousand that are annually captured by the British cruisers, and that are conveyed back again to their father-land, and many of whom die on their homeward passage, and not a few after they are landed on the British settlements on the coast. So that Africa loses far more than America or other slave-holding countries gain.

Take the following simple calculation from Sir T. F. Buxton's

affecting record of the Slave-Trade:—"Of 1000 victims to the Slave-Trade,

<i>One-half</i> perish in the seizure, march, and detention,—that is	500
Of the 500 embarked, <i>one-fourth</i> , or 25 per cent die on the passage	125
Of the remaining 375 landed, <i>one-fifth</i> , or 20 per cent, perish in the seasoning.....	75
	<hr/>
Total loss...	700
	<hr/>

So that 300 Negroes only, or *three-tenths* of the whole number of victims, remain alive at the end of a year after their deportation."

From these statements it is plain, that the whole wastage, or tare, of the traffic is seven-tenths : that is to say, for every ten Negroes whom Africa parts with, America receives only three ; the other seven die. If we apply, therefore, as we may fairly do, this mode of calculation to the actual numbers, we shall find that if 500,000 Negroes are collected in the interior of Africa, in the collecting of these one-half will die before the time of their embarkation, leaving only 250,000 to be shipped ; of these one-fourth will die in the passage across the Atlantic, leaving only 187,500 to be landed ; and of these one-fifth will die in the process of seasoning ; leaving only available to the planter or slave-holder 150,000. So that 350,000 Africans annually perish at the shrine of this goddess of European cupidity, avarice, and cruelty ; besides the 150,000 who are every year left to toil and bleed and groan under the heavy lash of these modern Pharaohs, whose hearts Satan himself must have hardened, or they would long ere this have let the people go free.

Nor does the awful amount of mortality stop here, frightful as it is : for, through the haste with which the embarkation is generally conducted, the poor slaves being stowed away under the athwarts of the canoe, on their way to the slave-ship, in consequence of the surf running high, some of the canoes and boats are frequently swamped amidst the breakers, and many slaves are thus lost. This was the case when Joseph Wright was being shipped ; for he says, "When they begin to place in canoes, to bring us to the brig, one of the canoes sank, and half of the slaves died." Many slave-vessels, as well as others, are wrecked at sea : and hundreds and thousands have in this way found a grave in the ocean's bed. Many are also cast into the sea, when a man-of-war is in sight, to lighten the ship, and so increase its speed, and prevent capture. And even when the elements are not unfavourable to the slaver's course, and there

is no British cruiser to intercept her progress, "death thins the cargoes in various modes: suicide destroys many; and many are thrown overboard at the close of the voyage; for, as a duty of ten (or seven) dollars is set by the Brazilian Government upon each slave upon landing, such as seem unlikely to survive, or to bring a price sufficiently high to cover this custom-house tax, are purposely drowned before entering port. Those only escape these wholesale murders who will probably recover health and flesh when removed to the fattening-pens of the slave-farmer,—a man who contracts to feed up the skeletons to a marketable appearance."* The Paris petition of February, 1825, states, "that it is established, by authentic documents, that the slave-captains throw into the sea, every year, about three thousand Negroes, men, women, and children; of whom more than half are thus sacrificed, whilst yet alive, either to escape from the visits of cruisers, or because, worn down by their sufferings, they could not be sold to advantage."†

If to these items of mortality we add those who are slaughtered when a mutiny occurs on board, and the numbers thrown overboard when a storm arises, to prevent a worse catastrophe; and the great number of deaths which take place after capture, when the slaves fall into British hands, on their way to the place of adjudication, and even after they are landed at the British settlements; the amount will probably be not less than 370,000 of those who actually and annually perish in this the worst of all plagues.

It is not easy to arrive at a correct estimate of the amount of the Slave Trade, as carried on by various nations, during any given year or number of years. All that can be done is to form a calculation, approaching as nearly as possible to the actual quantity, taking our data from well-authenticated records and unquestionable facts. This task we have endeavoured to perform. What an accumulation of guilt, then, rests upon those nations which have for so many years been engaged in this atrocious and execrable trade! and what an awful amount of misery and mortality has Africa endured since her sons first began to be kidnapped from her fertile shores! If we calculate the annual loss to Africa at 500,000, and multiply this number by the ages through which the injury has been protracted, the amount appals and rends the heart.

"From age to age" this cruelty "may be traced upon its own

* RANKIN'S "Sierra-Leone," vol. ii. p. 72.

† SIR T. F. BUXTON'S "Slave-Trade, and its Remedy."

sun-burnt continent ;” for “ which of the sands of her deserts has not been steeped in tears, wrung out by the pang of separation from kindred and country? What wind has passed over her plains without catching up the sighs of bleeding or broken hearts? And in what part of the world have not her children been wasted by labours, and degraded by oppressions?”* It is calculated that Napoleon in the course of his career occasioned the sacrifice of three millions of the human race: but this is a mere trifle compared with the awful scourge which the malevolent and inveterate Slave-Trade has inflicted, and is at this day inflicting, upon unhappy Africa; for from the preceding statements it appears that upwards of *one thousand victims* are *daily* required to feed this terrible consumer of mankind. This is not, therefore, an occasional war between one nation and another upon some great national principle: it is the every-day business and profession of hundreds of armed bandits, who, like the dreaded locusts, drive or carry off every thing before them. This is indeed “the terror by night,” and “the arrow that flieth by day.” It is emphatically the “pestilence that walketh in darkness,” and “the destruction that wasteth at noon-day.” (Psalm xci. 5, 6.) For, in the language of Bryan Edwards, “the whole or the greater part of that immense continent is a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness, in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other.” But, O! “tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon,” that the untutored Africans are urged on to those deeds of bloodshed and cruelty by the civilized white villains of other countries!

As there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact number of slaves forced from Africa during any one given year, so it is next to impossible to arrive at any correct conclusion as to the sum total of Negroes that Africa has lost since the commencement of this ungodly traffic. But a hundred years ago the amount was supposed to be 100,000 annually; that is, this number was at that period landed in slave-holding states. Consequently, so far back as that, upwards of another 100,000 must have been sacrificed in the seizure, on the march, during their detention on the coast, and on board those floating lazaret-houses, the slave-ships: and up to the close of the last century it has been calculated that Africa must have been defrauded of a population equal in numbers to that of the British islands, or nearly 30,000,000! If we add the half million which Africa is now annually losing, and has been losing yearly for a long

* REV. RICHARD WATSON'S Works, vol. ii. p. 93.

time past, the amount will be nearly twice the population of Great Britain, or one-third of the inhabitants of Africa itself, and not less than one-fourteenth part of the population of the whole globe! What mind can grasp the idea? or what imagination can conceive one-half of the horrible murders, the countless miseries, the heart-rending atrocities, and the wholesale devastations, which have been committed in the enslaving of such a number of human beings? Surely we may say, in the language of holy writ, "This is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison-houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore." (Isaiah xlii. 22.)

It has been well and truly said, "This is no picture of infernal torments, devised by a wild mythology; no fabulous tale, invented to warn mankind against the malignity of unbridled power; no antiquated history of obsolete and now impossible facts. It is a true report, a faithful diary, of actual life. Even now, at every moment of that happy existence with which nature and Providence have blessed this happy land, all the fearful scenes are acting. At this very moment the savage bandits are raking peaceful villages with fire and sword, and seizing or slaughtering their affrighted prey. At this moment savage captors are driving their chained gangs to the coast. Even now the slavers are packing the human cargo in narrower space than bales of goods would require: while others are borne across the Atlantic, others kept in hulks off the Brazilian shore. At this and every hour the cane-fields are tilled by scourged gangs, debarred all intercourse with women, and by systematic ill-usage consumed in the shortest time, and unceasingly replaced by fresh victims. And, the truth cannot be disguised, all this follows, 'as the night the day.' "*

And must this tale of horrors be continued? When will the justice, the benevolence, and the religion of Christendom put an end to this infamous traffic? But we leave the subject for the present. Some further observations on the Slave-Trade will be found in subsequent parts of this work: and at the close a few suggestions will be offered as to the best mode of destroying this gigantic evil.

* LORD DENMAN'S "Second Letter to Lord Brougham on the final Extinction of the Slave-Trade," 1849, p. 31.

CHAPTER VII.

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

THE Circumnavigation of Africa—Early Discoveries of the Western Coast—Hanno and Endoxus—Strange Report of the former—Since found to be substantially correct—The Decline of maritime Discovery—Invention of the Mariner's Compass—Discovery of the Canary Islands by the Spaniards—The Portuguese lead the Way in maritime Enterprise—Discovery of the Madcira Islands in 1418—Cape Bojador passed in 1433—Prince Henry's Instructions to his Navigators—His Wishes gratified by Gonzales in 1442—Presentation of the Negroes to the Pope—His Bull in favour of the Portuguese—The Portuguese enter the Tropics—Cape-Verd—Senegal and Gambia—The Gold-Coast—Commercial Prospects—John II. sends an Expedition—A Portuguese Colony formed on the Gold-Coast—John assumes the Title of "Lord of Guinea"—Emanuel succeeds John—The renowned Vasco de Gama—Portuguese Forts and Slave-Factories established on different Parts of the Coast—Objects of the Portuguese in exploring the Coast—Gold and Slaves the principal Attractions—Commencement of the European Slave-Trade—Mode of taking Slaves—Gonzales and Nunez Tristan both killed in kidnapping Slaves—Increase of the Portuguese Slave-Trade—The Spaniards imbibe a Taste for Man-stealing—Portuguese engage in the "Carrying Trade"—Catholic Missionaries sent to the Coast in 1490—Well received—Wholesale Method of baptizing—Rapid Progress of the Catholic Religion—Its early Decline—Total Extinction.

LONG before the discovery of the New World by Columbus, or the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, other voyages were undertaken with a view to the exploration of certain parts of the unknown coasts of Africa. In a preceding chapter we have placed upon record two accounts of the circumnavigation of Africa, at a very early period. The first of these voyages was undertaken by the Phenicians in the service of Necho, king of Egypt, about 2,450 years ago; and the second and most memorable was performed along the Western Coast of Africa by Hanno, about 570 years before the Christian era. The Carthaginians fitted out this expedition with a view partly to colonization, and partly to discovery. The armament consisted of sixty large vessels, on board of which were embarked persons of both sexes, to the number of thirty thousand.

The narrative handed down to us of Hanno's voyage begins at the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Pillars of Hercules. After two days' sail thence, they founded, in the midst of an extensive plain, the city of Thymiatarium. In two days more, they came to a cape, shaded with trees, called Solocis, a promontory of Libya, on which they erected a temple to

Neptune. They sailed round a bay, thickly bordered with plantations of reeds, where numerous elephants and other wild animals were feeding. Passing along for many days, they came to a gulf, in which were several large islands. Here a remarkable phenomenon arrested their attention. During the day profound silence reigned, and nothing appeared but a vast world of wood. But when night arrived, the whole shore blazed with fire, and echoed with tumultuous shouts, as well as with the sound of cymbals, trumpets, and musical instruments of every description. The Carthaginians, appalled, passed hastily along these shores, and came to another region, which struck them with no less surprise. Here the land appeared all on fire; torrents of flame rushed into the sea; and if they attempted to land, the soil was too hot for the foot to tread upon. One object particularly struck them, which, at night, appeared a greater fire mingling with the stars; but, in the day-time, proved to be a mountain of prodigious height, to which they gave the appellation of "the chariot of the gods."

After sailing three days, they lost sight of these fiery torrents, and came to another bay, containing an island, which presented a new phenomenon. The inhabitants were of the human form; but, shagged and covered with hair, they suggested the idea of those grotesque deities by which superstition supposed the woods to be peopled. To these monsters they gave the name of *Gorillæ*. The males evaded all pursuit: they climbed precipices, and threw stones on their pursuers. But three females were caught, and their skins carried to Carthage. Here the narrative winds up by saying, that the farther progress of the expedition was arrested by the want of provisions.

Such are the leading features of this celebrated voyage, than which none has afforded, in modern times, more ample room for the speculation of the learned. Many of the circumstances which wore at first a marvellous aspect, have been found to correspond with the observations of modern travellers. The fires and nocturnal symphonies represent the habits prevalent on all the Negro states,—repose during the day; music and dancing prolonged through the night. The flames which seemed to sweep over an expanse of territory, might be explained by the practice, equally general, of setting fire at a certain season of the year to the grass and shrubs; and the *Gorillæ* were evidently the remarkable species of ape, to which we give the name of ourang outang.* Extreme difference of opinion,

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 17—20.

however, prevails as to the extent of coast actually explored by this expedition: M. Gosselin contending that Hanno's voyage terminated on the frontier of the coast of Morocco, a little beyond the river Nun, in latitude 29° N., and only about 7° below Gibraltar; while Heeren is of opinion that the expedition reached to the mouth of the Gambia, in latitude 13° N.; and Major Rennell believes that Hanno went still further to the south, that he passed Sierra-Leone, and that the island and bay of the *Gorillæ* were Sherbro Island and Sound. The first theory supposes a run along the western coast of above six hundred miles; the second, of about two thousand two hundred; and the last, of nearly three thousand miles, from the commencement of the voyage.

The next remarkable voyage along the Western Coast of Africa of which we have any account, was that of Eudoxus, about 440 years subsequent to that of Hanno, or 130 years before the birth of Christ. We have already mentioned this spirited and enterprising navigator; and though there appears to be some doubt as to whether he actually rounded the Cape of Storms, yet that he passed the Straits with the prow of his vessel turned towards India, and that he sailed a considerable distance along the shores of Africa, is pretty evident.

Soon after this period, the spirit of discovery and maritime enterprise declined, and lay dormant for many centuries. The first fresh impulse which it received was about the year A.D. 1302, when the invaluable invention of the mariner's compass was made by Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Ormalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, which "opened to man the dominion of the sea, and put him in full possession of the earth." But "near half a century elapsed from the time of Gioia's discovery, before navigators ventured into any seas which they had not been accustomed to frequent." Hence Dr. Robertson remarks, "The first appearance of a bolder spirit may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of these small isles, which lie nearly five hundred miles from the Spanish coast, and above one hundred and fifty miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained. But about the middle of the fourteenth century, the people of all the different kingdoms into which Spain was then divided, were accustomed to make piratical excursions thither, in order to plunder the inhabitants, or to carry them off as slaves." It does not appear, however, that this event had any important influence on the progress of discovery, though we find that "Clement VI.,

in virtue of the right claimed by the holy see to dispose of all countries possessed by infidels, erected these isles into a kingdom in the year 1344;" and it was long held as "a fief of the crown of Castile."

But, soon after this, the spirit of enterprise, which had been asleep for ages, awoke, and burst forth with fresh and almost unparalleled energy. "The glory of leading the way in the new career was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy." * These undertakings are eloquently illustrated and described by the great historian, Dr. Robertson, in the introduction to his "History of America." It appears that one of the first attempts towards obtaining a knowledge of Africa was made by the Portuguese in 1412. Notwithstanding their vicinity to that continent, they had never ventured beyond Cape Nun, which had received its name from a supposed impossibility of passing it. This year, however, or soon after, they proceeded one hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador, which, stretching a considerable way into the Atlantic Ocean with rocky cliffs, appeared so dreadful to the navigators, that they returned to Lisbon without any attempt to pass it; "more satisfied," says the historian of America, "with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no farther." In a subsequent attempt to double this formidable Cape, they were driven out to sea by a sudden squall, which was followed by a violent storm; and when they all expected to perish, they discovered Porto-Santo, one of the least of the Madeira Islands. This was in 1418; and in the following year they discovered Madeira itself. Prince Henry, in 1420, settled a colony here; and not only furnished it with plants and domestic animals, but procured slips of the vine from Cyprus, and plants of the sugar-cane from Sicily. "These thrived so prosperously, that the sugar and wine of Madeira quickly became articles of some consequence in the commerce of Portugal."

But the information obtained respecting the Western Coast of Africa was still very limited. Cape Bojador continued to be the boundary of the continental discoveries of the Portuguese, till 1433, when that passage was effected by Gilianez, which caused a surprise and admiration almost equal to what were

* DR. ROBERTSON'S "History of America."

afterwards excited by the discovery of America. As yet, however, nothing had been brought home besides plants; but two years afterwards "Gonzales Baldeza penetrated about two degrees farther, and collected a valuable cargo of seal-skins, with which he returned to Henry. The prince had always urged his navigators to bring home some of the natives, that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back; so that the Portuguese might afterwards be able to open a commerce with them in their own country. In 1442, twenty-four years after the first expedition had sailed on this pursuit, the prince's wishes were gratified. Gonzales, returning after a voyage of two years, brought with him ten slaves and some gold-dust. Henry held out to his followers the gold, as the fruit to be gathered by all who would assist in these discoveries; and he presented the Negroes to the Pope, and entreated his holiness to make over to him a title to all the countries he should discover, as an encouragement to those who should persevere in the enterprise, for the propagation of the Christian faith. Upon this invitation, Pope Martin V. in the same year issued a Bull, by which he granted to the Portuguese nation an exclusive right to the possession and dominion of all the countries which they might discover from Cape Bojador to the continent of India."*

In 1443 Nunez Tristan passed Cape Blanco, and discovered the Island of Arguim. They had now penetrated within the Tropics; and a rapid progress having been made along the shores of the Sahara, the Portuguese navigators were not long in reaching the fertile regions watered by the Senegal and the Gambia. In 1446 Diniz Fernandez discovered Cape Verd, and in the following year Lancelot entered the Senegal. The Cape de Verd Islands and the Azores were successively discovered about the year 1449; and in 1471 the voyagers proceeded as far south as the Gold-Coast, and were surprised to find that the Torrid Zone, contrary to the opinion of the ancients, who imagined it to be burnt up with heat, was not only habitable, but fertile and prosperous. "While the Portuguese proceeded along the coast of Africa, from Cape Nun to the river Senegal, they found all that extensive tract to be sandy, barren, and thinly inhabited by a wretched people, professing the Mahomedan religion, and subject to the vast empire of Morocco. But to the south of that river, the power and religion of the Mahomedans were unknown. The country was divided into small independent principalities; the population

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves."

was considerable, the soil fertile; and the Portuguese soon discovered that it produced ivory, rich gums, gold, and other valuable commodities. By the acquisition of these, commerce was enlarged, and became more adventurous. Men, animated and rendered active by the certain prospect of gain, pursued discovery with greater eagerness than when they were excited only by curiosity and hope."

In 1484 a powerful fleet was fitted out by John II., which, after discovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, advanced about fifteen hundred miles beyond the Line; and the Portuguese, for the first time, "beheld a new heaven, and observed the stars of another hemisphere. John was not only solicitous to discover, but attentive to secure the possession of, those countries. He built forts on the coast of Guinea; he sent out colonies to settle there; he established a commercial intercourse with the more powerful kingdoms; he endeavoured to render such as were feeble or divided tributary to the crown of Portugal. Some of the petty princes voluntarily acknowledged themselves his vassals: others were compelled to do so by force of arms. A regular and well-digested system was formed with respect to this new object of policy, and, by firmly adhering to it, the Portuguese power and commerce in Africa were established upon a solid foundation."*

About this time, (1485,) the king of Portugal, upon the strength of these discoveries, formally assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea;" since borne by his descendants. King John continued his enterprises up to 1497, when he died, and was succeeded by Emanuel, who inherited John's passionate desire for discovery, and trade in the East: and in that year the whole line of coast was explored, by the renounced Vasco de Gama, who passed the Cape of Good Hope, and the southern extremity of the African continent, visited Cape Natal, Mozambique, and Melinda, whence he stretched across to India. The Portuguese had now completed the circumnavigation of Africa; and at the close of the century, had built several other forts besides that at Elmina, and established slave-factories at Arguim, and on the banks of the rivers Senegal, Nunez, Benin, and Congo; and carried on a considerable commercial trade in the interior, even up to Timbuctoo.

The objects of the Portuguese in these maritime enterprises appear to have been threefold,—legitimate commerce,—trade in slaves,—and the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion.

* DR. ROBERTSON'S "History of America."

We have already noticed that Prince Henry had urged upon his navigators to bring home some of the natives, in order that he might have them baptized and educated, and then sent back to the Portuguese settlements. And in 1481, when John II. succeeded to the throne, finding that his subjects, in some cases, discontinued the Slave-Trade, and, in others, disposed of their Negroes in Africa for gold, he encouraged them by all means in his power to continue to trade in slaves, and to import them into Europe, "in order," said he, "that the slaves may be taught the worship of the true God before they die."* But the laudable purpose of Henry and of John II. were soon mixed up with baser objects; for, on arriving at the Gold-Coast, the Portuguese were dazzled by the importance and splendour of the commodity, the commerce of which gave the name to that region which it still retains. The fort which they built on that part of the coast was called Elmina, (or "the mine,") and became the centre and capital of their possessions in this continent. So far back as 1482, private merchants formed themselves into an Association for the avowed purpose of carrying on jointly the gold-and Slave-Trade: and in the same year Nunez Tristan, in the neighbourhood of Arguim, in latitude 20° 30' North, met with some native boats, captured them, and brought back their crews, amounting to fourteen persons, and made slaves of them. From this period may be dated the beginning of the African Slave-Trade in Europe; and it is melancholy to reflect upon the rapidity with which it increased. In 1482, almost as soon as the Association was formed, its leaders set sail and captured two hundred slaves. Part of these were liberated again on ransom in Africa, and part were brought to Portugal, and there sold.† Gold and slaves, but chiefly the latter, were still the two main objects for which the Portuguese traded with Africa; and the articles which they carried there for barter, were cloths and stuffs of Portuguese manufacture.

In 1482 Cadamosto undertook a voyage to the Gambia, at the request of Prince Henry, who had heard of the wealth on the banks of that noble river. Cadamosto learned that the Portuguese had been in the habit of landing by night, taking the villages by surprise, attacking them, and carrying off the inhabitants: and thus, sailing along the coast, had committed ravages, and caused horrors, wherever they went. Such were the deeds which had already become common with the slave-

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 22. From KERR'S "Voyages and Travels."

† Ibid. p. 16.

traders of Portugal. But that the native Africans were hostile to those plundering expeditions of the Portuguese, and resisted them with all their might, we have proof at this early period: for in 1445, in another voyage made by Gonzales, when he attacked the unoffending natives with the view of obtaining more slaves, he was himself killed in the affray which ensued. Thus terminated the career of the man who a year or two previously was the first who had forced the Africans from their native land, and had conveyed them to Europe. In the following year, Nunez Tristan, who had embarked in the same unhallowed enterprise, met with a similar fate. In ascending the Rio Nunez, such was the eagerness of the Portuguese to obtain slaves, that they again attacked the natives; and in the scuffle Nunez Tristan lost his life, leaving his name to the river on which he died.*

But this nefarious traffic, having once begun, continued rapidly to increase; and as early as 1460, the Portuguese establishment and Slave-Factory on the island of Arguim were in full operation; the Portuguese having enticed the Arabs to bring down from the interior Negroes and gold, in exchange for Portuguese goods. It appears from Mr. Bandinel, who quotes from Cadamosto, that "from seven hundred to eight hundred head of slaves" were yearly imported from Africa into Portugal about this period.

The Spaniards, also, had now imbibed a taste for man-stealing; though they indulged in it only to a very limited extent, until the discovery of the New World, at the close of the century. Then it was that the wholesale trade commenced: for it is well known that Negro Slavery in the West Indies, both in its cause and guilty agency, stands in close alliance with the horrid extermination of the poor American Indians; both being deeds, the infamy of which belongs principally, if not solely, to the Spaniards. In the mean time, the Portuguese traffic in slaves continued to increase; and after supplying Portugal itself with as many slaves as that country would take, the traders commenced the practice of transporting their victims from Africa as slaves to other countries; and this was called "the Carrying Trade." †

But though the trade in gold and slaves was the principal object which the Portuguese had in view in exploring the Western Coast of Africa, they did not omit to introduce and inculcate the principles of their religion. This, indeed, was a

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 17.

† Ibid. p. 21.

part of the Portuguese policy, whenever they effected the conquest of any country ; as it was also the practice of the Spaniards on taking possession of Hispaniola, and other of the West-Indian islands. Hence, on the return of Diego Camru from Portugal about the year 1486, with some Congo princes, whom he had taken with him to Lisbon about fifteen months previously, he was received with great kindness by the Congo king, who promised to embrace Christianity, and sent several of his nobles back with Diego to Europe to be instructed in its principles. They remained two years, and were treated with great respect ; and when they were considered ripe for baptism, John II. stood godfather to the principal envoy, and his chief courtiers to the others.

In 1490 the Congo nobles were conveyed back to their native country under charge of an ambassador, and a body of missionaries. The Portuguese, on their arrival, were received by the king in full pomp. The native troops approached in three lines, making so prodigious a noise with horns, kettledrums, and other instruments, and raising shouts so tremendous, as to surpass all that the Europeans had ever witnessed in Catholic processions and invocation to the saints. The king himself was seated in the midst of a large park, upon an ivory chair raised on a platform. He gave full permission to erect a church ; he and all his nobles were baptized ; and free scope was allowed to the exertions of the Catholic missionaries ; so that a hundred thousand of the subjects of Congo were baptized in one day, and called Christians, but without any idea of the duties and obligations which that sacred name imposes. The wholesale manner in which the Spanish Catholic friars performed the rite of baptism upon the aborigines of the New World, may be inferred from the following quotation from Heylin, who, after mentioning the case of a person of note who resolutely refused to be baptized, says, "The rest were driven into the font, like so many horses to the watering-place, and received into the church of Christ without any instruction : insomuch that one old friar (as himself confessed to Charles V.) had christened 700,000 of them ; and another of that rank, 300,000 ; never acquainting them with any of the articles of the Christian faith, or points of religious conversation." *

Nothing could be more auspicious than the first establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Congo. But when, after these ceremonial preliminaries, the missionaries proceeded to

* HEYLIN'S "Cosmographie," p. 1017.

enforce upon their sable disciples the necessity of some moral restrictions in the matter of polygamy, the aged monarch considered this too great a privation to be endured; and he, with all his nobles, plunged again into the abyss of Pagan superstition. His eldest son, however, Alphonso, the youthful heir-apparent, saw nothing so dreadful in the sacrifice; and he alone remained firm. The old king dying soon after, this zealous convert became entitled to reign; and though he met with considerable opposition from his brother, Panso Aquitimo, the nobles, and almost the whole nation, who raised the standard of revolt in support of polygamy and Paganism, yet, being firmly seated on his throne, he continued a steadfast adherent to the Portuguese, and a great friend to the missionaries. Having thus acquired a settlement in Congo, and being re-inforced by successive bodies of their brethren, who were sent out by the court of Rome, the missionaries spread the Catholic faith over the neighbouring countries, and penetrated into the interior, as yet unexplored by Europeans, also along the coast, and into the island of Fernando Po, where the work of conversion went forward, and a church was built. In fact, almost every where their career was similar; the people gave them the most cordial reception, flocked in crowds to witness, and to share in, the pomp of their ceremonies, accepted with thankfulness their sacred gifts, and received by thousands the rite of baptism. They were not, however, on this account, prepared to renounce their ancient habits and superstitions: it was a mere nominal Christianity which existed from first to last. We do not possess any record of the exact period when the Portuguese missionaries were expelled, or abandoned their work at Congo; but we know that from the year 1490 down to 1682, there continued to be sent out friars, monks, priests, bishops, and fathers;* so that in Congo, and the districts south of that kingdom, for more than two centuries, at least the profession of Christianity was retained, though in a form which was very little better than Paganism itself: for many years past, however, not the least vestige of this "holy catholic faith" has been found on the banks of the Zaire, or in other parts of the coast of Guinea.

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 68, 116. See also WADSTROM'S "Essay on the Colonization of Western Africa," p. 125.

CHAPTER VIII.

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

THE English embark in the African Trade—John II. of Portugal remonstrates against this to Edward IV., King of England—His Wishes for some time complied with—English Traders visit the Coast—Success of Lok's Voyage in 1554—The French embark in the Trade—The English, though much annoyed by the Portuguese, still persevere—Captain Hawkins and the Slave-Trade—The English, French, and Dutch engage in lawful Commerce—Queen Elizabeth grants a Patent to some Exeter Merchants to carry on the Trade of the Senegal and the Gambia—French Vessels touch at both these Rivers—The Dutch actively engaged in the African Trade—James I. grants a Charter to some Merchants in London, for the Purpose of "Adventuring in the Golden Trade"—George Thompson reaches Tenda in the Upper Gambia—Jobson sent by the Company in the same Direction—The French found an Establishment at the Senegal—The English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spaniards, all engaged in the Slave-Trade—The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa founded—Opposition to the Trade from the Dutch—War with Holland—New Company incorporated under the Name of "The Royal African Company of England"—The British Trade in Africa placed upon a better Basis—Several Forts built—The African Trade mixed up with the West Indies—The French sell their Establishment at Senegal to the French West-India Company, with an exclusive Right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope—The Spanish Papal Bull—The French and English commit the same Blunder—The Slave-Trade—The Spirit of African Discovery revived in 1720—Stibbs sails up the Gambia, and passes the Falls of Barraconda—Brue ascends the Senegal as far as Gallam—Conflicting Accounts of the Niger—The English Company contracts with Spain to supply her Colonies with Slaves—This proved to be a losing Concern—The Company cede to the Crown all their Possessions—The European Forts and Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa—A new Era in the Annals of Africa—Formation of "The African Association"—Modern Travellers—The Niger—Tribute to Mungo Park.

ALTHOUGH the Portuguese bore away the palm of maritime enterprise in Africa from all other nations, there were not wanting some who followed close in their wake,—the adventurers of France and England especially. But the latter, though early thirsting for enterprise in Africa, were diverted for a length of time from even sending a single ship there, by the monstrous Bull granted in 1442 by the Pope to the Portuguese. For no sooner had the Portuguese monarch assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea," than he claimed a right of prohibiting the other European powers from landing, or engaging in traffic, on any part of the African continent. And as this exorbitant preten-

sion was sanctioned by the authority of the court of Rome, he hesitated not to maintain it by force of arms; and for some time it appears to have been tacitly recognised.

In 1481, a movement was made in England for the purpose of obtaining a share in the African trade. John Tintam and William Fabian are stated to have been employed in equipping a fleet for the coast of Guinea, at the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia. Alarmed at this intelligence, the king of Portugal, John II., immediately despatched an envoy to Edward IV., to represent to the English court his sovereign claims as lord of Guinea; and to urge the request that, throughout the English dominions, no man should be allowed "to arm or set forth ships to Guinea;" and that His Majesty would "dissolve a certain fleet" equipped for that purpose. The demand was complied with; and down to the close of the sixteenth century, the merchants of London imported from Lisbon the rich productions of the East.*

But the shrewd, business-like, spirited, and enterprising men of our own country were not for ever to be excluded from "a share in the African trade;" nor did they wait to the close of the sixteenth century, before they embarked in what was conceived to be the legitimate right of all honest and honourable traders. So early as 1551 and 1552, a Captain Windham had made two successful voyages to the coast of Barbary; and in relation to the latter he observes, "Here, by the way, it is to be observed, that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbary: and, both in our voyage the year before, and also in this, gave out in England, through their merchants, that if they took us in these parts, they would use us as their mortal enemies." But, nothing daunted by this threat, and in defiance of the extravagant claims of the Portuguese monarch, in the following year Windham undertook a third voyage, in which he reached Guinea. Slaves, however, were not his object. He proceeded first to Rio Sestos, where they might with great advantage have loaded the ship with pepper. "But setting lightly by that commodity in comparison of the pure gold they thirsted for, he coursed on to the Golden Coast, obtained one hundred and fifty pounds' weight of the gold of the country, and returned." In 1554, John Lok made a voyage to Guinea. He also proceeded to Rio Sestos, and thence to the Gold-Coast, and brought home four hundred

* CONDER'S "Modern Traveller," vol. xx. p. 25. See also note in BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 32.

pounds' weight of gold, thirty-six butts of Guinea pepper, and two hundred and fifty elephants' teeth. The natives are described by him as being "very wary in bargaining, but yet honest."*

Several other voyages, of both Englishmen and Frenchmen, are mentioned by Hakluyt as having been undertaken about this time to the Western Coast of Africa, for the sole purpose of legitimate trade in the rich productions of that country. In 1555 and 1556, William Towerson made two voyages to Guinea. In the first of these, while engaged in trade with the natives near Elmina, he was attacked by the Portuguese: he escaped, however, to his boats, and, passing farther, completed his cargo of gold-dust and elephants' teeth; though, he observes, "the Portuguese brigandines followed us from place to place, to give warning to the people of the country that they should not deal with us." In the latter voyage, Towerson met with five French vessels trading on the African coast, with whom he joined company, for their mutual protection against the attacks of the Portuguese. They soon after met with a Portuguese squadron, which attacked them. The French, however, did not assist Towerson as he had expected, and they therefore parted company. Soon after, Towerson met with another French vessel, which, seeing his shattered condition, attacked him. But he fought her off, and returned in safety; though it appears that, owing to the above circumstances, this voyage was not so successful in the acquisition of gold as he had expected.†

John Bull, having once embarked in a trade so lucrative as to be able, as we have seen in the case of Lok's one voyage, to bring home from the Gold-Coast several hundred weight of that precious metal, amounting to upwards of £20,000 in value, besides the thirty-six butts of Guinea pepper and a considerable quantity of ivory,—was not to be beaten off by the menacing attitude of the Portuguese on the Coast, or of their squadron at sea. Much less was he to be frightened into an abandonment of the traffic by the great blundering Bull granted by the Pope to Henry of Portugal in 1442. British navigators, therefore, continued to visit the Coast for the purpose of commerce, having as yet abstained from mixing themselves up in any way with the Slave-Trade.‡ At length, however, in 1562, the importation of

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 33, 34. From HAKLUYT.

† *Idem*, p. 35.

‡ The reader may form some idea of the strong temptation to embark in the African Trade from an extract of a letter from a merchant at Morocco, to his friend in London, in 1594. It is as follows: "That you may not think me to slumber in

slaves from Africa was first practised by our own countrymen; and the name which is consigned to everlasting disgrace for commencing this nefarious traffic on the part of the English, is that of Captain Hawkins. But the particulars of this expedition we have given in a preceding chapter: we will, therefore, here only call attention to this remarkable fact,—that the two Europeans who first embarked in this unlawful, unprincipled, and abominable traffic, namely, Gonzales of Portugal and Captain Hawkins of England, both lost their lives, almost at the very commencement of this barbarous Trade. Whether the fate of Hawkins had an influence in deterring our countrymen from this ungodly enterprise, or whether they were held back by a higher principle of justice and humanity, I know not; but thus much is certain, that the English did not engage in the Slave-Trade for many years after this, though they frequently visited the Coast of Africa.

“In 1580, Henry of Portugal died without heirs; and on his death Spain took possession of Portugal, and of its various dependencies in Africa, Asia, and America.” A new turn was, therefore, now given to the African trade. “Philip II., who possessed the throne of Spain, was fully occupied in Europe; and what attention he could give to colonial matters, was devoted to the Spanish possessions in America. Africa was, therefore, neglected; and the English, French, Dutch, and even Courlanders, rushed in, and within a few years possessed themselves, with comparative ease, of that trade which Portugal had laboured so hard and spent so many years in acquiring.” *

It was about this period that the English Government manifested an interest in the trade to Africa; and the formation of establishments on the banks of its central and principal rivers was commenced. In 1588, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to certain rich merchants of Exeter, to carry on the trade of the Senegal and the Gambia. The Portuguese appear to have been by this time entirely driven from the Senegal, since the English navigators, in 1591, heard of only one individual of that nation residing on its banks. But on the Gambia they were established in great numbers; and they appeared to view the arrival of the English with great jealousy. Some French vessels from

this action, wherein you would be truly and perfectly resolved, you shall understand, that, not ten days past, here came a Cabaia of the Andoluzes home from Gago, and another principal Moor, whom the king sent thither at first with Aleaide Hamode; and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold.”—HAKLUYT.

* BANDINEL'S “Account of the Trade in Slaves,” pp. 37, 38. From BARBOT, KOCH, and HAKLUYT.

Dieppe, about this time, touched partly at the Senegal, and partly at the Gambia.*

Shortly after this, the Dutch were actively engaged in the African trade. In 1617, they purchased the Island of Goree; and, following up the traces of the Portuguese, soon supplanted them, taking possession of all their factories and forts, in addition to which they constructed some new ones. Their capital, Elmina, itself soon fell into the hands of these bold and successful rivals, who had now risen to the first rank as a naval people. But the Dutch did not remain long undisputed masters of the seas. The glorious and splendid results which had arisen from the discovery of the East and West Indies, caused the ocean to be generally viewed as the grand theatre where wealth and glory were to be gained. The French and English nations, whose turn it was to take the lead in European affairs, pressed eagerly forward in this career, endeavouring to surpass at once their predecessors and each other.

In 1618, James I. granted a charter to a Company of merchants in London, for the purpose of "adventuring in the Golden Trade." George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, to whom was intrusted this adventure, ascended the Gambia as far as Tenda,—a point much beyond that which any European had before reached. Forts, as well as factories, were erected at several places on the Gambia. Flattering reports had reached Europe of the magnitude of the gold-trade carried on at Timbuctoo, and along the Niger. According to all the geographical systems of that age, the great river Niger was understood to empty itself into the Atlantic either by the Senegal or the Gambia; and therefore, by ascending either of these rivers, it seemed possible to reach Timbuctoo, and thus to arrive, at length, at the great fountain of wealth,—the gold country. Two years after, Richard Jobson was sent by the Company in the same direction. He reached the same point as Thompson had done, but did not push his discoveries farther. Both of these expeditions were attended with considerable annoyance, and even loss of life, from the rude and brutal attacks of the Portuguese, who were still numerous in the upper parts of the Gambia. Thompson had left most of his crew at Kassan, and pushed on in open boats; and soon after his departure, the Portuguese, seized with bitter jealousy at this expedition made by a foreign and rival power, furiously attacked the party left at Kassan, and succeeded in effecting a general massacre of the English. Jobson's

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. p. 210.

men were more fortunate than those of Thompson, being unmolested by the Portuguese, though not without some apprehensions to the contrary. But they suffered from another cause : for on Jobson's return to Kassan, he found the climate had done its usual work ; the master and great part of the crew of the vessel had died ; only about four remained in a state fit for labour. He therefore immediately sailed down the river, and returned to Europe ; nor does he appear to have again visited the African continent.

About this time, (1626,) there flourished at Rouen a Company of French merchants trading to Africa, whose director-general resided at Senegal. This Company shortly afterwards supplied the West-Indian colonies with slaves. In 1631, the second British chartered Company for trading to Africa was formed ; Charles I. having granted a charter to Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others. Edwards states, that the merchants under this charter supplied the British settlements in the West Indies with Negroes for working the estates. Within a few years after this, many African settlements were formed, with the view of securing a supply of slaves for the West-India colonies ; and the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese imported Negroes from Africa to their various possessions in those islands. The Spaniards did the same to a very large extent ; and not only so, but they had recourse to other nations to help them with a supply of Negroes for their colonies. In the year 1662, under Charles II., another chartered Company was formed, entitled, "The Company of Royal Adventurers of England, trading to Africa." This was the third British Company that was formed : and the king's brother, then duke of York, afterwards James II., being a member of the Company, it received the above designation. This third step was taken with a view to the protection of the trade from the aggressions of the Dutch ; who, having deprived the Portuguese of all their forts and settlements on the Gold-Coast, attempted, in their turn, to monopolize the entire commerce of Western Africa. They had, in fact, "made it their business," as Mr. Bandinel observes, "to ruin the British trade in Africa ; and, step after step, sometimes by fraud, and sometimes by force, they effected, to a great degree, their object,—destroying our ships, and taking our forts." Although the English had long had a fort at Cormantine, and had also established factories at other places on the Gold-Coast, and thus enjoyed as good a right to participate in the trade as themselves, yet the restless and envious Dutch violently opposed them ; and the loss inflicted on the second English Company,

previously to the formation of the third "Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa," was stated to be £300,000; "which," says Mr. Bandinel, "if not exaggerated, shows the power and wealth of which the Company had been in possession."

The British Government, having failed in obtaining redress from the Dutch Government for the wrongs which the Dutch had committed against the British trade in Africa, declared war against Holland, in the year 1664. The war was carried on with various success; but as the resources of the Company were exhausted, they surrendered their charter to the crown, and a new Company was incorporated in the year 1672, under the name of "The Royal African Company of England," with ample powers and privileges, for the purpose of prosecuting and protecting the trade between Africa and England. That Company, acting with much energy, restored the trade, enlarged Cape-Coast Castle, built one fort at Accra, another at Dix-Cove, a third at Winnebah, a fourth at Succondce, and a fifth at Com-menda; and rebuilt a sixth at Annamaboo. Three of these forts were only at about musket-shot distance from the Dutch forts. The Company likewise purchased Fredericksberg, or Fort-Royal, from the Danes. By these exertions the English interest was put on an equal footing with that of the Dutch; and large quantities of dye-stuff, ivory, wax, and gold, were imported into England, and the British colonies in the West Indies were supplied with slaves. But it appears that at this time the Dutch trade in slaves was ten times greater than that of the English.*

The African trade, it will be seen, was now essentially mixed up with that of the West Indies; and nearly all the European states were soon engaged in the Slave-Trade. France took a prominent part in this traffic; and in 1664 the French African Company sold their establishment at Senegal, and all their trade, to the French West India Company, which obtained from the king of France an exclusive right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope for forty years. This Company not only supplied the French colonies with slaves, but they entered on the trade of carrying them to the Spanish colonies. The Spaniards had arrogated the Western World entirely to themselves: hence, immediately on the discovery of the West Indies, profiting by the example of Portugal, they

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 52, 53. See also DR BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 35—37.

obtained, in 1493, the issue of a Papal Bull, which granted to the crown of Spain all continents and islands which her subjects might discover to the westward of one hundred miles west of the Azores. But it will be seen, from the preceding transfer on the part of France to the French West India Company of an "exclusive right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope," that the Spaniards and Portuguese were not the only Europeans who had put forth such pretensions, and committed such flagrant abuses of a legitimate commerce.

Nor can we clear our own countrymen from the odium of a participation in the same blunder: for, to the Company that was established in 1672, by Charles II., the said Charles was graciously pleased to *give* and *grant* "all and singular the lands, countries, havens, roads, rivers, and other places in Africa, from Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, for and during the term of one thousand years; with the sole, entire, and only trade and traffic into and from the said countries and places." Who does not see the absurdity of such gifts, grants, and transfers? Mr. Wadstrom observes, with regard to this regal cession, "May it not be doubted, whether Swift himself, that great master of irony, ever penned any thing so consummately ridiculous, to say nothing of its other qualities?" One of its salient points is, that "Charles gave and granted to *himself* a participation of the above extraordinary privileges; for he and his brother, afterwards James II., were subscribers to this same Company, and were both largely concerned in the Slave-Trade." *

These lofty claims on the part of different nations led to a variety of disputes among the European powers, both in the New World, and on the African coast. In 1678, the French took the Dutch settlement of Arguim; and the trade being thrown open to all subjects of France, the French trade for a while got the ascendancy in that quarter, engrossing the whole line of Western Africa. Ten years after this, (1688,) the Declaration of Rights in England took away, virtually, the exclusive privileges of the African Company; and the British African trade thenceforward became legally open to all British subjects. English capitalists now embarked in the trade generally; the English African Company, which still existed, entered into an agreement with the Spanish Government, to supply the Spanish West Indies with some Negroes from Jamaica; and about this time there were landed in the British colonies, partly by the Company, and partly by British traders, about 25,000

* WADSTROM, "On the Colonization of Western Africa," p. 193.

Negroes a year.* But it appears that the direct supply of slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies was at that time engrossed by the French; and it was not until 1713, when the Spanish Government made over to the English Guinea Company, by a formal royal contract, the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa, that the English took a part in what was called the "Carrying Trade."†

About the year 1720, the spirit of African discovery again revived in England. The Duke of Chandos, then director of the Royal African Company, concerned at the declining state of their affairs, entertained the idea of retrieving them by opening a path into the golden regions still reported to exist in the interior of Africa. The Gambia was again the starting-point. Accordingly, in 1723, Captain Stibbs was furnished with the usual means to navigate that river as high as possible. On the 7th of October he arrived at James Island, about thirty miles from the Atlantic, where the English had a fort and factory. He here discovered that Mr. Glynn, whom he expected to find governor, had been dead six months; and that Mr. Willy, who succeeded him, happened to be then visiting the factory of Joar, more than a hundred miles distant. Stibbs immediately wrote to him for assistance in the expedition, but received a very cold reply; and he was much surprised when, a few days after, a boat brought down the dead body of the governor, who had fallen a victim to the fever of the climate, which in this case had affected the brain, and accounts, in some degree, for the want of interest he had felt in the expedition. A Mr. Orfeur succeeded Willy in the government at James Fort, who exerted himself very actively to forward the objects of the expedition. Stibbs had a crew assigned him of nineteen white men; of whom one, indeed, "though as black as coal," yet being a Christian, considered himself a white man, and served as interpreter. He had likewise about thirty Africans, with three female cooks; and he afterwards took on board a *balafeu*, or native musician, to enliven the spirits of the party. Stibbs set out on December 26th, and the voyage proceeded for some time very agreeably. The English were every where well received; and at one place even a *saphie*, or "charm," was laid upon the bank, for the purpose of attracting them on shore. The captain had endeavoured to conceal his object, but in vain: he found

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 56. From EDWARDS'S "British West Indies," and the "Report of the Privy Council on Trade with Africa, 1789."

† BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 56, 57.

himself repeatedly pointed out as the person who was come to bring down the gold. The native crew, however, predicted the most fearful disaster, if he should attempt to proceed above the Falls of Barraconda. As the boats approached that fatal boundary, the Africans came in a body, and stated their firm determination on no account to ascend any farther. No one, they said, had ever gone beyond Barraconda: Barraconda was the end of the world; or, if there existed any thing beyond, it was a frightful and barbarous region, where life would be in continual danger. A long palaver and a bottle of Stibbs's very best brandy were necessary, ere they would agree to accompany him beyond this dreaded boundary of the habitable universe.

Stibbs now proceeded to pass the Falls of Barraconda, which were not found so formidable as rumour had represented. They were narrows rather than Falls, the channel being confined by rocky ledges and fragments, between which there was only one passage, where the canoe rubbed against the rock on each side. On passing this obstacle, it soon appeared, not only that the world extended beyond Barraconda, but that all the evils predicted from the hostility of the natives were wholly chimerical. They were found to be a harmless, good-humoured people, who, wherever the crew landed, met them with presents of fowls and provisions. The adventurers now, however, found themselves in the region of crocodiles, river-horses, baboons, and elephants. The last-mentioned were seen in bands, crossing from one side of the water to the other. The river-horses, too, were very numerous, and sometimes came in collision with the boat; through which this huge animal, incensed at the obstacle, was apt to strike a hole with his great teeth, so as to endanger its safety. What was still worse, the severest exertion now became necessary in order to pass the flats and quicksands, which multiplied in proportion as the party ascended, and over which the boats, in some instances, could only be dragged by main force. Stibbs, however, persevered until February 22d, when he found himself about sixty miles above Barraconda, and then was obliged to stop a little short of Tenda. He therefore immediately returned, and proceeded down the river with all possible expedition.*

While the English sought to ascend the Gambia, the Senegal was the Niger of the French,—the stream by which they hoped to penetrate upwards to Timbuctoo and the regions of gold. From a very early period they had founded the settlement of

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 236—241.

St. Louis, at the mouth of that river, which has ever since continued to be the capital of the French possessions in Africa. In 1697, M. Brue was appointed director-general of the Company's affairs at the Senegal, and was the person who effected most for their prosperity, and made the greatest efforts to penetrate into the interior. In that year he embarked on a visit to the *siratik*, or king, of the Foulahs, whose territory lay about four hundred miles up the Senegal. The principal object of this journey was to settle some disputes that had arisen between him and the French traders at the mouth of the Senegal. In ascending that river, Brue was struck by the magnificent forests, and the profuse and luxuriant verdure with which they were clothed; while it was amusing to observe the numberless varieties of the monkey tribe, which were constantly leaping from bough to bough. Elephants, too, as on the Upper Gambia, were seen marching in bands of forty or fifty; and large herds of cattle were feeding on the rich meadows, though, during the season of inundation, they withdrew to the more elevated spots.

Brue reached the fort of Ghiorel without any difficulty, and then set out for Gumel, the residence of the *siratik*, about ten leagues in the interior. He was kindly received, and even obtained permission to erect forts,—a privilege of which African princes are usually and, indeed, naturally jealous. Having accomplished the object of his visit, and established a factory at Ghiorel, the director did not attempt to penetrate higher, but immediately sailed down to Fort St. Louis.

In the following year, however, the same gentleman took another voyage, in which he aimed, not merely at the limited objects above stated, but sought to ascend the Senegal as high as possible, and to open a commercial intercourse with the interior. In this journey he reached as far as Gallam; and, on arriving at Dramanet, a thriving town in that kingdom, which was inhabited by several rich native merchants, who traded as far as Timbuctoo, Brue considered it the most convenient place for a fort. He accordingly erected one, which was called St. Joseph, and continued long to be the principal seat of French commerce on the Upper Senegal. Brue then went up to Felu, where a large rock, crossing the river, forms a cataract, which it is almost impossible for vessels to pass. Quitting his boats, he proposed to ascend to the Falls of Govinea, about forty leagues higher; but the water was getting so low, that, fearing lest the navigation downward should be interrupted, he returned to St. Louis. In the course of this voyage Brue made many inquiries respecting the countries beyond Gallam, and particularly concerning the Niger. He received flattering accounts of the rich

gold mines of Bambouk, Bambarra, and Timbuctoo; of caravans which came to the latter place from Barbary, and even of masted vessels which were seen on the waters beyond the Lake Dibbie: but, as to the course of the Niger, which was the grand object of his research, the statements were conflicting, and therefore no satisfactory knowledge on this point was gained; though the popular opinion, in that country, as well as through Europe in general, long continued to regard the Gambia and Senegal as branches of the Niger.*

We have referred, in a preceding page, to the English Guinea Company supplying the Spanish colonies with African Negroes; and, for the sake of chronological order in these brief remarks on the English trade and expeditions to Africa, we return to this subject for a moment. "The contract was dated the 13th of March, 1713, and was signed by the king of Spain himself. It purported that the engagements in it were to last thirty years from its date; and that the contract which His Majesty had made with the French Guinea Company for supplying his colonies with slaves having expired, he now made over a similar contract to the English Guinea Company, who were to bind themselves to supply his colonies with 144,000 slaves within the thirty years, being at the rate of 4,800 slaves a year. They were to advance him 200,000 crowns for the privilege of importing these slaves, and to pay a duty of thirty-three and a half crowns for each slave; and they were, moreover, to give the king of Spain and the king of England each one quarter share of the profits of their trade."†

This contract, it appears, was a losing concern from the first; for though the Company had the privilege of importing into any of the Spanish dominions in America, for the first twenty-five years, as many slaves as they could sell, in addition to the number of slaves stipulated for, and also the privilege of sending every year to the Spanish West Indies a ship of five hundred tons' burden, with an assortment of general goods for sale; yet they were obliged to come to Parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories. The various grants of money which they obtained from Government, from the year 1729 to 1749, amounted in the whole to £80,000. But still their affairs deteriorated; and, notwithstanding the aids already given, they were indebted, about this time, to sundry creditors in the sum of upwards of £100,000: they therefore surrendered their charter to the Government; and their forts, castles, and other pos-

* MURRAY'S "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa," vol. i. pp. 155—171.

† BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," p. 58.

sessions were transferred to a new Company, which was established by Act of Parliament, and in which each member traded individually on his own capital. But this Company, declining by degrees in influence, in power, and in projects of ambition, ceded in 1765 to the crown all its forts and settlements in Africa; and the African trade was now more than heretofore free and open to all His Majesty's subjects.*

From the preceding rapid sketch of the discoveries made on the Western Coast of Africa, and the various expeditions and trading companies which were formed, and which engaged in the African trade, it will be seen that though these Companies were protected by patents and exclusive privileges, and though some of them were honoured with the enrolment amongst them of members of the royal family, yet they did not flourish, and therefore, from time to time, returned into the hands of the crown the powers and privileges granted to them. It will also be perceived, that, from the time this Coast was first discovered, its rich productions, gold especially, became the subject of much contention among the maritime powers of Europe; and that its settlements and fortresses, during nearly three hundred years, frequently changed hands, and were either ceded to the different nations of Europe by treaty, or were forcibly seized by them, and retained as lawful possessions.

It would answer no good purpose to go into detail here; but we may just mention that, at the present time and for some years past, the settlements on the Western Coast of Africa are and have been in possession of the following nations:—

The ENGLISH have two principal settlements on the Gambia; namely, at Bathurst, on the island of St. Mary's, a few miles from the mouth of the river; and at Macarthy's Island, about two hundred and fifty miles farther up. They also possess the sovereignty of the whole of that great stream of water, and have trading-places and stores at different points, and on both banks of the river, from Jillifree as far as Cantalicunda, not far distant from the Falls of Barraconda. James Fort, on the small island opposite Jillifree, was destroyed by the French in 1688, and has never since been restored. At the Isles de Los, the English have also mercantile establishments. These islands, which are "five in number, are situate about sixty miles to the northward of Sierra-Leone, and five or six miles from the Coast; and were ceded to Great Britain by the chief, Dalla Mahomedu, to whom an annual payment is made

* BANDINEL'S "Account of the Trade in Slaves," pp. 58—64.

for them. Factory Island, the second in extent, is four and a half miles long, by half a mile broad. They are, however, very valuable for the trade which is from them carried on with the rivers of the adjacent continent, consisting in the exchange of British goods for hides, ivory, gold-dust, &c.* Sierra-Leone, and the Banana Islands contiguous thereto, also belong to the English. There are likewise several British factories established on the various rivers between the Gambia and Sierra-Leone. Further south we come to the Gold-Coast: and here the English have the principal sway. Cape-Coast Castle, Annamaboo, Accra, and Dix-Cove, are all British settlements; besides which there are several other minor forts and trading factories.

The FRENCH have the sole control of the Senegal, and have two principal establishments on that river; namely, St. Louis, at the entrance of the river; and Fort St. Joseph, in the kingdom of Gallam. They possess, also, the island of Goree, on the south side of Cape Verd; and a small trading port at Albrada, about thirty miles up the Gambia, which they persist in holding in defiance of the Treaty of 1783. They have, likewise, the principal trade in gum at Portindie, though it would appear that by this treaty the right was conceded to the English to trade with the Moors in the same article at that place.

The DUTCH still hold the fort and castle of Elmina, which they took from the Portuguese in 1637. It is their principal settlement in this part of Africa, and is only a few miles from the English fort at Cape-Coast Castle. They have also several other forts along the coast; but none of them are now garrisoned, except Elmina and Axim.

The DANES have a respectable fort near Accra, called Christianberg Castle, which is their chief establishment, though they have several others on the coast of Guinea.

The PORTUGUESE and SPANIARDS are found in different parts of the coast; but their possessions are merely nominal, the subjects of these two states being principally engaged in the unnatural traffic in human beings. In this iniquitous trade they were the first to embark; and it but too plainly appears that they are determined to carry the disgrace of being the last to leave it off.

The year 1788 constituted a new era in the annals of African discovery. Hitherto motives of mercenary interest alone had guided the spirit of enterprise; but in that year "The African Association" was formed, consisting of men eminent for rank

* MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 559.

and wealth, and still more distinguished by their zeal in the cause of science and humanity. The object of this Association was to promote the discovery of the interior of Africa, with a view to the advancement of geographical knowledge. They subscribed the necessary funds, and sought out individuals duly qualified to undertake such distant and adventurous missions. Several noblemen were connected with this Association; and Ledyard, Lucas, Houghton, Park, and a host of other spirited and enterprising travellers, were successively employed; each of whom contributed more or less information concerning the interior of Africa, the geographical divisions of some of its kingdoms, its natural scenery and productions, with some account of the native tribes. It was then proved to a demonstration, that neither the Senegal nor the Gambia had any connexion with the far-famed Niger. The course of that mighty stream for a considerable distance had been discovered by Park, who, unfortunately, in his second journey, lost his life in its waters; but its termination was still wrapt in mystery, until a very recent period, when this long-prosecuted discovery was accomplished by the energetic and heroic Landers.

The results of the investigations made by several or nearly all of the above enterprising travellers have long been before the public, and are still perused with almost unabated interest. The writer of these pages, however, cannot pass by one name without a word. I refer to MUNGO PARK. This intrepid traveller having taken the route of the Gambia in both his journeys into the interior, the names of Jillifree, "a town on the northern bank of the river Gambia, in the kingdom of Barra;" of Vintain, "a town situated about two miles up a creek on the southern side of the river;" and of Kayaye and Pisanía, and other towns and places mentioned by Park, on the Gambia,—are all as familiar to me as the principal towns or counties in England are to a commercial traveller, since I have had the gratification of sailing up and down that splendid stream very many times. I am also well acquainted with "Madina, the capital of Woolli;" with Kanipe, and Tambacunda, and other places inland mentioned by Park, as far as Boollibanny, "the capital of Bondou;" and I feel it but an act of justice to the memory of that great African traveller and writer to say, that his descriptions of the towns and places, the kings and kingdoms, the native tribes and their customs, are admirably correct; so much so, that I believe a more faithful representation of a country was never given, than that which is to be found in the travels of the well-known Scotchman, MUNGO PARK.

CHAPTER IX.

WESTERN AFRICA.—SIERRA-LEONE.

LIMITS of Western Africa—Windward and Leeward Coasts—Low Land—Various Rivers—Despotic Power of the Chiefs—Humiliating Reflections—First Protestant Missionary—Origin of the Colony of Sierra-Leone—Dr. Smeathman and Granville Sharp—The American Revolution—Four hundred Blacks, with sixty Whites, sail for Sierra-Leone—Sickness and Mortality amongst the Settlers—Granville Sharp's Liberality—The Town destroyed by a neighbouring Chief—Mr. Falconbridge sent out—Granville-Town—"The Sierra-Leone Company" chartered—A Re-inforcement of Settlers from Nova-Scotia—Upwards of one hundred Europeans sent ont—Sickness and Death—The Colony attacked and destroyed by the French—Reflections on this Disaster—The spirited Conduct and Exertions of the Company—Nova-Scotian Malecontents—The Arrival of the Maroons—An Attack on the Colony by the Timmanees—The Assailants repulsed—Transfer of the Colony to the Crown—The African Institution—State of the Colony in 1807.

THE precise limits of Western Africa are not very accurately defined; but what is generally understood as constituting the western portion of this continent, is nearly the whole of the line of coast within the Tropics, commencing at about Cape Blanco, and forming a wide sweep around the Gulf of Guinea to Angola, one of the kingdoms near the southern extremity of the country of Congo; thus extending upwards of 3,000 miles along the Atlantic, with an average breadth of 300 miles. A considerable part of this line of coast, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, has long been occupied by a chain of European forts, erected at different times with a view to the commerce in gold, palm-oil, and ivory, but, above all, in slaves; for though this last object has for some time been finally abandoned by Great Britain, France, and some other nations, yet it is a well-known fact, that the trade in African Negroes may still be called the staple of the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Brazilians.

It would, perhaps, be right and proper to devote this chapter to a description of the physical, social, and moral condition of Africa; but, fearing to enlarge this volume to an undue size, I am reluctantly compelled to omit any lengthy remarks here on these subjects. I yield, however, to this necessity the more readily, because, in other parts of the work, each of these points is more or less touched upon; and in the thirteenth chapter more particularly, the reader will find some account of

the degraded moral condition of this part of the Heathen world. A word or two I must allow myself in passing.

Western Africa is divided into the Windward and Leeward Coasts. The Windward Coast includes the space in which the Slave-Trade is most rife, and takes its name from the direction of the trade-winds, which constantly blow from certain quarters. It comprehends Senegambia and Guinea; extending from Senegal, in latitude 16° N., to Cape Palmas, in latitude $4^{\circ} 26'$ S. This part of Africa is again divided into what are called the Grain, the Ivory, the Gold, and the Slave Coasts; the names of which sufficiently indicate the distinguishing peculiarities of their respective localities. Almost the whole of the sea-coast, for some hundred leagues to the north and south of Sierra-Leone, is very low. From the Gambia to the Bullom shore, it is remarkably flat; so much so, as to present to the approaching voyager a singular prospect of palm and other trees, in long lines, apparently growing out of the water; their foliage and lofty stems being in full view, often for many hours, whilst the land beneath remains unseen, until within a very short distance of it. Sierra-Leone, however, forms an exception and a bold relief to the monotony of the low land. This interesting peninsula presents heaped-up mountains of prodigious heights, which rise like pyramids in the desert, and the tops of which are frequently wrapped in clouds and mist.

This low and flat country is, however, backed by ranges of lofty mountains, which in some places approach the sea, and, as at Cape Verd, project in bold headlands. The well-known Mountains of the Moon are of an amazing height; some of the peaks being not less than 13,000 feet in elevation. It is only, therefore, about the estuaries of the great rivers, and along their banks, that the country can be said to be an unbroken flat. In other places it consists of gentle undulations and rising eminences, giving considerable beauty to the landscape. The principal rivers are the Senegal, Gambia, Rio Grande, Rio Nunez, Sierra-Leone or Rokel, Mesurado, Nun, or Niger, and Congo. These rivers penetrate into the interior by a great variety of windings, and divide into innumerable branches and creeks, which communicate with each other, and with the branches of neighbouring rivers, so as to render the inland navigation very extensive and intricate.

Along this vast line of coast, that is, between the Tropic of Cancer and that of Capricorn, and for some hundreds of miles inland, the territory is in the possession of a number of petty states and kingdoms, many of which compose aristocratic repub-

lies, turbulent, restless, and licentious. But the greater part of Western Africa may be said to be under the dominion of the most savage despotism, the power of the chieftains being considered as absolute. They exercise their authority most despotically. With them human life is of little or no value. Their law is strength, and their strength men; and the passions and caprices of these chiefs being unchecked by any counteracting influence, the very name of Africa is associated with all that is shocking and revolting to the feelings of humanity, and its history might well be written in characters of blood.

Two humiliating reflections involuntarily press themselves upon our attention here. The first is, that, dark and degraded as Africa is by nature, and by a deep-rooted superstition, it has been rendered more dark and gloomy, more miserable and wretched, by coming in contact with Europeans, who *originated the Slave-Trade*, that fruitful parent of almost every other evil. The other humiliating thought is this,—that though Africa itself is one of the fairest, most beautiful, and most fruitful portions of the globe, containing forests of the most valuable timber, which cover thousands of miles, and enriched with districts impregnated with the precious metals; though its vast continent has been circumnavigated by ships of Europe for three centuries and a half; and though Great Britain and other maritime states of Europe have for more than two centuries held commercial intercourse with the Western Coast, and have derived considerable advantage from Africa; notwithstanding, until comparatively a late period, little or nothing has been done to communicate to its teeming millions the blessings of the gospel.

The first Protestant attempt of which we have any record took place in the year 1751. This was made by a minister of the Church of England, who had spent five years in America as a missionary under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This gentleman proceeded to the Gold-Coast in that year, in order “to make a trial with the natives, and see what hopes there would be of introducing among them the Christian religion.”* It appears that during the four years of his stay, he officiated as chaplain at Cape-Coast Castle, but was much discouraged in his endeavours to introduce a purer faith among the natives. His health having failed, he returned to England in the year 1756. But, previously to his return home, he sent to this country three native boys for education; one of whom went to the University

* BEECHAM'S “Ashantee and the Gold-Coast,” p. 257. From “An Account of two Missionary Voyages,” &c. “By THOMAS THOMPSON, A.M. London, 1758.”

of Oxford, was subsequently ordained, and returned to exercise his ministry in his native land. For half a century this African minister was chaplain at Cape-Coast Castle; but he "does not appear to have been instrumental in turning any of his countrymen to Christianity. Nor will this excite surprise, when it is known, that on his death-bed he gave evidence that he had at least as much confidence in the influence of the fetish as in the power of Christianity." After his decease, other English chaplains were sent, who speedily sank under the influence of the climate, having "successively died soon after their arrival at Cape-Coast Castle." *

The next—indeed, it may be called the first vigorous and united—effort that was made to benefit Africa, was commenced towards the close of the last century, in the formation of the colony of Sierra-Leone:—an undertaking which originated in the most benevolent motives, and was long conducted under highly distinguished patronage. Sierra-Leone was discovered by the Portuguese in 1463, who were the first Europeans that formed settlements on the river of that name. They were afterwards followed by other European nations; and, according to Golberry, the river Mitembo was included at one time within the limits of the French "Government of the Senegal." It first became known to the English in 1562, when the notorious Sir J. Hawkins landed there, made unsparing use of fire and sword, and, after perpetrating every atrocity, succeeded in capturing some hundreds of the natives, put them on board his vessels, and afterwards sold them in the West Indies for his own advantage.

But this locality was afterwards selected for a widely different purpose,—to check and put down the Slave-Trade, and to introduce and diffuse the principles of our holy religion, with its attendant blessing of civilization, and thus to benefit the whole continent of Africa. The idea of establishing a free Negro settlement at Sierra-Leone was first suggested by Dr. Smeathman, in his letter to Dr. Knowles, dated July 21st, 1783.† It appears that he conceived this noble design in Africa itself, where he had resided several years. Contemporary, however, with Dr. Smeathman's suggestion, this subject had occupied the thoughts and the pen of that eminent philanthropist, Granville Sharp; who, on the 1st of August of the same year, (1783,) sketched the outline of a plan "in his private memorandum for

* BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 258, 259.

† WADSTROM'S "Essay on the Colonization of Western Africa," part ii. p. 3. See also Appendix to that work, pp. 197—207.

a settlement on the coast of Africa," which, he observes in the first paragraph, "will deserve all encouragement, if the settlers are absolutely prohibited from holding any kind of *property in the persons of men as slaves*, and from selling either man, woman, or child." An enlarged account of this plan was found among Mr. Sharp's papers; and it was probably the foundation of all the regulations by which the colony was governed at its commencement.*

There appear to have been two principal causes or circumstances which led to the formation, at that time, of the colony at Sierra-Leone. While Great Britain was engaged in the American war, a vast number of Negroes forsook their masters, and joined the British forces. These served with fidelity, until hostilities were brought to a termination in 1783. But when the troops were about to be disbanded, it became a matter of considerable difficulty how to dispose of these Blacks, consistently with the principles of justice, humanity, and honour. To abandon them in the United States, was to expose them to the resentment of their ancient masters, against whom they had fought, and to reward them with slavery for their attachment to our cause. To prevent these evils from taking place, great numbers of them were carried to the Bahama islands and Nova-Scotia with the white loyalists, where they were declared free. But many of them, being incorporated with the British regiments, were carried to Great Britain, and especially to London. On being dismissed, the English soldiers repaired to their respective abodes, but the Blacks were left in a forlorn condition, without a home, and without a friend, in a foreign land. These men became, therefore, objects of genuine compassion: they were entitled to ample protection and a generous requital.

In the mean time this project was taken up by Granville Sharp, as affording the best remedy for an inconvenience that had grown out of his own benevolent exertions on behalf of the enslaved Africans. After the memorable decision of Lord Mansfield in favour of the Negro Somerset, in June, 1772,—the particulars of which we have already stated,—great numbers of Blacks, who had been brought to England, and turned adrift by their masters,—many of them unaccustomed to any useful handicraft or calling; and, like the disbanded Negroes from America, without a home, or a parish, where they could claim parochial relief, shivering from the influence of our chilly climate,—fell by degrees into great distress, and were conspiau-

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 11—15.

ous in the streets of the metropolis as common beggars. As Mr. Sharp was their known patron and friend, they flocked to him for protection and support; and he frequently and generously relieved them out of his own purse: but their numbers being great,—at one time, it is stated, “about four hundred,”—he found he could not relieve them daily consistently with his engagements to others. A number of humane gentlemen, therefore, formed a “Committee for Relieving the Black Poor:” and with this Committee Mr. Sharp and Dr. Smeathman zealously co-operated. In 1786 the latter published his “Plan of a Settlement to be made near Sierra-Leone, on the Grain-Coast of Africa; intended more particularly for the service and happy Establishment of Blacks and People of Colour, to be shipped as free Men, under the Direction of the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor, and under the Protection of the British Government.” The “substance” of this plan the reader may find in the Appendix to Wadstrom’s “Essay on Colonization.”

The Blacks of London having heard of this proposed settlement, many of them waited on Mr. Sharp, “to consult with him about the proposal. Sometimes they came,” he says, “in large bodies together. Upon inquiring among themselves, I found that several of them had been on the spot.”* To the “plan” already mentioned the “Committee for the Black Poor” annexed a hand-bill, inviting all persons of the above description, who were willing to become colonists, to apply to Dr. Smeathman, to whom had been intrusted the formation of the settlement. In consequence of this measure, several hundred Blacks, with some few Whites, expressed their willingness to embark in the expedition. Application was also now made to the Ministers of England for assistance: the Government had long regarded the number of Negro mendicants as a nuisance, and therefore readily consented to lend a helping hand to the project. Accordingly “a small weekly allowance was made from the Treasury for the subsistence of the settlers; and navy transports were hired to carry them out.”† But the sickness and lamented death of Dr. Smeathman, at this important juncture, suspended the execution of the plan for a short time; and Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset. In this situation of affairs, the Government again interfered; provision was made both for transporting the intending settlers, and for supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa;

* “Memoirs of Granville Sharp,” vol. ii. p. 5.

† *Idem*, p. 16.

and the little fleet at length sailed, under convoy of the "Nautilus" sloop of war, on the 8th of April, 1787; having on board somewhat more than four hundred Negroes, to which were added about sixty Europeans, chiefly women. It appears that seven hundred black poor had offered themselves to go to the proposed settlement; but from the delay which occurred in the Channel, and from a feeling of jealousy which prevailed among them, that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay, as the transports for that expedition were then waiting at Portsmouth, where the ships for Sierra-Leone were ordered also, many of them deserted, so that only four hundred Negroes embarked in the first instance.

On leaving England they were placed under the direction of Captain Thompson of the navy, commander of the "Nautilus" sloop of war, who on his arrival at Sierra-Leone procured for His Britannic Majesty a fine tract of mountainous country, to be appropriated to their use. This land was first purchased of King Tom, a neighbouring Chief; and the bargain was afterwards confirmed by Naimbauna, the king of the country, who resided at the small island of Robanna. But the commencement of the settlement was inauspicious. During a long detention of these poor people in the Channel, and during their passage to Sierra-Leone, they were in an extremely unhealthy state, in most instances produced by disorders brought on board with them, and aggravated by intemperance. In consequence of the delay that had occurred, they had landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon perished. In the course of the first year their numbers were reduced nearly one-half; many having died before they reached the coast, and a great number a short time after their landing. Some few, also, had deserted. The remainder, however, were still sufficient for building a small town: and Captain Thompson fixed upon a beautiful eminence on the southern bank of the river for the site of the new township. About three hundred and sixty town-lots, of one acre each, were marked out in streets; and the lots were drawn and appropriated on June 12th, 1787.*

Mr. Sharp had heard of the safe arrival of the settlers at the Madeira Islands from the Rev. Mr. Fraser, who had accompanied the expedition as chaplain; and subsequently he was informed of their reaching the coast. On the 31st of October,

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 20, 90.

1787, he wrote to Dr. J. Sharp as follows : " I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little, ill-thriven, swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra-Leone. They have, however, purchased twenty miles square of the finest and most beautiful country, they all allow, that was ever seen. The hills are not steeper than Shooter's-Hill ; and fine streams of fresh water run down the hill on each side of the new township ; and in the front is a noble bay, where the river is about three leagues wide. The woods and groves are beautiful beyond description, and the soil very fine : so that a little good management may, with God's blessing, still produce a thriving settlement." *

A code of laws, or rather "Temporary Regulations," had been drawn up by Mr. Sharp, for the new settlement ; and not being objected to by the Government, and having been approved of and adopted by the settlers before they sailed, these rules were of considerable use, and would have been of still greater benefit, had they been more strictly adhered to and maintained. But it could scarcely have been expected, that a colony composed of disbanded soldiers, and Whites of indifferent character, many of them females of loose morals, would speedily become a prosperous settlement. Making every allowance, therefore, for the unfavourable season of the year at which the party arrived on the coast, and the misery they had endured on board the ship, some of them having been there above three months ; "the greatest blame of all," as Mr. Sharp observed, "is to be charged on the intemperance of the people themselves ; for the most of them (both Whites and Blacks) became so besotted during the voyage, that they were totally unfit for business when they landed, and could hardly be prevailed on to assist in erecting their own huts. Thus unhappily the allowance of rum, granted to them by the Government with the most benevolent intention, really proved their greatest bane. There were, of course, many honourable exceptions ; and Granville Sharp received several interesting letters from the settlers ; and though some of them were of a discouraging nature, yet they were all expressive of their gratitude to him as "their constant and generous friend."

It appears, however, that when His Majesty's sloop "Nautilus" left the settlement on September 16th, 1787, there remained, in all, two hundred and seventy-six persons. Amongst the many who had died during the rains, were Mr.

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

Irwin, the agent-conductor; Mr. Gesau, the town-major and engineer; and Mr. Richards, the gardener. These deaths, with the desertion of many others, occasioned great discouragement to those that remained. Another misfortune to the settlement was the sickness of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, the chaplain, whose continued ill state of health obliged him to return to England in March, 1788. The number of settlers at that time was only one hundred and thirty in all: but this great reduction was not so much attributed to sickness, as to emigration. For the people, having little or nothing to live upon, and no one to look up to as their leader and guide, dispersed in various ways. Mr. Sharp, being apprehensive of an entire desertion, hastened to rescue the colony from total wreck, by sending out, principally at his own expense, the brig "Myro," laden with various articles of considerable present use in meeting the urgent necessities of the settlers. In the same vessel sailed thirty-nine passengers, both white and black, to augment the number of the colonists. "Among these were several very intelligent men, two of them surgeons of respectable abilities, Mr. Lacitus and Mr. Peale; and also Mr. Irwin, son of the late agent-conductor." The timely arrival of the "Myro" with provisions, and a re-inforcement of hands, preserved the infant colony, and renovated the hopes of the distressed wanderers, the greater part of whom, finding that they could not subsist so well in any other place, now gladly returned to the settlement.

The settlers were, however, soon doomed to another sad disaster; for, towards the end of 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, they received a formal notice from the great council of a neighbouring chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war;* and that he allowed them three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resources; they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time. This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the philanthropic zeal which prevailed in Britain for the colonization of Africa suffered no abatement; and the same provident care which had sent the "Myro" to the aid of Sierra-Leone in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection by

* This is fully explained in the Report for 1793. The misunderstanding originated with an American slave-captain, whose cause some British sailors and marines afterwards espoused.

the establishment of a company in England, called "the St. George's Bay Company," united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent designs of its founder: and a memorial was now addressed to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his royal charter of incorporation. Accordingly, in September, 1790, the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford temporary relief to the distress that had arisen, until the grant of the charter should enable the Directors to take more effective measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers; and, collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, he brought them to a new settlement above Foura Bay, about two miles further than the former site was from the town of the chief who had invaded them. Here they took possession of some deserted houses; and about four acres of land were cleared, and planted with yams and cassada, and sown with English seeds. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries; and he reported them at his departure from the coast as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four. The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of Granville-Town, in honour of their original protector and friend: and the affairs of the settlement, though small, now began to assume a more promising aspect.

Before the close of the session of 1791, the British legislature gave its sanction to the movement, and incorporated the subscribers under the denomination of "The Sierra-Leone Company." As soon as this Act was passed, they held their first meeting in London, on the 19th of October, 1791, and chose their Directors for the ensuing year. Among these we find the celebrated names of Wilberforce, Thornton, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and others, who have immortalized themselves by espousing the cause of insulted humanity. A capital of £250,000 was now raised for carrying on the undertaking; and it became necessary to increase the number of settlers. While the Directors were discussing measures for that purpose, an opportunity offered which appeared to meet their wishes for strengthening the colony by an additional body of free Negroes,

acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to the labour of hot climates. It has been already observed, that at the conclusion of the American war a body of Negroes, who had been induced to enlist in the British army by the king's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the royal standard, were, on the termination of hostilities, carried to Nova-Scotia, where the greater part of them remained, though some of them found their way to England, and were sent out to Sierra-Leone with the first settlers.

During this year, (1791,) a Negro named Peters arrived in London as a delegate from many of his countrymen of the above description, who, in consequence of finding the climate of Nova-Scotia unfavourable to their health, and on account of the withholding of some grants of land which had been promised to them, were desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra-Leone. The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of the passage of these Negroes; and, being favourably answered, they availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of His Majesty's navy, (a brother of the zealous historian of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,) to bring the new colonists over to Sierra-Leone. Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on August 19th, 1791; and, on his arrival at Nova-Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of black people who were desirous to embark for Sierra-Leone far exceeded the account given by their delegate. Not fewer than eleven hundred and ninety-six were brought on board. It was obvious that the accession of so large a body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement: their numerous wants would demand instant supply: the Directors, therefore, turned their immediate attention to this subject. The first vessel sent out by the Company from England, reached Sierra-Leone in February, 1792, and was soon followed by two others, carrying out in all rather more than one hundred Europeans. In the succeeding month the Nova-Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of sixteen vessels, from which were landed eleven hundred and thirty-one Blacks; sixty-five having died during the passage.

The colony being thus recruited with this large addition of labourers, and the native princes being perfectly satisfied with the intention of the settlers, the new town, which, in consequence of instructions from the Directors, was named Free-Town, began to rise rapidly; and a public wharf and warehouse were likewise commenced. A fever, however, which the Negroes had brought with them, aggravated by the rainy season which followed soon

after their arrival, carried off a considerable number: and to the latter cause of mortality half of the European settlers fell victims. But the sickly season having passed, things went on prosperously. The site of Free-Town was unquestionably the best that could be selected in the vicinity; and it was soon found that both the soil and climate were admirably adapted for all the productions of the tropical region. But in September, 1794, the colony was surprised by the arrival of a French squadron, who, notwithstanding the declaration of the French Convention, barbarously plundered and destroyed the colonial town, and thus caused a pecuniary loss to the Company amounting to upwards of £50,000. The particulars of this base and barbarous outrage have appeared in print in several publications. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Afzelius, who was a botanist belonging to the colony, and an eye-witness of the facts which he details. His letter is dated Sierra-Leone, November 15th, 1794, and was addressed to the Swedish ambassador in London:—

The English colony (says he) at Sierra-Leone had, like all other new colonies, in the beginning, great difficulties to overcome. But before the end of two years from its first institution, order and industry had begun to show their effects in an increasing prosperity. A new town had been laid out, with regular streets, and a little garden belonging to each house. The woods had been cut down, to the distance of about three miles all round the town. By this means the climate had become healthier, and sickness had diminished. The fame of our colony had spread not only along the whole Western Coast of Africa, but also to parts far distant from the coast; and we have had embassies from kings and princes, several hundred miles distant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendship. They began to send their children to us, with full confidence, to be brought up in the Christian religion. In short, we were externally respected and internally happy. But the French have been here, and have ruined us. They arrived on the 28th of September last, early in the morning, with a fleet consisting of one large ship, two frigates, two armed brigs, and one cutter, together with two large armed merchant-ships, taken by them at the Isles de Los,—an English slave-factory at the north of our colony, and which they have also destroyed and burnt.

So well had they concealed their nation, that we took them for English. They had English-built vessels, which were rigged in the English way. They showed the English flag, and had their sailors—at least, those whom we saw—dressed like English. In short, we did not perceive our mistake, until we observed them pointing their guns. We had not strength sufficient to resist; and therefore our governor gave orders, that as soon as they should begin to fire, the British flag should be struck, and a flag of truce hoisted. Accordingly this was done; but still they continued firing, and did much damage both within and without the town. They killed two people, and wounded three or four. But as we did not understand the meaning of this proceeding, we asked them for an explanation: and they answered us, that we should display the flag of liberty, as a proof of our submission. We assured them that it should already have been done if we had had any, which terminated the hostilities from the ships.

In the mean time, most of the inhabitants had fled from the town, having taken with them as much of their property as they conveniently could in such a hurry. I was with the governor, together with a number of others. But as soon as I was certain that they were enemies, I went towards my own house, with a view to save as much as possible of my property and natural collections; but was received in such a manner, that I could not venture to proceed. My house was situated near the shore, and unfortunately just opposite the frigate which fired. I saw the balls passing through my house, and heard them whizzing about my ears. I saw that I should lose all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I hastened to the woods. In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almost destitute of people, but rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores. They began immediately to break open the houses, and to plunder: what they did not want, they destroyed, burnt, or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields, streets, yards, or elsewhere, not sparing even asses, dogs, and cats. These proceedings they continued the whole succeeding week, till they had entirely ruined our beautiful and prospering colony; and when they found nothing more worth plundering, they set fire to the public buildings, and all the houses belonging to the Europeans, and consequently to mine among the rest. About twenty-four houses, great and small, were thus destroyed; and nine or ten houses of the colonists were also burnt by mistake.

In the mean time, the enemy was not less active on the water. They took about ten or twelve prizes, including the Company's vessels; most of these they unloaded and burnt. They took also two of our armed vessels; one of which was a large ship, laden with provisions, and which had been long expected; but she unfortunately arrived a few days too soon, and was taken with her whole cargo. We expected at least to receive our private letters; but even this was refused, and they were thrown overboard. At last, after inflicting on us every hardship we could suffer, only sparing our lives and the houses of the colonists, they sailed on the 13th of October last at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold-Coast; and left us in the most dreadful situation, without provisions, clothes, houses, or furniture. Most of us must have perished, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both natives and Europeans, who were so happy as to escape the enemy, kindly sent us what they could spare. Since that time most of us have either been, or still are, very sick, and many have died for want of proper food and medicine. The worst, however, is now past. At least, we are not in any want of provision, although of the coarsest kind; but we are destitute of the most necessary articles and utensils for the house, the table, and the kitchen.

The report of the governor and council at Sierra-Leone, to the Directors in London, with other private letters,—one of them dated "*Ruins of Free-Town*, October 8th, 1794,"—corroborate every material fact contained in the foregoing extract, and furnish some additional particulars of the same outrageous character. "The books of the Company's library," we are told, "were scattered about and defaced; and if they bore any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. The dwelling-house of the botanist (Mr. Afzelius) was pillaged, and his collections destroyed. In the accountant's office, all was demolished, in the search for money: the copying and printing-presses also were destroyed: all the telescopes, baro-

meters and thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces." Nor did these desperadoes stop here; for "the apothecary's shop and medicines were also destroyed:" and on the same day "the church was pillaged, the books torn, and the pulpit and clock broken to pieces." In a few days subsequent to this, "the conflagration of all the buildings which had escaped the former fire commenced:" and now "the church, a range of shops," and in fact every thing else which could be met with belonging to the Company, shared the same fate.

"On the 9th of October, the Company's largest ship, the 'Harpy,' arrived off Cape Sierra-Leone from England, having several passengers on board, and goods to the amount of £10,000. The demolition of the Company's houses having been discovered, she put out again to sea, and she appeared for a time to gain on the vessel which was sent in chase of her; but, the wind dying away, she was overtaken, and immediately struck. No part of the cargo of this ship was landed in the colony, nor would the commodore suffer the despatches and papers brought by her to be delivered, a few newspapers excepted. The English passengers were completely plundered of their property; the Company's chaplain, who went out with her, was deprived of all his private papers; and three natives, who had been making a voyage to England, lost all the presents which they were carrying back with them, not excepting a part of their clothes, which they were obliged to exchange for others of an inferior sort."*

On the 13th of October, as already mentioned, the French commodore set sail to the southward with all his fleet, to which the "Harpy" was now added. He had, however, sent on shore about two or three weeks' supply of provisions for the Europeans in the colony; but paid no attention to the governor's solicitation for any thing else. The distress caused by this barbarous invasion is more easily conceived than described; and the preceding narrative furnishes room for many painful reflections. The miseries of war are dreadful, even when the contest is conducted on what are called "principles of honour:" but when treachery wields the sword, or points the cannon, it levels the civilized warrior with the lowest state of barbarian degradation.

France promised fair, having at the commencement of the war obtained full explanation of the designs of the Sierra-Leone Company in the formation of the colony; and the French Con-

* "Substance of the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company, delivered to the General Court of Proprietors, February 26th, 1795."

vention directed one of its agents to request a list of the ships employed by them, assuring them of the good wishes of the French Government to so noble an undertaking, and that neither their ships nor the colony should be injured by the republican arms. That promise once made to the Directors had lulled both them and the colonists into a state of such profound security, that they could not foresee any possible attack, and were totally unprepared for it in the way of defence. But the preceding narrative furnishes a brief history of an outrage almost without a parallel in the records of civilized ages. "So well had they concealed their nation," with English-built vessels, manned by English-dressed sailors, with the English colours flying, that the fleet was actually taken for the English, until "some men in one of the frigates were seen pointing a gun into the piazza of the governor's house; and the shot began flying over the town in a few minutes after." Though the British "colours were immediately struck" in the colony, "and a flag of truce was held out," yet "the firing still continued, and several grape and musket-shot fell into the piazza." On asking for an explanation of this continued firing, the colonists were told that they "should display the *flag of liberty* as a proof of their submission." The Sierra-Leone colony, as the French well knew, was established in order to effect the abolition of the Slave-Trade, to enlighten the Africans, and to render them virtuous and rational, free and happy: but these powerful patrons of the "rights of men," who knew the benevolent design, acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental doctrines, in destroying a colony based on similar principles. It was thus that the French executed their purpose of spreading "light and liberty" through the world, when they, under circumstances of the most wanton cruelty, destroyed the "beautiful and prospering colony" at Sierra-Leone,—a colony which previously was "externally respected and internally happy," "rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores," but was now "entirely ruined" by the depredations of this fleet of French pirates.

A few weeks after the departure of the French squadron, intelligence was received of its having captured two of the Company's small trading-vessels on their passage down the coast. The crews of these vessels were immediately put on shore, without food or shelter. As many of these as were able made their way to Sierra-Leone, and their numbers increased the common distress. Soon after this excitement was over, a general sickness broke out amongst the Europeans, which was greatly

aggravated by the loss of medicines, as well as by the want of proper provisions.

It is difficult to find any thing in the shape of an apology for the conduct of the French in this distressing and painful affair; though the Directors, in publishing their report of the whole matter, very liberally admit a doubt whether the attack on Sierra-Leone was in any manner sanctioned by the Government then existing in France. They express themselves as having reason to believe that the squadron was equipped on the speculation of certain private individuals, some of them Slave-Traders, and acting as owners of privateers. One thing is certain, and is worthy of special record,—that whilst the Slave-Traders in the neighbourhood did all in their power to add to the hardships of the colony at that time, the native chiefs, on the contrary, were unanimous in rendering it every assistance.

Some good effects resulted from this calamitous visitation. It had a most salutary influence on the Nova-Scotian malecontents; so that harmony was for a time completely restored among the colonists. The French squadron, too, which had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views.

The misfortune was also met with firmness by the Directors, who immediately dispatched two small vessels with an assortment of necessaries. Being supported by the rectitude of their own intentions, and the hope that Divine Providence would still favour their undertaking, they did not give way to despair. They resolved to render the distressed adventurers all the assistance in their power: and, with this, entreated them to

“Ply all the sinews of industrious toil,
Glean up the refuse of a generous soil,
Rebuild the town that smoked upon the plain,
And hope the sun would gild its spires again.”

By the spirited exertions of the Company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters; and the ensuing four years after the French invasion may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony prior to its transfer to the crown.

“In the year 1798, Free-Town contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharves had been erected. The government-house was completed on an eminence that commanded the town and the harbour, and was protected by a palisade and six pieces

of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about twelve hundred; the heads of families being about three hundred. Of these, about one-half were supported by their farms; many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations, as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the settlement, for the purpose of exchanging African produce for British manufactures. Some came in canoes, from a distance of eighty to one hundred miles." *

In the following year, (1799,) symptoms of an insurrectionary spirit, more especially on the part of the Nova-Scotians, which had only been slumbering, induced the Directors to apply to the British Government for a Charter to increase the powers of the governor and council, who hitherto had been unarmed with any legal sanction to enforce their authority. The Charter was granted in 1800, creating the settlement an independent colony, and placing the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the governor. Before, however, it could reach Sierra-Leone, the conspirators, finding that no time was to be lost in executing their scheme, which had for its object the complete overthrow of the Company's authority, broke out into open rebellion. Affairs were in the most critical state, the insurgents outnumbering the loyal settlers, and no alternative seemed left to the governor but to hazard an attack upon the rebels, when a most providential occurrence rescued the colony once more from impending destruction. A large ship, the "Asia" transport, appeared in the river, having on board about five hundred and fifty Maroons (including women and children) from Nova-Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers under two officers of His Majesty's 24th regiment. The rebellion was now speedily suppressed, although the insurgents at first treated with contempt the offer of an accommodation, and obstinately maintained their hostile position, till they found themselves attacked. They were routed at the first onset, two of their number being left dead on the spot. Thirty-five prisoners were brought in, of whom three were selected for trial, and were executed; the rest were expelled the colony. "Seven, who had taken a principal part in exciting the disturbance, were sent to Goree, and twenty-five were transported to the Bullom shore; but, after a few years, they were permitted to return to the colony."

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. p. 58.

It was the wish of the governor and council to procure for the Maroon settlers the island of Bananas, about thirty miles south of Free-Town; but their intention was frustrated, through alarms raised in the minds of the natives by the Slave-Traders. It was therefore determined upon to grant lands to the Maroons on the same side of the river as the Company's settlement was on. Town-lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville-Town, in November, 1800; and farms were allotted to them near that place. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit. A parliamentary grant indemnified the Company for part of the heavy expenditure and loss they had incurred; and a farther sum of £7,000 was voted towards building a fort. A firmer system of order was beginning to prevail, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs, without any previous intimation or ground of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of natives of the Timmanee country, headed by ten of the Nova-Scotian insurgents, who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the governor's house. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the vicinity. In March, 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the colony was restored. There was reason, however, to apprehend that the chiefs who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen a jealousy of the growing power of the Sierra-Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced to present a memorial to the British legislature, earnestly invoking more efficient protection.

Notwithstanding the truce which had been concluded with the native chiefs, the colony was attacked, in the following month, by a force amounting to more than four hundred men, among whom were eleven of the rebels who had been banished from the settlement. The attack was sudden and vigorous; and although the assailants were again repulsed with severe loss, the spirits of the settlers were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general. The affairs of the Company were the more embarrassed in consequence of the suspension of the annual grants from Government, pending a parliamentary inquiry which was instituted in 1803. In the Report of the Committee, made in the following year, it was stated to be their opinion, upon a full consideration of the difficulties which continued to embar-

rass the Company, and the interest which the British Government were found to take in the settlement, that the great object for which the colony was undertaken might be more effectually accomplished, by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the crown ; and that it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to His Majesty. In pursuance of this recommendation, not unacceptable to the Company, a Bill for transferring the colony to the crown was brought into Parliament, which received the royal assent on the 8th of August, 1807 ; and on the 1st of January, 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the crown, and the Company withdrew from its arduous and beneficent enterprise.*

The reader will have perceived that the obstacles which had thwarted the plans of the chartered Company in this noble enterprise, were neither few nor small. They may be summed up, however, in few words :—the unfavourable character of the Nova-Scotians, who joined the first settlers ; the want of sufficient power in the hands of the local government ; the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring natives ; the war with France ; and the enmity of the Slave-Traders to the principles on which the colony was founded, and which to this day make it an eye-sore to all who are interested in the traffic in human beings. But though the Company did not succeed to the utmost of their wishes, it would be unjust to say that they had laboured in vain. On the transfer of the colony of Sierra-Leone to the British Government, the Company's Directors published the following statement, which satisfactorily demonstrated the success of the Company in the attainment of its most important objects, and was calculated to convince every proprietor that his money had been expended to a noble purpose :—

However great may have been the Company's loss in a pecuniary view, the Directors are unwilling to admit that there has been a total failure in their main objects, or that their capital has been expended without effect. It must afford satisfaction to reflect, that the Company should both have conceived and attempted to execute those plans of beneficence which led to the institution of the colony ; and that they should have continued to pursue them for so many years, in the face of opposition, disappointment, and loss ; in spite of severe calamities, arising from European as well as African wars, and much turbulence on the part of the colonists. The proprietors have the farther satisfaction of knowing, that the Company have contributed to the abolition of the Slave-Trade, by exposing its real nature before the view of a hesitating legislature, and detecting the artifices and misrepresentations by which the persons engaged in it laboured to delude the public.

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," vol. ii. pp. 59—77.

The Company have communicated the benefits flowing from a knowledge of letters, and from Christian instruction, to hundreds of Negroes on the coast of Africa; and, by a careful education in this country, they have elevated the character of several of the children of African chiefs, and directed their minds to objects of the very first importance to their countrymen. They have ascertained that the cultivation of any valuable article of tropical export may be carried on in Africa; that Africans, in a state of freedom, are susceptible of the same motives to industry and laborious exertion which influence the natives of Europe; and that some African chiefs are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend, and sufficiently patriotic to encourage, schemes of improvement. They have demonstrated that Negroes may be governed by the same mild laws which are found consistent with the maintenance of rational liberty even in this kingdom; and that they may be safely and advantageously intrusted with the administration of these laws, not only as jurors, but even as judicial assessors. They have, in some measure, retrieved the credit of the British—it may be added, of the Christian—name, on the continent of Africa; and have convinced its inhabitants that there are Englishmen who are actuated by very different motives from those of self-interest, and who desire nothing so much as their improvement and happiness. To conclude: they have established, in a central part of Africa, a colony which appears to be now provided with adequate means both of defence and subsistence; which, by the blessing of Providence, may become an emporium of commerce, a school of industry, and a source of knowledge, civilisation, and religious improvement to the inhabitants of that continent; and which may hereafter repay to Great Britain the benefits she shall have communicated, by opening a continually-increasing market for those manufactures which are now no longer secure of their accustomed vent on the continent of Europe.

The Directors are persuaded that they only express the general feeling of the proprietary, when they say, that they cannot prevail upon themselves to consider these effects as an insignificant return for any pecuniary sacrifices which have been incurred for their attainment.

It was with sentiments and feelings of this description, that the Sierra-Leone Company withdrew its official connexion from that interesting colony; bearing with it the grateful consciousness, that it had humanely and vigorously seconded the meritorious efforts of its celebrated founder. It is a pleasing feature in the history of this settlement, that the same year which terminated the Sierra-Leone Company, witnessed the formation of the “African Institution,” which was composed of a large body of the most virtuous and respectable persons in this country, whose objects were somewhat similar to those of the former Company; namely, the improvement and civilisation of the African continent. It is also worthy of further remark, that in the course of the year 1807, peace had been fully established by a treaty with the native chiefs; and that at the time of the surrender of the territory to Government, the colony “had attained to a situation of comparative strength and prosperity. The fortifications had been so far advanced, as to communicate to it a sense of complete security. Its internal order had gone on improving; the confidence of the natives had been restored;

and the number of native children sent to Sierra-Leone for education, continued to increase. The colonists were building good houses, and showed other marks of growing prosperity. Cultivation was reviving. The colony was also improving in healthiness. During the first half of the last year, the proportion of births to deaths was as twenty-three to fourteen. None of the troops had died in that time; and, of the Company's servants, only one had died since the 1st of January, 1806."*

The population, in the year 1807, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one persons; and it will be seen from the preceding quotation, that though the Company was a failure, as far as mercantile profit was concerned, yet the other and more important objects which it had in view were satisfactorily promoted. Schools, places of worship, agriculture, and the habits of civilized life were introduced; so that the Sierra-Leone Company may be regarded as having fixed the basis, and laid the foundation, for the civilization of Africa.

The following is the succession of governors of Sierra-Leone from the commencement of the settlement:—J. Clarkson, Esq., superintendent, March, 1792. W. Dawes, Esq., December, 1792. Z. Macaulay, Esq., *pro temp.*, April, 1794. W. Dawes, Esq., returns, 1795. Z. Macaulay, Esq., governor, 1796. T. Ludlam, Esq., *pro temp.*, 1799. W. Dawes, Esq., January, 1801. Captain W. Day, R.N., February, 1803. J. Ludlam, Esq., August, 1803. T. P. Thompson, Esq., July, 1808.

* "Last Report of the Directors of the Sierra-Leone Company," 1808, p. 11.



FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE

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Printed by A. J. Brown, 18, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

CHAPTER X.

SIERRA-LEONE.

SITUATION of the Colony—The Principles on which it was founded—View and Description of Sierra-Leone in 1796—The African Institution—Capture of Slave-Vessels—Disposal of the captured Negroes—State of the Colony in 1816–1818—Number of Villages erected—Major Gray's Statement respecting the Colony in 1821—Continuance of the Slave-Trade—Reports of the Colony in 1821–1823—Letter from Sir Charles Macarthy—Sierra-Leone Gazette—Great Mortality in 1823—Lamented Death of Sir Charles Macarthy in 1824—Successive Governors—Mortality—Commission of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone—Hostility to the Colony—The Expenditure reduced—Some Statistics in 1833—Population in 1838 and in 1846—The Settlers—Maroons and liberated Africans—Miserable Condition of the latter on being landed—Dr. Fergusson's "Letter on the Character of the liberated Africans"—Extract from "Letters from Sierra-Leone, by a Lady"—Moral Means—A Tribute to the Church Missionary Society.

THE peninsula of Sierra-Leone is situated in $8^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat., and in about $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. long. The etymology of the name is somewhat disputed; some contending that it imports "the Mountains of Lions," from the presumption that these monarchs of the forest were plentiful in that locality; whilst others have doubted this fact, and are of opinion that the name "Sierra-Leone" was given by the first discoverers to the "mountains," on account of the "tremendous roaring of the thunder," which frequently echoes along the sides of the hills and on the tops of the mountains, and the effect of which is felt in the valleys, and even on board the ships.

Free-Town, the capital, is situated on the south side of the river, on a gentle rising ground at the foot of a hill, at the distance of about five miles from Cape Sierra-Leone. Its name sufficiently indicates the principles on which the colony was established; but as a further illustration of this, we find, in the third edition of the "Temporary Regulations," published in 1788, one of its fundamental laws thus laid down: "As soon as a slave shall set his foot within the bounds of the new settlement, he shall be deemed a *free man*, and be equally entitled, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the protection of the laws, and to all the natural rights of humanity." Another regulation was, "That the *common council* of the settlement be assembled according to the ancient established rules of *country courts*, namely, 'twice every year, and more often, if need be.'"

Another important rule, referring to ecclesiastics, was, "That no clergyman, who receives a salary as such, within the bounds of the settlement, shall enter into trade." When the transfer of the colony to the crown took place in 1807, the Act strictly forbade the traffic in slaves within the settlement, and continued to the colonists the full enjoyment of all the rights which they had possessed under the authority of the Company.

It has been already stated, that the year which terminated the Sierra-Leone Company, gave birth to a kindred company of benevolent gentlemen, who formed what was called "the African Institution;" and, as Great Britain abolished the Slave-Trade the very same year, Sierra-Leone was now selected by the Government as a fit place for locating those slaves who should be forcibly rescued from the pestilential confinement of the slave-ship by British cruisers. Accordingly, soon after the Act for abolishing the Slave-Trade was passed in England, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was established at Sierra-Leone, for the purpose of giving full effect, in the colony, to the provisions of the Act; and it is still maintained for the same object,—an object which reflects more honour on the British name than the subjugation of nations, or the conquest of empires.

Few colonies have had more difficulties to contend with, or have been more misrepresented, than Sierra-Leone. In the advocacy of its friends it is easy to detect the bias of party prejudice; and in the attacks of its foes, the rancour of interested hostility. But into this violent controversy it is not my business to enter: my limits compel brevity. Suffice it to say that Sierra-Leone has been represented, both by French and English writers, as displaying a scene of surpassing beauty. "Europe," says Golberry, "may present prospects more rich and brilliant; but in no part of the world can there be found a site so delightful as the Bay of Sierra-Leone." And Rankin observes, "No site for a town more lovely could have been selected, had charms to the eye been the sole guide." On the other hand, it has been described as "the worst place that possibly could have been chosen, whether considered in a political, or in a commercial, or in an agricultural point of view;" as "a pestiferous charnel-house," and "a detestable place, having no one good quality to recommend it." Avoiding both these extremes, it may with truth be said that the view of Sierra-Leone from the sea is interesting, and somewhat picturesque. The reader may form some idea of it from the accompanying engraving, which gives a tolerably correct view of Free-Town as it now is. Dr. Winterbottom, in the interesting work which he published in

1803, gives also a very correct sketch of this colony, as it then was; or rather as it was in 1796, when Dr. Winterbottom left the coast. The town and colony have, of course, very much improved since that period; but the landscape and the position of Free-Town are much the same. He says, "The land forming the peninsula of Sierra-Leone, when viewed from the sea, or from the opposite shore, called Bullom, appears like a number of hills heaped upon each other in a very irregular manner. On a nearer approach the face of the country assumes a more beautiful aspect. The rugged appearance of these mountains is softened by the lively verdure with which they are constantly crowned; their majestic forms, irregularly advancing and receding, occasion huge masses of light and shade to be projected from their sides, which add a degree of picturesque grandeur to the scene. The most craggy and inaccessible parts of the mountains are covered with forests of immense growth, which yield

‘A boundless deep immensity of shade.
Here lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
The noble sons of potent heat and floods
Prone rushing from the clouds, rear high to heaven
Their thorny stems, and broad around them throw
Meridian gloom.’

The lower grounds which are cultivated, present a considerable degree of verdure through the whole year, which, contrasted with the darker hues of the more distant hills, forms a spectacle highly grateful to the eye.”*

In speaking of the capital, the same writer observes, "Free-Town is situated on the south side of the river Sierra-Leone, about six miles from its mouth, upon a piece of ground which rises abruptly from the water's edge to the height of at least fifty feet, and then proceeds with a gentle and gradual ascent for about three quarters of a mile, till it reaches the foot of a chain of mountains running nearly in an E.S.E. and W.N.W. direction. The town is bounded on the N.W. by St. George's Bay, on the E. by another small bay called Susan's Bay, and on the S. are the mountains already mentioned. It extends about one-third of a mile in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and contains about seventy or eighty acres. The number of houses amounts to between three and four hundred; and they are disposed in regular streets, of which nine run in a straight line towards the mountains, in a north-west and south-

* DR. WINTERBOTTOM'S "Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone," vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

east direction. These streets are intersected, at right angles, by three cross streets, which run parallel to the shore. They are all eighty feet in breadth, except the parallel street nearest the water, which is double the breadth of the others.

“Each house stands separate, and has a small garden attached to it; forty-eight feet, by seventy-six, being the space allotted for each family to build upon. Before the town was destroyed by the French, the principal public buildings were placed in the widest street, which was terminated by the governor’s house, situated upon a point of land at the north-western extremity of Frec-Town. All these, however, together with every other building which had the appearance of superior neatness, were unfeelingly devoted to the flames, in October, 1794, by the French. The dwelling-houses of the Nova-Scotian settlers, which constitute the chief part of the town, consisted, during the first two years, almost entirely of thatched buildings; but since that period they have procured for themselves more comfortable habitations. They at present consist chiefly of wooden buildings, about thirty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth, divided into rooms by partitions, and raised two or three feet from the ground. The floors, also, instead of being formed of earth, are now boarded; and the roofs of many of them are covered with shingles, or thin pieces of wood, about six inches in breadth, and three feet in length, placed over each other like the tiles of a house. In general there are no chimneys in these houses; the fire for culinary purposes being made in the open air, or in a detached building. The present residence of the governor of Sierra-Leone is a handsome wooden building of one story, surrounded by a spacious piazza. It is situated upon a small round hill, elevated about an hundred and fifty feet above the level of the water, and placed between the town and the foot of the mountains. From this eminence, called Thornton-Hill, the eye takes in a most extensive prospect, and dwells with pleasure upon the surrounding picturesque scenery, in which the milder beauties of nature are agreeably blended with those of a more solemn and sublime appearance.”*

We may remark, that the town being situated upon a gentle slope renders it dry, and its elevation exposes it to the regular sea and land breezes. The situation is also well adapted for trade, being placed upon the banks of a river accessible at all times to vessels of the greatest burden, which may lie in safety close to the shore. Near it are various bays which offer every

* DR. WINTERBOTTOM’S “Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone,” vol. i. pp. 275—277.

convenience for repairing of vessels, or for the construction of docks. It is, moreover, well supplied with excellent water, which may be procured in any quantity with great facility. It has, however, one drawback,—the want of an inland navigation; the Sierra-Leone river, and those contiguous to it, being comparatively of small magnitude. With this exception, the situation seems admirably adapted for all the purposes its benevolent friends contemplated; and it may be justly questioned whether a more eligible site could have been selected on the whole coast south of the Senegal.

The reader will bear in mind that the preceding account of Free-Town with its “wooden buildings” refers to the year 1796, only two years after its almost entire destruction by the French squadron, which sufficiently accounts for the want of stone edifices. Soon after this the town began again rapidly to rise: but as we have already traced its history up to 1807, we pass on to that and subsequent periods.

The African Institution was formed at that memorable epoch when, by parliamentary enactments, the African Slave-Trade ceased to be the crime and the reproach of Britain; and it was principally composed of persons who had distinguished themselves by their indefatigable exertions to procure the abolition of that abominable traffic. Its objects were, to watch over the execution of this Act of the legislature for the protection of the natives of Africa; to seize every favourable opportunity for exciting in surrounding nations a proper interest in the subject; and to promote, by every means in its power, the diffusion of light and knowledge in regions which had hitherto been kept in darkness and ignorance by the operation of a system disgraceful to the Christian name, and derogatory to the character of civilized man. It was proposed to make the natives acquainted with the comforts of social order, and with the useful mechanical arts; to point out the manner in which they might avail themselves of the natural products of their country, by substituting an innocent for a guilty traffic; and, above all, to prepare the way for that greatest of blessings, a knowledge of the Christian religion.

Such being the great objects with which the Institution set out, Sierra-Leone very naturally and immediately fell under its fostering care; and the African Institution ever after watched over that colony with a paternal solicitude.

The first of a series of resolutions which were adopted at the formation of the Institution, on the 14th of April, 1807, will be sufficient to show the benevolent intentions of the founders

of that society with regard to Sierra-Leone:—"1. That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and, from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilisation and happiness." The first measure adopted by the Committee of the Institution was to open a correspondence with such persons in Africa as were likely to be useful in promoting the Society's views. They accordingly communicated with gentlemen in different parts of the coast; but to the governor of Sierra-Leone they wrote more at large, as Sierra-Leone appeared to them the place where their efforts for the improvement of Africa might most advantageously commence. And though they had explicitly stated in the "Rules and Regulations," that it was the Society's fixed determination not to undertake any religious missions, nor to engage in commercial speculations; yet they were disposed to assist in the diffusion of light and knowledge; and they requested full information respecting the natural productions of the country, its agricultural and commercial facilities, and the moral, intellectual, and political condition of its inhabitants. They further proposed to appropriate a part of the Society's funds in the erection and support of a school at Sierra-Leone, in which, in addition to the usual branches of elementary knowledge, such as reading and writing, they should furnish instruction in agriculture and other useful arts. But as the great object of the Institution was to watch over the execution of the Act of the legislature for the protection of the natives of Africa, they directed the attention of the governor of Sierra-Leone especially to this subject.

One of the principal difficulties against which the Sierra-Leone Company had had to contend, was the accursed Slave-Trade. It had almost depopulated the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, and English Slave-Traders were permitted to the last to frequent that locality, and to trade even in the river itself. But no sooner had the Act passed prohibiting the subjects of Britain from engaging in that detestable traffic, and empowering the Admiralty to treat all such as pirates, than the eyes of the native chiefs were fully opened as to the real object and formation of the colony. Previously to this the Africans might well conceive, as they generally did, that a white man or trader visiting the coast could have no other design in courting his acquaintance than to make a slave of him: but now that the British cruisers were employed in capturing slave-ships, and

actually brought them to Sierra-Leone with the living cargo on board, when the chains of the slaves were immediately knocked off, and meat, drink, and clothing given to them; now, when the natives beheld hundreds of their fellow-countrymen rescued from the horrors of the slave-ship and from slavery itself, and enjoying the liberty of British subjects; they had living, unmis-takeable proofs of the good faith and genuine philanthropy of the English; and notwithstanding "the enormous wrongs" which the Africans had suffered in their intercourse with European nations, and with Great Britain amongst the rest, they were now fully convinced that there *were* Englishmen who abhorred the Slave-Trade, and who, far from kidnapping the merchant or labourer who should put himself in their power, were desirous of nothing but his improvement and happiness.*

The first slave-ship that was captured and condemned at Sierra-Leone, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was the schooner "Marie Paul." The seizure took place on November 10th, 1808. The number of slaves is not specified in the Returns; but they were all liberated, and the ship and cargo were condemned; and against this there was "no appeal." During the same month, two other slavers were captured and condemned at the same place; and again there was "no appeal."†

On the slave-ship being taken into Sierra-Leone, the unhappy captives were set on shore: such as seemed fit for military service were conveyed to the barracks; others were apprenticed to the settlers, or those who wished to engage them; and the rest were employed for a given time under the direction of the

* To show, however, that some of the natives were a little sceptical upon the subject, still doubting the fact of this friendly feeling on the part of all the vessels which came even from England, I extract the following anecdote from the "Memoirs of Granville Sharp." The biographer received it from a respectable nobleman, the early part of whose life was passed in His late Majesty's service in the navy; and he gives it in that nobleman's own words, as follows:—

"The late Admiral Matthew Buckle commanded a small squadron on the coast of Africa, and had a broad pendant on board the 'Assistance,' of fifty guns. One day, while at anchor on the coast, a Negro came off with his canoe, loaded with fruits, and all that he had that was valuable. The commodore being on the quarter-deck, the Negro accosted him with, 'What ship this?' The other replied, in the jargon of the country, 'King George ship, man-of-war ship.' The Negro replied, doubting, 'No, you Bristol ship.' The commodore repeated what he had said; but the Negro felt his fears increase, and, exclaiming, '*Dom your heart*, you Bristol ship,' leaped overboard, leaving his canoe to its fate.....I need scarcely add," said the narrator, "that the canoe was humanely towed on shore, where the owner was most likely to find it."

† "Eighth Report of the African Institution," p. 69.

local government, to inure them to habits of industry, and to teach them the arts of civilized life; after which they obtained assignments of ground, by the cultivation of which they might earn their own subsistence. It was soon proved to a demonstration that the free Negroes are capable of being governed by mild laws, and require neither whips nor chains to enforce their submission to civil authority. From these importations, and other causes, the population rapidly increased. In 1811, Sierra-Leone and its environs contained not less than 4,000 persons; and in 1815, the census included 10,000 souls.

The preceding mode of disposing of the captured Negroes was appointed by an Order in Council of the parent Government, under the provisions of the Abolition Act: and in the official Return communicated to the Secretary of State, it appears that, up to July 9th, 1814, Negroes to the following amount were received into the colony of Sierra-Leone, and disposed of in the ways here stated:—

Settled in the colony, namely, as free labourers, carpenters, sawyers, masons, blacksmiths, &c.; living in the mountains on their farms; the girls at school; the women married in the Royal African Corps, &c.	2,757
Entered into His Majesty's land service, men and boys	1,861
Women married to soldiers at the recruiting dépôt.....	65
Left the colony, being chiefly natives of the surrounding Timmannee, Mandingo, Bullom, and Loosoo countries	419
Apprentices whose indentures are in force at the present time ...	347
Entered into His Majesty's navy	107
Apprenticed out of the colony.....	68
Living as servants at Goree.....	12
At the Lancasterian school in England	3
Stolen from the colony; two to the Havannah, and one to the Kroo country	3
Died, chiefly of the scurvy and dropsy, caught on board.....	283
Total	5,925*

Letters received from Sierra-Leone, dated February, 1816, give a favourable account of the progress of the colony. The conduct of the settlers is said to differ very little from that of the generality of English villagers. They are chiefly engaged in trading speculations. The captured Negroes, on the other hand, subsist solely by agriculture: Sierra-Leone is supplied with fruit and vegetables almost exclusively from their plantations. Many intermarriages between the Nova-Scotian and Maroon settlers had taken place, which, it was thought, would

* "Ninth Report of the African Institution," p. 63.

result in the improvement of both. All the settlers are now married in the manner prescribed by the church; and the institution of marriage gains ground even among the captured Negroes.

In the Eleventh Report of the African Institution, there is an interesting communication from Dr. Hogan, the Chief Justice of Sierra-Leone, dated October, 1816, in which he makes the following judicious remarks:—

I have always thought, that in the infancy of such a settlement, the certainty of its striking a deep root was the most important point, and ought to be the main consideration. The little vicissitudes of occasional blight or partial bloom, if they do not materially affect the vitality of the trunk, are scarcely ever worthy of the attention of a statesman, who wishes to legislate for a lengthened series of generations, and to provide for the interests of a remote posterity. I compassionate the weakness, therefore, that can dwell with emphasis upon the minute fractions of good or of evil which may have resulted from any particular system of measures at such a period of prematurity. For my own part, I am perfectly satisfied to find a solid foundation of British pre-eminence, and of African civilization, laid here within the short space of one quarter of a century. A population of ten thousand free men collected upon one spot so favourably situated, and guided and governed with a view to such noble and ennobling objects, forms too grand a stride in the moral march of human affairs, not to fix the attention of an enlightened observer, and cast into the shade every lesser consideration. When it is remembered besides, that the numbers now actually in a course of intellectual cultivation in the various schools and public institutions in this colony exceed one thousand, you will do justice to the feeling that leads me to the indulgence of prospective, rather than of retrospective, views, to a calm and encouraging anticipation of the future, in preference to a captious discussion of the past; to a settled, firm, and immovable conviction, that the good or the evil management of former times can have no other effect, in the revival of contentious questions respecting it, than to create disunion between the otherwise concurrent advocates of the common cause. I take this colony, therefore, as it is; and, looking steadily to the great objects which it was from its first settlement intended to promote, am *well content*.

There is, no doubt, much, very much, to deplore, on the score of religion, on the score of morals, on the score of manners, or of the social tact, as derived from both religion and morals; on the score of depraved, but inveterate, habits, and of lingering barbarism, and tardy improvement: yet I distinctly perceive all the principal elements of social order and effectual civilization in existence and vigour, requiring only the care of a skilful hand to mould them into form, and to collect from them, in that state, the early fruits of a successful and rapid cultivation.

In the “Sierra-Leone Gazette” of January 3d, 1818, it is stated, “This day ten years this colony was transferred from the Sierra-Leone Company to His Majesty’s Government; and by a return published in the then ‘Gazette,’ the total number of births in the year 1807 were fifty-seven; deaths, thirty-six; and marriages, fourteen. We hope to be enabled to give in our next the return for the year 1817: and as an evident proof of the better state of morality in the colony, we are bold to say,

the marriages frequently exceed in one week the number of one year at that time."

An extract of a letter from His Excellency the Governor of Sierra-Leone, Sir Charles Macarthy, dated March 6th, 1818, will throw further light on the gradually-improving state of the colony:—"I shall avail myself of an early opportunity to forward the return of the schools. The number of scholars of both sexes in the country towns has increased; and the grand total of men, women, boys, and girls, now attending schools on the peninsula, does not fall short of *two thousand*. The inhabitants of the colony have so very frequently experienced the interest the friends of Africa take in their prosperity, that I feel it a most pleasing part of my duty to be enabled to prove, by incontrovertible documents, the very great improvement in the commercial importance of this colony. The enclosed returns prove that during the year 1817 the amount of merchandise imported into the colony exceeds that of the year 1816 by £39,286; and the number of vessels, fourteen."*

The exports also were rapidly increasing, particularly in the articles of timber and rice: and the arrival of condemned slavers, with their living cargoes, continued to swell the population. According to the Parliamentary Returns at this time, it appears that the number of slave-ships captured and condemned at Sierra-Leone, from 1808 to 1819, was seventy-three, and that 11,280 slaves were rescued from these floating dungeons, and entitled to the privileges of British subjects. During this period, several villages were formed throughout the peninsula:—that of Leicester, in 1809; Regent, in 1812; Gloucester, in 1816; Leopold and Kiskey, in 1817; Charlotte and Bathurst, in 1818; Kent, York, Wellington, and Waterloo, in 1819. These villages are generally situate in different parts of the mountains, but all connected by good roads with each other and with Free-Town, the capital, from which they are distant from three to seven miles; excepting York and Kent, which are sixteen miles from Free-Town, and are situate in what is called the sea-district.

About this time, the colony was divided into parishes, according to a plan formed by Governor Macarthy; and it was the intention of the Church Missionary Society to provide an efficient minister for each; but the sickness and mortality which prevailed reduced their number of labourers so rapidly, that this design was not accomplished.

* "Twelfth Report of the African Institution," p. 171.

In 1820, the population of Sierra-Leone was 12,521; and the progress made in civilizing those unfortunate persons who had been rescued from Slavery and all its horrors, was matter of admiration to all who had the opportunity of witnessing it.

Major Gray, who visited Sierra-Leone in 1821, thus speaks of the colony and of its capabilities in respect of cultivation :—

His Excellency Sir Charles Macarthy, who had just arrived from England, was then about visiting some of the liberated Negro establishments in the country towns, accompanied by all the civil and military staff of the colony. I felt too much concern in the welfare of those truly interesting objects not to make one of the party, and therefore had an opportunity of witnessing the wonderful improvement that had taken place in every town since I had before seen them. Indeed, some, having all the appearance and regularity of the neatest village in England, with church, school, and commodious residences for the missionaries and teachers, had not in 1817 been more than thought of. Descending some of the hills, I was surprised on perceiving neat and well laid-out villages in places where, but four years before, nothing was to be seen except almost impenetrable thickets. But, arriving in those villages, the beauty and interesting nature of such objects were much enhanced by the clean, orderly, and respectable appearance of the cottages and their inhabitants, particularly the young people and children, who, at all the towns, assembled to welcome with repeated cheers the return of their governor and *daddy*, (“father,”) as they invariably styled His Excellency, who expressed himself highly pleased at their improvement during his absence; in which short period large pieces of ground had been cleared and cultivated in the vicinity of all the towns, and every production of the climate raised in sufficient abundance to supply the inhabitants, and furnish the market at Free-Town.

His Excellency visited the schools at the different towns, and witnessed the improvement which all the students had made, but particularly those of the high-school at Regent’s-Town, whose progress in arithmetic, geography, and history evinced a capacity far superior to that which is in general attributed to the Negro, and proves that they may be rendered useful members of society, particularly so in exploring the interior of the country, having previously received the education calculated to that peculiar service.

From the change which has taken place in those villages since I saw them in 1817, I am satisfied that a little time is alone necessary to enable the colony of Sierra-Leone to vie with many of the West-India islands in all the productions of tropical climates, but particularly in coffee, which has been already raised there, and proved, by its being in demand in the English market, to be of as good quality, if not superior to that imported from our other colonies. That the soil on the mountains is well adapted to the growth of that valuable berry, has been too well proved by the flourishing state of some of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of Free-Town, to need any comment. Arrow-root has also been cultivated with advantage on some of the farms belonging to private individuals; and there can be no doubt of the capability of the soil to produce the sugar-cane, as some is already grown there; but whether it is of as good a description as that of the West Indies, I cannot pretend to say, as the experiment had never been tried at Sierra-Leone, at least to my knowledge. The cultivation of all these, with the cotton, indigo, and ginger, could here be carried on under advantages which our West-India islands do not enjoy; namely, the labour of free people, who would relieve the mother country from the apprehensions which are at present entertained for the safety of pro-

perty in some of these islands, by revolt and insurrection among the slaves, and from the deplorable consequences of such a state of civil confusion. These people would, by receiving the benefits arising from their industry, be excited to exertions that must prove beneficial to all concerned in the trade, and conducive to the prosperity of the colony itself.

Free-Town, the capital of the peninsula, is of considerable extent, and is beautifully situate on an inclined plane, at the foot of some hills, on which stand the fort and other public buildings that overlook it and the roads; whence there is a delightful prospect of the town, rising in the form of an amphitheatre from the water's edge, above which it is elevated about seventy feet. It is regularly laid out into fine streets, intersected by others parallel with the river and at right angles. The houses which, a few years since, were for the most part built of timber, many of them of the worst description, and thatched with leaves or grass, are now replaced by commodious and substantial stone buildings, which both contribute to the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and add to the beauty of the place; which is rendered peculiarly picturesque by the number of cocoa-nut, orange, lime, and banana trees, scattered over the whole town, and affording, in addition to the pineapple and *gouava*, that grow wild in the woods, an abundant supply of fruit. The Madeira and Teneriffe vines flourish uncommonly well in the gardens of some private individuals, and yield in the season a large crop of grapes. Nearly all our garden vegetables are raised there; and what with yams, cassada, and pompions, there is seldom any want of one or other of those agreeable and almost necessary requisites for the table. There are good meat, poultry, and fish-markets; and almost every article of house-keeping can be procured at the shops of the British merchants.*

But notwithstanding the frequent re-captures made by our gallant officers and crews of those unfortunate beings who had been torn away from their native land, the Slave-Trade continued. The very fact of those captures was proof of this. Information was received from time to time of the horrid crimes perpetrated in Africa, and on the high seas, by miscreants who made it their business to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, and of the alarming increase of this abominable traffic, especially under the flags of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands. In the months of February, March, and April of the year 1822, eleven slavers were taken to Sierra-Leone by His Majesty's cruisers, with nearly fifteen hundred slaves on board. Three of these vessels were under French colours, three under Spanish, and five under Portuguese. In the months of July and August of the preceding year, His Majesty's ship, "Myrmidon," cruised in the Bight of Biafra; and in the course of a few weeks sixteen slave-vessels were boarded and examined by her, but of this number only one came within the provisions of the public conventions. This was the schooner "Adelaide," a Portuguese. She was taken to Sierra-Leone, and condemned in the Mixed Court. About the same time six slavers were

* MAJOR WILLIAM GRAY'S "Travels in Western Africa," pp. 332—336.

boarded at Whydah and Badagry: but as they had no slaves on board, the vessels could not be taken.

In the Reports of the African Institution for the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, and in other public documents, we find the state of Sierra-Leone described as progressing favourably, both in a commercial and in a moral point of view. There was a growing intercourse of the colony with the interior, almost to the banks of the Niger. Caravans of native merchants brought their gold, ivory, and other articles from Foota, Jallon, and places beyond it, which they bartered in the colony for British merchandise; and merchants of Sierra-Leone had occasionally received from £500 to £1,000 worth of gold in a single day, in exchange for their goods. In other respects, also, the colony was evidently improving. Crime had diminished, cultivation had extended, substantial erections had multiplied, churches were either built or in the course of being built in every village, education had been more widely diffused, and the influence of Christianity more generally prevailed among the inhabitants. A few extracts from published letters of unquestionable authority will serve to illustrate these assertions.

The excellent governor, Sir Charles Macarthy, in a letter addressed to Earl Bathurst, dated "Sierra-Leone, January 14th, 1822," observes:—

I have the honour of availing myself of the return to England of a merchant brig (the "Bedford") with African timber, to report my arrival here on the 28th of November last; and I have great pleasure in stating, that I found the European inhabitants and others very healthy, after experiencing what is termed rather a severe season, particularly upon new comers. I have employed as great a proportion of my time as I could spare from my other duties in visiting the towns and villages on the peninsula, inhabited by liberated Negroes, and discharged soldiers from the 2d and 4th West-India Regiments, and the Royal African Corps: and it affords me the highest gratification to say, that I have found these people happy, contented, and industrious; more particularly the former class, (liberated Africans,) who at different periods were landed here from the holds of slave-ships; and under the zealous care of the chief superintendent, Mr. Reffell, and of the superintendents I appointed from the Church Missionary Society, have, during my absence, continued improving in religion, morals, and agriculture.*

The following remarks on the state of Free-Town are from the "Sierra-Leone Gazette" in 1822:—

We have not resided a long time on this coast ourselves, yet we can remember when the inhabitants of Free-Town comprised the whole population of the colony, and when the hills surrounding us seemed to be its boundaries; when a journey to the Hogbrook, where Regent's-Town now stands, was deemed a task of considerable difficulty, and was never attempted unless in large parties. At a more recent

* "Sixteenth Report of the African Institution," p. 327.

date, the erection of a stone house, such as we now see on almost every lot, was only attempted by the Government; the great majority of the inhabitants residing in miserable hovels, their manners and customs apparently as rude as their habitations. Such was the picture then afforded to the newly-arrived stranger. His feelings would, of course, be commensurate to the scene before him. What different sensations must now pervade the breast of an individual coming among us! On our wharves, the busy stir of commerce meets his ear; and, in every branch of society, he finds persons whose manners and intellectual acquirements will bear comparison with the relative ranks in any part of the world. But it is in our liberated African towns, that the richest enjoyment awaits the arrival of the philanthropist. There he may contemplate with delight the happy fruits of that system, the primary feature of which is religious instruction; and with, and proceeding from, that instruction, the inculcation of moral and industrious habits, the superiority of the mountain-roads, the cleanliness and respectable appearance of the villages: but, above all, the immense forests cleared away, and the soil covered with the various productions of the climate, fully attest the unremitting industry of these interesting people; while the buildings erected in the respective villages, solely by the Negroes themselves, mark their capability and improvement as artificers.

Some of the liberated Africans, from the different villages, now sat as jurors at the Quarter-Sessions in Free-Town, to the entire satisfaction of those concerned: and a very strong proof of the moral improvement of the colony was made manifest during the Sessions of 1822. The Rev. Mr. Johnson, in September of that year, writes thus: "At the Quarter-Sessions, the Chief Justice observed, when addressing the inquest, that, ten years ago, when the population of the colony was only four thousand, there were forty cases on the calendar for trial: and now that the population was upwards of sixteen thousand, there were only six cases on the calendar. He congratulated the magistrates and grand jury on the moral improvement of the colony. There was not a single case from any of the villages under the superintendence of a missionary or schoolmaster. When the Chief Justice found that this was the fact, he dismissed us and our constables in a very civil manner, as having no business to attend at the Quarter-Sessions; and we departed well pleased." We have, then, in the preceding extracts, the concurrent testimony of His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Justice, the editor of the "*Sierra-Leone Gazette*," and others, all bearing witness to the same fact,—the moral improvement of Sierra-Leone.

The mortality at Sierra-Leone during the year 1823 was unusually great, owing to the yellow fever, or black vomit, which prevailed on the coast: and this was previous to the setting in of the rains, or what is termed "the sickly season." Not less than seventy-seven Europeans died between December and the 12th of June. Among these were three medical men, the

chaplain, and three members of the council, including the Chief Justice. Several other officers of the colony, both civil and military, as well as missionaries, fell victims to the disease. The Governor himself was absent at the Gambia and at Cape-Coast, and did not return till July 11th; when he immediately made the best arrangements in his power to supply the vacancies occasioned by disease and death, and resumed that kind and vigilant attention to all parts of the colony which had so much endeared him to the various classes of its inhabitants. In a letter dated Free-Town, September 13th, 1823, addressed to the Church Missionary Society, after giving some explanations which tended to diminish in some degree the alarming character of the preceding number of deaths, Sir Charles pleads earnestly for further aid in his benevolent exertions to benefit the regions under his care. He observes, "I shall, as long as I have my health, and His Majesty may require my presence on the coast, promote, to the utmost of my power, the religious instruction of this part of his dominions; and more particularly so, of the liberated Africans, who, from the forlorn condition in which they are landed, more peculiarly call for assistance. Here, as every where, assistance and means are required: otherwise all must end in unavailing wishes. I shall end this letter by again expressing my sincere thanks for the aid which I have obtained from the Society, and leave it to the liberality of your own feelings to be thoroughly convinced that, in regretting the want of a sufficient number of zealous missionaries, I am thus bearing the strongest and most positive testimony of the value which I set upon the labours of those whom I have had."* The plea for more labourers was also earnestly urged by the Rev. M. Nylander, one of the surviving clergymen, who says, "Africa now stretches forth both her arms to the Society, praying, '*Come over, and help us!* Send us help, or we perish for lack of knowledge!'"

The year 1824 commenced with a great loss to the colony in the lamented death of the worthy governor, Sir C. Macarthy. He was killed in a battle against an overwhelming force of the Ashantees, fought on the Gold-Coast, and under the greatest disadvantages. On the 21st of January, Sir Charles was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, and was immediately put to death by the enemy. The following official notification of this melancholy event appeared in the "Sierra-Leone Gazette" of the 17th of April of the same year:—

* "Missionary Register," January, 1824, pp. 5, 6.

The members of His Majesty's Council have the melancholy duty of announcing to the civil and military officers, and to the inhabitants of the colony at large, the heart-rending and afflicting intelligence of the death of His Excellency Brigadier-General Sir Charles Macarthy, their revered Governor and Commander-in-Chief, who was killed in an action with the Ashantees on the 21st of January last. In making this communication known to the public, the council are aware of their inability to do that justice to their own feelings, and those of their fellow-colonists, (who have for so many years enjoyed the benefit of His Excellency's paternal care and government,) which such a distressing calamity would call forth. His Excellency's administration of the government of this colony, during the most arduous and important period of its establishment, has been marked throughout by the distinguished approbation of his beloved sovereign; and is visible in the increased and increasing welfare and prosperity of its inhabitants. Under his auspices, it has arisen to a state of importance and respectability, which places it among the most improving of His Majesty's colonial possessions; and has eminently proved the wisdom of His Excellency's measures.

The unwearied attention which he devoted to his government, and the fostering care which he extended to those placed under his command, have so sensibly endeared him to every class of the inhabitants of this colony, that time alone can soften their grief or mitigate their sorrows. It may, indeed, be truly said, that, in him, his country has lost a brave and highly-talented officer; while Africa and Afric's sons are doomed to mourn the death of one who has ever shown himself their warmest friend and benefactor.*

It appears that out of eleven officers of the Regulars and Militia who belonged to His Excellency's division, in the above engagement, seven were killed. One of these was the Honourable T. S. Buckle, a member of the council; and another was J. W. Wetherall, Esq., private secretary to the governor, who fell gallantly fighting by the side of His Excellency in the same action.

Major-General Charles Turner succeeded the lamented Sir C. Macarthy, as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the colony of Sierra-Leone and its dependencies; and as the result of his energetic administration and indefatigable exertions, it was stated that never at any period, since the first establishment of the colony, was the prospect so bright and cheering. But he soon fell a victim to the combined influence of the climate, and of excessive personal exertions in prosecuting his plans of African improvement. He died in the cause of justice and humanity at six o'clock in the morning of the 7th of March, 1826; soon after which a gazette extraordinary was issued by the council, announcing the painful intelligence to the public.

The reforms proposed by that able and zealous functionary were resumed and carried forward by his successor, Sir Neil Campbell, powerfully seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Denham.

* "Missionary Register," June, 1824, p. 276.

But in addition to the annual sickly season, which generally carried off several Europeans, particularly new comers, the coast was again visited in 1829 with an epidemic, similar to that of 1823, which greatly reduced the number of the Europeans at Sierra-Leone, not sparing even the oldest settlers. From February, 1825, to 1832, four governors—General Turner, Sir Neil Campbell, Colonel Denham, the distinguished traveller, and Colonel Lumley—sank under the pressure of the climate; and Major Ricketts was obliged to return to England on account of ill health.

These circumstances, in connexion with the heavy expenditure incurred, had often led to the consideration whether Sierra-Leone ought not to be entirely relinquished. In 1825 a Commission of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone and its Dependencies was appointed by Government; and the attention of the public was at that time more than usually turned to that quarter. This colony, in common with all similar establishments, has, indeed, had to struggle with dangers and difficulties from its very commencement; and, from peculiar circumstances, it has not only had more than its full share of natural obstacles to contend against, but it has had to encounter, throughout the whole course of its existence, a bitter and unsparing hostility, ever aiming to bring into discredit the humane and liberal principles which gave it birth.

Had the colony of Sierra-Leone been founded with a view to commercial advantages merely, it would probably have been permitted to proceed with as little opposition as any other of our foreign establishments; but, unfortunately for its tranquil progress, the founders of it professed to have higher purposes in prospect. They professed to hate the Slave-Trade and Slavery. They professed to believe, that the oppressed and degraded African was a human being, a member of the same great family with themselves, and a fellow-heir of the same blessings of redemption. They professed to believe that he was capable of being elevated from the brutal condition to which he had been reduced, and of exhibiting to the world the same mental and moral endowments which were to be found in his enslavers. And they not only professed to believe all these offensive doctrines, but they had the courage, in the face of slander and contumely, to attempt to act upon them. They aimed, both by exertions and by sacrifices, to promote the civilization and moral improvement of the African race.

Such an attempt to counteract the evils of the Slave-Trade, and to repair, in any measure, the disastrous effects it had produced on the character and well-being of this unfortunate part of our species, we might have hoped, would, at least, have been treated with indulgence, if not with respect, however unfortunate may have been its issue. So far from it, it appears to have been this very circumstance of its philanthropic motive which has served to embitter hostility, to sharpen every arrow of detraction, and to give increased weight to every malignant suggestion, and to every false representation respecting this colony. And even at this moment, after so many sinister predictions of its enemies have been falsified; after it has sur-

mounted its early dangers and difficulties, aggravated by a bitterness of enmity peculiar to itself; after it has gone on for years, notwithstanding very great mismanagement, increasing in prosperity, while not a slave breathes on its soil, and while it has been made the instrument of imparting to thousands of Africans, raised from the lowest depths of misery and debasement, the blessings of British freedom, and of Christian light;—there are still to be found men whose delight seems to consist in reiterating, with fresh exaggerations, the often-refuted calumnies against it, and in labouring not only to bring it into discredit with the public, but to sweep it, if it were possible, from the face of the earth.*

The first part of the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Sierra-Leone and its Dependencies was printed in May, 1827, by order of the House of Commons; and the second part soon after. These Reports, together with some other erroneous statements respecting the colony, which appeared about the same time, called forth a work from Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, entitled, “The Colony of Sierra-Leone vindicated;” and the controversy was warm and protracted: but it would answer no good purpose to go into its details here. It was considered, that to abandon this colony would leave full scope for the contraband Slave-Trade, and would frustrate all hopes of establishing a centre whence civilization might hereafter spread throughout Africa. The European troops, however, were withdrawn, and their places supplied by Negroes, having European officers; and the expenditure of the colony was considerably reduced; so much, indeed, that, for the five years ending 1824, the expenditure was £75,000 *per annum*, and for the succeeding five years it was diminished to nearly half that sum, or to £40,000, of which about £17,000 was for liberated Africans.

In 1833, the population of Sierra-Leone was 29,764; and in two years afterwards it amounted to 35,000; of whom about 200 were Europeans, consisting of civil and military officers, merchants, traders, chaplains, missionaries, and schoolmasters.

The number of vessels with merchandise which entered Sierra-Leone in 1833 was sixty-three: of these, two were foreign vessels, eleven were from British colonies, and the other fifty were from Great Britain. The amount of exports was £57,164; the greater part of which was received in Britain, and consisted principally of timber, corn, wood, palm-oil, ivory, rice, hides, copal-gum, ginger, arrow-root, coffee, &c.; there being very little gold exported that year.†

The population, in 1838, was about 40,000; and, owing chiefly

* “Anti-Slavery Reporter,” vol. iii. pp. 157, 158. (April, 1830.)

† See MARTIN’S “British Colonies,” vol. iv. pp. 603, 604.

to the great number of slavers that were captured about this time and subsequently, Free-Town itself, in 1846, contained 15,000 inhabitants; and the colony, embracing a circuit of thirty miles, numbered not less than 50,000 souls.

In order to form a correct estimate of the moral condition of Sierra-Leone, and of what has been there effected, we ought, in all fairness, to look at the character of its inhabitants, as they have from time to time been introduced into the colony. Without treading over the same ground again, this may be done in few words. The oldest residents, it will be recollected, are black and coloured Nova-Scotians, who emigrated thither upwards of fifty years ago. The appellation of "settlers" is applied to this part of the community; and much has been said for and against them. Great blame has also been attached to the Sierra-Leone Company, for not adhering to its original promise, in granting to them such quantities of land as they had stipulated for; and it cannot be denied that there was a breach of faith on the part of the Sierra-Leone Company in this particular, though perhaps it was unavoidable. But the Nova-Scotians were so disappointed and disgusted, when they found that only one-fifth of the land promised could be granted to them, that they began to entertain a feeling of distrust towards the Company, and to show a want of due respect towards its resident agents. This was the first grievance; and the evil effects of this disappointment may be traced even to this day.

After the lapse of some seven years, an accession was made to the colony in point of numbers, but by no means in respect of moral strength, by the advent of a body of Maroons. The Maroons had been for many years the only body of free Blacks in the island of Jamaica, where they spent the greater part of their time in hunting wild beasts in the woods, or in chasing and ferreting out runaway slaves; for which latter purpose they were held in great repute, and were always in preference resorted to, on such occasions, by slave-owners. At the close of the Maroon war in that island, they were sent to Nova-Scotia, and subsequently to Sierra-Leone, where, immediately on their arrival, arms were put into their hands, and they were commissioned to use them in reducing the "settlers" to obedience. By this act they regained favour with the English; but it was at the expense of an amount of hatred and reproach from the old colonists which lasted for many years.

The Abolition of the Slave-Trade by Great Britain, in 1807, introduced, in the body of the liberated Africans, a third and

the principal element into the population of the colony; and the great mass of the inhabitants of Free-Town, and of the rest of the peninsula, amounting, as we have stated, to fifty thousand souls, are re-captured Negroes, not consisting of Blacks of one nation only, but of many tribes, who were landed there at different times, in a condition the most degraded, having been redeemed from the blood-thirsty grasp of Slavery, and of those "men-stealers" who

" Drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span
And buy the muscles and the bones of man."

The condition of a body of captured slaves, on their arrival at Sierra-Leone, when just released from these floating, gasping tombs, or coffin-like prisons, the slave-ships, is the most miserable and wretched that can well be conceived. An eye-witness of a scene of this description thus writes :—

One fine day in May, the signal-gun told of the approach of a vessel, which the lookers-out on the signal-hill announced, by the usual mode of hoisting a coloured ball to the top of a staff, to be a schooner or brig from the south. A sharp-built schooner, with crowded canvass, glanced up the estuary like lightning. Her nature was obvious: she was a prize. A painful interest prompted me to visit, as speedily as possible, this prison-ship. A friend offered the advantage of his company to a scene which has sometimes so completely overwhelmed a novice, as to render the support of a friend advantageous.

The Timmannee crew of the official boat swiftly shot us along-side. The craft showed Spanish colours, and was named *La Pantica*. We easily leaped on board, as she lay low in the water. The first hasty glance around caused a sudden sickness and faintness, followed by an indignation more intense than discreet. Before us, lying in a heap, huddled together at the foot of the foremast, on the bare and filthy deck, lay several human beings in the last stage of emaciation,—dying. The ship, fore and aft, was thronged with men, women, and children, all entirely naked, and disgusting with disease. The stench was nearly insupportable, cleanliness being impossible. I stepped to the hatchway; it was secured by iron bars and cross-bars, and pressed against them were the heads of slaves below. It appeared that the crowd on deck formed one-third only of the cargo, two-thirds being stowed in a sitting posture below, between-decks,—the men forward, the women aft. Two hundred and seventy-four were at this moment in the little schooner. When captured, three hundred and fifteen had been found on board: forty had died during the voyage from Old Calabar, where she had been captured by His Majesty's ship, "Fair Rosamond;" and one had drowned himself on arrival, probably in fear of being "yammed" by the English.....I attempted to descend, in order to see the accommodation. The height between the floor and ceiling was about twenty-two inches. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves may be imagined, especially that of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a premature curve; and in the streets of Free-Town I have seen liberated slaves in every conceivable state of distortion. One I remember, who trailed along his body, with his back to the

ground, by means of his hands and ankles. Many can never resume the upright posture.*

A communication from Sierra-Leone of more recent date confirms the preceding horrible picture. It is from the pen of the Rev. C. S. Frey:—"April 16th, 1845. In going from Kissey to Free-Town, I met with a scene of misery which made such an impression on my mind that I shall scarcely forget it. About four hundred emancipated Africans, old and young, of both sexes, were proceeding toward Kissey Hospital. They had just come from the slave-vessel, and were in a most heart-rending condition. Some, not being able to walk, were carried; while others supported themselves with sticks, looking, from the starvation they had endured on board, more like human skeletons than living beings. I have since been informed that, within a short time, a hundred of them died."†

Such are the wretched materials out of which the colony of Sierra-Leone has been principally constructed: nor does the preceding description, horrifying as it is, convey an adequate impression of the disadvantages under which these poor creatures labour. They arrive not only debilitated and diseased in body, without even a rag to cover them, but desponding and dejected in mind, wholly ignorant of the English language, and without power or inclination for exertion. Is it, then, to be wondered at that, in such circumstances, the faculties of the soul should be so cramped and benumbed by cruelties inflicted on the body, as almost involuntarily to suggest to the mind of the beholder an idea, that the mass of miserable beings before him are but little elevated above the brute creation? And yet, with regard to these wretched beings, what is the fact, as stated in the preceding pages, and more especially as existing at the present time? Why, the change passed upon them is like a resurrection from the dead; a translation from chains and darkness to light and liberty; from a depth of wretchedness of which those whose eyes have not witnessed it can form no adequate conception, to a state of comparative ease and enjoyment, of comfort and happiness; and from barbarism and degradation the most complete, to civilization and Christian improvement. In one word, there are scores, nay, hundreds, of those poor creatures who brought nothing with them into the colony but their unnerved and tottering limbs, their naked and emaciated bodies, with their depressed and abject spirits, who are now,

* RANKIN'S "Visit to Sierra-Leone in 1834," vol. ii. pp. 118—123.

† "Missionary Register," 1846, p. 151.

both in a literal and spiritual sense, "clothed, and in their right mind;"—thousands of them, who are industrious, intelligent, and pious, useful members of civil and religious society.

Owing to the frequent accessions of these ignorant and debased Heathens from the interior, the morals of the people in some parts of the colony are very low; but it may with truth be said, that the majority of emancipated slaves cheerfully submit to all the ordinary restraints of British law, and that many of them even take part in the administration of those laws which yield them protection, and in the maintenance of the peace and good order of the colony.

It would be interesting, did the limits of this work permit it, to trace the gradual progress of the liberated Africans from the depths of misery to which allusion has been made, until we find them, after a few years, well clad, well housed, quiet, orderly, respectable members of society, and some of them in independent circumstances. This pleasing task has, however, been in part accomplished by the late Dr. Fergusson, of Sierra-Leone, in a Letter addressed to Sir T. F. Buxton, in 1839; the substance of which Sir Fowell has embodied in his stirring work on "The Slave-Trade and its Remedy." As I have the printed letter before me, I will avail myself of it to make the following extracts. It may be here remarked, that Dr. Fergusson, whom I had the pleasure of knowing personally, was a gentleman of great intelligence; and, from his intimate knowledge of the peninsula, acquired during his long residence at Sierra-Leone, where he was for many years at the head of the medical department, and occasionally held the highest official civil office in the colony, he was well qualified to write upon the subject. Speaking of the liberated Africans as a class, and of the position in society which they occupied at that time, he observes,—

1. Those most recently arrived are to be found occupying mud-houses, and small patches of ground, in the neighbourhood of one or other of the villages: (the villages are about twenty in number, placed in different parts of the colony, grouped into three classes or districts; namely, mountain, river, and sea districts.) The majority remain in their locations as agriculturists; but several go to reside in the neighbourhood of Free-Town, looking out for work, as labourers, farm-servants, servants to carry wood and water, grooms, house-servants, &c.; others cultivate vegetables, rear poultry and pigs, and supply eggs for the Sierra-Leone market. Great numbers are found offering for sale in the public market, and elsewhere, a vast quantity of cooked edible substances,—rice, corn, and cassada cakes, heterogeneous compounds of rice and corn-flour, yams, cassada, palm-oil, pepper, pieces of beef, mucilaginous vegetables, &c., &c., under names quite unintelligible to a stranger, such as *aagedee*, *aballa*, *akalaray*, *cabona*, &c., &c., cries which are shouted along the streets of Free-Town from morn till night. These, the lowest grade of liberated Africans, are a harmless and well-disposed people; there is no

poverty among them, nor begging; their habits are frugal and industrious; their anxiety to possess money is remarkable; but their energies are allowed to run riot and be wasted, from the want of knowledge requisite to direct them into proper channels.

2. Persons of a grade higher than those last described are to be found occupying frame-houses: they drive a petty trade in the market, where they expose for sale nails, fish-hooks, door-hinges, tape, thread, ribbon, needles, pins, &c. Many of this grade also look out for the arrival of canoes from the country, laden with oranges, kolas, sheep, bullocks, fowls, rice, &c., purchase the whole cargo at once at the water-side, and derive considerable profit from selling such articles by retail, in the market and over the town. Many of this grade are also occupied in curing and drying fish, an article which always sells well in the market, and is in great request by people at a distance from the water-side, and in the interior of the country. A vast number of this grade are tailors, straw-hat makers, shoemakers, cobblers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, &c. Respectable men of this grade meet with ready mercantile credits, amounting from £20 to £60; and the class is very numerous.

3. Persons of a grade higher than that last mentioned are found occupying frame-houses, reared on a stone foundation of from six to ten feet in height. These houses are very comfortable; they are painted outside and in; have piazzas in front and rear, and many of them all round; a considerable sprinkling of mahogany furniture of European workmanship is to be found in them; several books are to be seen lying about, chiefly of a religious character, and a general air of domestic comfort pervades the whole, which, perhaps, more than any thing else, bears evidence of the advanced state of intelligence at which they have arrived. This grade is nearly altogether occupied in shop-keeping, hawking, and other mercantile pursuits. At sales of prize goods, public auctions, and every other place affording a probability of cheap bargains, they are to be seen in great numbers; where they club together in numbers of from three to six, seven, or more, to purchase large lots or unbroken bales; and the scrupulous honesty with which the subdivision of the goods is afterwards made, cannot be evidenced more thoroughly than in this, that, common as such transactions are, they have never yet been known to have become the subject of controversy or litigation. The principal streets of Free-Town, as well as the approaches to the town, are lined on each side by an almost continuous range of booths and stalls, among which almost every article of merchandise is offered for sale, and very commonly at a cheaper rate than similar articles are sold in the shops of the merchants.

Two rates of profit are recognised in the mercantile transactions of the European merchants; namely, a wholesale and a retail profit, the former varying from thirty to fifty per cent., the latter from fifty to one hundred per cent. The working of the retail trade in the hands of Europeans requires a considerable outlay in the shape of shop-rent, shopkeepers', clerks' wages, &c. The liberated Africans were not slow in observing nor in seizing on the advantages which their peculiar position held out for the successful prosecution of the retail trade.

Clubbing together, as before observed, and holding ready money in their hands, the merchants are naturally anxious to execute for them considerable orders, on such unexceptionable terms of payment; while, on the other hand, the liberated Africans, seeing clearly their advantage, insist most pertinaciously on the lowest possible per-centage of wholesale profit.

Having thus become possessed of the goods at the lowest possible ready-money rate, their subsequent transactions are not clogged with the expense of shop-rents, shopkeepers' and clerks' wages and subsistence, &c., &c., expenses unavoidable to Europeans. They are therefore enabled at once to undersell the European retail

merchants, and to secure a handsome profit to themselves; a consummation the more easily attained, aided as it is by the extreme simplicity and abstemiousness of their mode of living, which contrast so favourably for them with the expensive and almost necessary luxuries of European life. Many of this grade possess large canoes, with which they trade in the upper parts of the river, along shore, and in the neighbouring rivers, bringing down rice, palm-oil, camwood, ivory, hides, &c., &c., in exchange for British manufactures. They are all in easy circumstances, readily obtaining mercantile credits from £60 to £200. Persons of this and the grade next to be mentioned, evince great anxiety to become possessed of houses and lots in old Free-Town. These lots are desirable, because of their proximity to the market-place and the great thoroughfares, and also for the superior advantages which they afford for the establishment of their darling object, "a retail store." Property of this description has of late years become much enhanced in value, and its value is still increasing, solely from the annually-increasing numbers and prosperity of this and the next grade. The town-lots originally granted to the Nova-Scotian settlers and the Maroons are, year after year, being offered for sale by public auction, and in every case liberated Africans are the purchasers. A striking instance of their desire to possess property of this description, and of its increasing value, came under my immediate notice a few months ago.

The gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society having been for some time looking about in quest of a lot on which to erect a new chapel, a lot suitable for the purpose was at length offered for sale by public auction; and at a meeting of the Society's Local Committee, it was resolved, in order to secure the purchase of the property in question, to offer as high as £60. The clergyman delegated for this purpose, at my recommendation, resolved, on his own responsibility, to offer, if necessary, as high as £70; but, to the surprise and mortification of us all, the lot was knocked down at upwards of £90, and a liberated African was the purchaser. He stated very kindly, that if he had known the Society were desirous of purchasing the lot, he would not have opposed them; he nevertheless manifested no desire of transferring to them the purchase, and even refused an advance of £10 on his bargain.

4. Persons of the highest grade of liberated Africans occupy comfortable two-story stone-houses, enclosed all round with spacious piazzas. These houses are their own property, and are built from the proceeds of their own industry. In several of them are to be seen mahogany chairs, tables, sofas, and four-post bedsteads, pier-glasses, floor-cloths, and other articles indicative of domestic comfort and accumulating wealth.

Persons of this grade, like those last described, are almost wholly engaged in mercantile pursuits. Their transactions, however, are of greater magnitude and value, and their business is carried on with an external appearance of respectability commensurate with their superior pecuniary means: thus, instead of exposing their wares for sale in booths or stalls by the way-side, they are to be found in neatly-fitted-up shops, on the ground-floor of their stone dwelling-houses.

Many individual members of this grade have realized very considerable sums of money, sums which, to a person not cognizant of the fact, would appear to be incredible. From the studied manner in which individuals conceal their pecuniary circumstances from the world, it is difficult to obtain a correct knowledge of the wealth of the class generally. The devices to which they have recourse in conducting a bargain are often exceedingly ingenious, and to be reputed rich might materially interfere with their success on such occasions. Thus nothing is more common than to hear a plea of poverty set up, and most pertinaciously urged, in extenuation of the terms of a purchase, by persons, whose outward condition, com-

fortable, well-furnished houses, and large mercantile credits, indicate any thing but poverty.

There are circumstances, however, the knowledge of which they cannot conceal, and which go far to exhibit pretty clearly the actual state of matters; such as, Firstly, the facility with which they raise large sums of "cash prompt" at public auctions. Secondly, the winding-up of the estates of deceased persons. (Peter Newland, a liberated African, died a short while before I left the colony; and his estate realized, in houses, merchandise, and cash, upwards of £1,500.) Thirdly, the extent of their mercantile credits. I am well acquainted with one individual of this grade, who is much courted and caressed by every European merchant in the colony, who has transactions in trade with all of them, and whose name, shortly before my departure from the colony, stood on the debtor side of the books of one of the principal merchants to the amount of £1,900, to which sum it had been reduced from £3,000 during the preceding two months. A highly respectable female has now, and has had for several years, the Government contract for the supply of fresh beef to the troops and the naval squadron; and I have not heard that on a single occasion there has been cause of complaint for negligence or non-fulfilment of the terms of contract. Fourthly, many of them, at the present moment, have their children being educated in England at their own expense. There is at Sierra-Leone a very fine regiment of colonial militia, more than eight-tenths of which are liberated Africans. The amount of property which they have acquired is ample guarantee for their loyalty, should that ever be called in question. They turn out with great alacrity and cheerfulness on all occasions for periodical drill. But perhaps the most interesting point of view in which the liberated Africans are to be seen, and that which will render their moral condition most intelligible to those at a distance, is when they sit at the quarter-sessions as petty, grand, and special jurors. They constitute a considerable part of the jury at every sessions, and I have repeatedly heard the highest legal authority in the colony express his satisfaction with their decisions.*

Dr. Fergusson remarks, "It may be objected to some of these statements, that they are extreme instances of the flourishing condition of the liberated Africans. I grant they are so; but as I have herein undertaken to give you a faithful summary of their present condition and status in society, it is right and proper that they should be exhibited to you in all their phases. They have been already shown to you in the depths of misery and degradation. Why should the more beautiful and interesting side of the picture be concealed?" The same gentleman, in the same letter, further remarks, "Of the liberated Africans, as a body, it may with great truth be said that there is not a more quiet, inoffensive, contented, good-humoured, and light-hearted population on the face of the earth." With their religious spirit he professes not to be intimately acquainted; but he observes, "I know that their outward observance of the sabbath day is most exemplary. On that day the passion for

* FERGUSSON'S "Letter on the Character of the Liberated Africans at Sierra-Leone," 1839, pp. 8—13.

dancing, singing, and other noisy amusements, is altogether laid aside, and nearly the whole body of the people are to be found engaged in the services of the sanctuary, at one or other of the Protestant churches or chapels which abound in the colony."

The most recent work that has appeared on this interesting colony, and which touches on the condition of the liberated Africans, is one published during the last year, and is entitled, "Letters from Sierra-Leone, by a Lady. Edited by the Hon. Mrs. Norton." The amiable and intelligent authoress of these "Letters," in speaking more particularly of the liberated Africans as domestic servants or in the lower grades of society, has appropriately headed "Letter XXXI." with the title, "First hasty Impressions regarding the Natives—Second Considerations," &c.; and observes:—

However philanthropically disposed you may be towards the Negro on taking up your residence at Sierra-Leone, so soon as the first novelty of situation wears off, the indolence, stupidity, and want of tidiness (to say nothing of graver faults) of the only persons you have to depend upon as domestic servants, throw you into a sort of actual despair. You teach, persuade, remonstrate, lecture, by turns: your words are listened to with a good-humoured apathy; but, neither your rhetoric nor example effecting the slightest improvement, you begin to doubt whether the Negro be gifted with any good quality or mental capacity whatever, and feel irresistibly led to include the whole race in a most sweeping kind of condemnation.

"Use lessens marvel," it is said; and as time wanes by, custom rendering you less fastidious, trifling physical discomforts become less felt, and you look to the causes of all this semi-barbarism in a place that has been colonized and under British rule for upwards of half a century; and, upon duly examining and weighing these causes, come to a totally opposite conclusion to that you were at first inclined to adopt; the disadvantages under which the Blacks emancipated here have laboured, striking you far more than the partial advantages they have enjoyed.

As a people, they have been enslaved and oppressed for upwards of four hundred years; and even this solitary consideration tells us, that to form an unbiassed judgment of the liberated Africans, we must not institute comparisons between them and the lower classes of our own free England. Brought here in a state of utter degradation and barbarism, where the language, laws, manners, and customs are totally new to them, where European society is by far too limited to afford an example of civilization as it exists at home, and where, excepting the patient, pious, and indefatigable missionary, there are very few to guide, teach, and instruct the minds of these ignorant Heathens; it is surprising to find so many of the liberated Africans advanced to the degree they are; more especially as ship-loads of Negroes, in their rudest condition, constantly arriving here, are the means of keeping up and perpetuating amongst the others all the prejudices and practices of their own savage nations.

Nothing can exceed the pains taken in teaching the people by the different missionaries, among whose ranks mortality is most awfully frequent; but yet their numbers are not adequate to insure to the *whole* of the vast population here the benefit of instruction in the thorough manner it must be conveyed, ere we can look for its fruits in that improvement of mind, heart, and soul which a right knowledge

of our holy religion, in all its truth, purity, simplicity, and beauty, is calculated to produce. Still, to a certain degree, they have seen their labours rewarded; and of their dense and orderly congregations it is to be hoped that the greater part are not merely Christians in outward profession, but to the utmost extent of their abilities.

Yet many, many of the liberated Africans are savages in every sense of the word, whilst numerous others, who were either never at school, or else taken away ere they had made the least progress, apprenticed out in early childhood to the rudest and most ignorant of their country people, although they have grown up conforming externally to a few of the most striking usages of civilized life, in every other respect are as barbarous as the lowest slaves in their own country. But when we read and think of the miserable degradation of mind, the superstitious and horrid practices of the tribes of the interior; and then look at the quiet, sober, light-hearted individuals of these very barbarous tribes, whether pursuing their way to market, going out in their tiny fishing-skiffs, cultivating their little farms, waiting upon you at table, or in the superior occupations of tradesmen and mechanics, we perceive that it is not so much *intellect* the Negro wants, as a wider field for example and encouragement from others, to teach him to exercise the sense his Creator has given him.*

After these testimonies, coupled with many other disinterested and important illustrations which might be given of the capabilities of the Negro, it is to be hoped we shall hear no more of his being a species of the mere animal part of God's creation. We claim for him a place among ourselves, however low and base and degraded we know he is,—a true fellow-child of the first Adam, but the redeemed property of the Second. He belongs to the same family; and we claim him on the ground that he possesses the faculty of speech, and a mind capable of cultivation and improvement. We claim him as our brother, because, in thousands of instances, he has listened to the proclamation of the gospel, felt its sanctifying power, has exhibited in his conduct its lofty principles, and has died triumphantly in the faith. These are proofs which ought to cause the sceptic to blush, and make him hasten to bury that petty philosophy which denies to the Negro the dignity of man: and never let it rise again till he has succeeded in instructing some monkey tribe in the rudiments of religion; till he has taught the ouranoutang "how to live," and "how to die."

In the preceding pages frequent allusion has been made by different writers to the labours of "colonial chaplains," to "the different missionaries" and "schoolmasters," to "religious instruction," and to "the inculcation of moral and industrious habits proceeding from that instruction:" and no one, it is presumed, will attempt to deny, that, but for the use of these moral means, the colony would never have attained to its present state of civilization and respectability. The fair writer

* "Letters from Sierra-Leone. By a Lady," pp. 251—253.

already quoted, in addition to the extract in which she respectfully mentions the "patient, pious, and indefatigable missionary," &c., has very honourably made this subject prominent in the preface to her work; where she says:—"And here a tribute is due to the missionaries for their unwearied zeal for the benefit of the colony. To them unquestionably is to be mainly ascribed the state of education and enlightenment attained by the black population of Sierra-Leone, which is higher than is generally credited in this country; and has, especially of late years,—notwithstanding the continual importations of fresh barbarians,—greatly advanced." The gospel, in fact, went out with the very first settlers, who sailed from England in 1787; a pious chaplain having accompanied that expedition. And though he was soon obliged to return on account of ill-health, the Sierra-Leone Company discovered a laudable zeal to promote the gospel of Christ, in continuing to supply the settlement with chaplains; and not only so, but they encouraged schoolmasters and others who were willing to labour among the settlers, or to go as missionaries to the natives of the surrounding country.

At an early period missionaries, as well as catechists and schoolmasters, were sent out by the Church Missionary Society; and they have continued to occupy an important position in the colony from that time to the present. Between the Church and Wesleyan missionaries the utmost cordiality appears at all times to have existed; nor does the history of the mission furnish a single example to the contrary. They both regarded themselves as engaged in one and the same work; and neither party have suffered themselves to be drawn aside by smaller differences. It has been the writer's privilege to be personally acquainted with several of the Church missionaries; and, supposing them to be fair specimens of the whole, he believes that a more pious, intelligent, faithful, and useful body of Christian missionaries are not to be found on the face of the globe, than those belonging to the Church Missionary Society, who have been, or are now, labouring at Sierra-Leone. But as the object of this work is to give a brief history of the Wesleyan missions only, with the best feelings and wishes with regard to other kindred Societies, we shall proceed, in the next chapter, to execute what is promised on our title-page.

CHAPTER XI.

WESLEYAN MISSIONS.—SIERRA-LEONE.

(1792—1815.)

WESLEYAN Missions commenced by the Rev. John Wesley and Dr. Coke—America—Origin of the Mission at Sierra-Leone—Applications for a Missionary—Failure of the Foulah Expedition in 1796—Reflections—The Appointment of two Missionaries on the proper Plan—Sierra-Leone still without a Missionary—George Warren appointed by the Conference in 1811—His Reception in the Colony—Usefulness—First Death—Biographical Sketch—The little Flock again without a Missionary—The Appointment of Mr. Davies in 1814—State of the Society and Schools—Death of Mrs. Davies—Sketch of her Character.

THE general Wesleyan Missionary Society was not established till the year 1817; but missions to the Heathen were commenced and superintended by the late Rev. John Wesley and Dr. Coke, long before any reports of their successes were published, or societies organized for their regular support. So early, indeed, as 1769, at the Wesleyan Conference held in Leeds, Mr. Wesley asked the question, “Who will go to help our brethren in America?”* Two of his sons in the gospel responded to the call, and a collection was then made by the preachers, amounting to £50; and it reflects great credit on our fathers and brethren in the ministry that the first collection ever made in the Wesleyan Connexion towards sending the gospel abroad was raised among themselves. The origin of the Wesleyan missions may be dated from this period; but they did

* In the year 1763, several persons, members of Mr. Wesley's society, emigrated from England and Ireland, and settled in various parts of America; and, some few years after, two local preachers from Ireland began to minister the gospel of Christ, the one at New-York, the other in Frederic county in Maryland, and had the happiness to see their labours accompanied with the divine blessing, many being converted to God, and by them formed into societies. About this time Mr. Webb, a lieutenant in the army, preached with great success at New-York and Philadelphia; and, with the assistance of his friends, he erected a chapel in the former place, which was the first belonging to the Methodist society in America. Encouraged by this success, and by an earnest desire for the salvation of mankind, he wrote to Mr. Wesley, earnestly importuning him to send missionaries to that continent. It was the receipt of that request which led Mr. Wesley to ask the question in the text. (See “Missionary Magazine,” 1796, p. 65.)

not fairly commence till the year 1786, when Dr. Coke sailed with three missionaries bound for Nova-Scotia; but a succession of violent gales, and a leak in the vessel, together with a scarcity of fresh water, compelled the captain to steer for the island of Antigua; and thus commenced our important missions in the West Indies. Other missionaries, in the mean time and subsequently, were sent to America; and the Methodist Episcopal church on that great continent is an offspring of Wesleyan Methodism.

The primary occasion which led to the introduction of Methodism into the African colony of Sierra-Leone is of an interesting character. We have, in a preceding chapter, stated that the generality of the first settlers, and of the Nova-Scotians, who were conveyed to Sierra-Leone in 1792, were, for the most part, restless and discontented: there were, however, exceptions to this; and many of the Blacks from Nova-Scotia had heard the gospel in America from the missionaries sent out by Mr. Wesley, and were savingly converted to God. When they arrived at Sierra-Leone, they carried the savour of divine grace with them; and being attached to our doctrine and discipline, and finding "the constitution of the colony congenial to their wishes, granting to all liberty to worship God agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, while those in power encouraged the practice of every moral virtue, they established the worship of God among themselves, according to the plan of the Methodists; at the same time earnestly inviting others to join them. Two or three, at this time, officiated as local preachers, and a few others bore the office of class-leaders. As their lives were exemplary, and their preaching regular, their congregations soon increased, and several others augmented the original number of the society; and in process of time a preaching-house was erected, capable of containing four hundred persons." * In the Minutes of the Conference for 1792 we find, under the head of, "What numbers are in the societies?" the answer is, "Sierra-Leone, coloured people, 223." This is the first official record of Wesleyan Methodism in connexion with the continent of Africa which I have discovered; and this number appears in the Minutes up to 1796.

Thus early, and thus far, did God vouchsafe to bless the endeavours of this simple-minded people, to promote his glory, and to benefit each other; and they were graciously preserved through succeeding years as lights in a benighted land. Dr.

* COKE'S "Narrative of a Mission to Sierra-Leone," pp. 18, 19.

Coke, by whose direction and energies, principally, the Wesleyan missions had been carried on since the death of Mr. Wesley, took a deep interest in the colony of Sierra-Leone, and in the welfare of that little band of Christian soldiers who had thus far nobly stood their ground, strengthening each other's hands in the Lord. He yearned over souls, particularly those of the Heathen. Africa now lay near his heart; and he longed to do something to benefit the sable sons of Ham. The doctor says, "We received many letters from them, beseeching us to send a missionary to the colony to second their own exertions, and to instruct them more fully in the way of righteousness." Of these requests he never lost sight; but being at that time unable to procure men who were both qualified for the mission, and willing to undertake the arduous task, and being desirous of making an attempt "beyond the confines of the colony," he turned his attention to this in the year 1795. With this view he gave encouragement and assistance to sundry "mechanics who were members of our society in England, some of whom had officiated as local preachers, to accompany Governor Macaulay to the settlement, in order to form a Christian colony, and open a friendly intercourse with the natives of the Foulah country," and to instruct them in domestic arts, inculcate piety by their example, and occasionally preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. Being furnished with every thing necessary for the voyage, and for their subsequent occupations, they sailed from Portsmouth on February 17th, 1796, and arrived at Sierra-Leone on March 18th. "It seems, however, that they had either not rightly understood the engagement, or had not fully counted the cost;" as will appear from the following letter of Mr. Macaulay to Mr. Wilberforce, dated

FREE-TOWN, *April 19th, 1796.*

MR. CLARK * will probably acquaint you with the failure of the Methodist mission to the Foulah country, and the causes of it. I had resolved to accompany them to the place of their destination, in order to negotiate a settlement with the king of the country for them, and to see them completely established. But on the morning which had been named for our departure, there came a delegation from the missionaries to say that they could not proceed. It is so far fortunate, that they have retracted before we set out on our journey, as their receding then might have displeased the natives, and shut the door against future missions. It seems as if the field they were to occupy, which is a very extensive and important one, was reserved by Providence for some, who, with more courage, can encounter difficulties and bear their cross, and who will be disposed, with Paul, to count all things but loss; nay, not even to count their lives dear for the sake of Christ. †

* The chaplain to the colony.

† "Missionary Magazine," 1796, p. 34.

Previous to the embarkation of these individuals, no impropriety whatever had been discovered in their behaviour, nothing that could indicate in the least degree the unhappy result which finally defeated the undertaking. It appears that they repaired to the ship in good health, in high spirits, and in a state of perfect harmony with one another; but during the voyage they became extremely discontented, quarrelling among themselves, and two of them were continually calling each other ill names. On their arrival at Sierra-Leone, they behaved in such a manner as excited the derision and contempt of all who had an opportunity of observing them. Happily, however, the dissensions which prevailed among them prevented the evil from being carried into the country which they intended to visit; so that, if the natives of the Foulah country were not to be enlightened by the gospel at this time, neither were they to be corrupted by their ill example, nor disgusted by their unholy strife. Some of the women declared they would proceed no further, and reflected on their husbands for conducting them to a foreign land; and the men, after wavering for a season, joined them in their revolt. Thus the design of a colony was completely abandoned, and the unworthy adventurers seized the earliest opportunity of returning to England, to accuse each other of having defeated the undertaking, and to endure that shame and reproach which their misconduct so justly merited. One alone seems to have been actuated by a proper principle. This man held fast his integrity, and at the close of a letter from Sierra-Leone, detailing what occurred on the voyage, he observes: "I was truly weighed down beyond measure, as I plainly saw that our design, and that of the subscribers, would be frustrated." Such, indeed, was the case; but "it is only an act of justice to the Wesleyan body to state, that though the colonists belonged to that communion, they were not sent out by the Conference, but by a Committee in London, consisting of gentlemen of various denominations."*

Dr. Coke, we know, took an active part in this plan for the civilization of the Foulah tribes in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone; but it was "in conjunction with others," as the preceding extract shows,—“with gentlemen of various denominations,” among whom was Mr. Wilberforce, who, in a letter to Dr. Coke, observes: "I cannot help taking up my pen for a moment, to assure you of the satisfaction it affords me to hear of your intention to plant a mission in the neighbourhood of

* "Missionary Records," *Western Africa*, p. 65.

Sierra-Leone. I shall certainly, among my brother Directors, recommend and enforce our duty, and the utility of forwarding the measure in the best way we are able, with propriety, in our official situations; and I dare say we could procure a large subscription towards the support of the mission in our individual capacities. I pray that it may please God to bring this scheme into accomplishment, and that He may bless your labours with success.* That eminent statesman and Christian philanthropist, in the same letter, very properly remarked: "I cannot help adding, that much must depend upon the qualifications and dispositions of the missionaries, not only for their success among the natives, (according to the usual proceedings of Divine Providence,) but also for the funds we might be able to raise for the general purpose of the establishment." On this subject there can be but one opinion: not only much, but every thing, depends upon the character of those who are sent to evangelize others, in subordination to the agency of the Holy Ghost; and Dr. Coke, no doubt, was as fully convinced of this as any one: but he was in this case deceived in the men whom he had engaged; and we may charitably hope that the persons by whom they were recommended were also deceived. The one who alone appeared to have been actuated by a proper principle, and whom we have before mentioned, remarks: "I am sorry to say that most of the persons you chose for the propagation of the gospel in the Foulah country, in Africa, have manifested to the world that they are strangers to the power of it themselves. I thought that their discontent while on board might have arisen from their being strangers to ships; but I soon found that it arose from an unrenewed heart." It was no wonder, therefore, that the mission failed. Motives of a higher order than those which actuate the generality of mankind, or even many of our great philanthropists, are requisite for a work like this; an enterprise in which none can successfully engage, but men in whose hearts a flame has been enkindled, pure, quenchless, and divine.

Other colonizing schemes of a similar character have been attempted in the same locality and elsewhere, and have as signally failed; but this was the first and only effort of the kind attempted by Wesleyans, and that not in their official capacity. This fact will be more fully established by the concluding paragraph in a "Narrative of the Methodist Missions," contained in the "Missionary Magazine," published in Edinburgh in 1796,

* DREW'S "Life of Dr. Coke," p. 265.

from which we have already quoted, and which is alike characterized by its candour, and its accuracy and veracity in the perspicuous and concise statement of important facts. The editor says, "We understand that the mission to the Foulah country, which is said to have failed, was not properly a Methodist mission, as the families that went out with Mr. Macaulay, with the design to settle on the borders of that country, were *not* sent by the Methodist Conference. We therefore insert this note, lest any of our readers, by attaching the common idea to the phrase 'Methodist mission,' should be led to conclude, that these persons must have been missionaries sent out by that body of people, for the express purpose of preaching to the Heathen; whereas, they were neither so sent, nor was their mission so immediately to preach, as to form a Christian colony."*

Notwithstanding this just and satisfactory explanation of the matter, and though no real blame could be attached to Dr. Coke, much less to the Wesleyan Conference, yet both felt that the honour of Methodism was involved in the failure of the expedition, inasmuch as the parties sent out were professed Methodists, and they had been encouraged and assisted in the enterprise by one of its most distinguished ministers. Dr. Coke especially felt this, and "his soul was cast down within him;" indeed, "in consequence of the miscarriage of the Foulah mission," his biographer speaks of his "heart bleeding at every pore." But the annual assembly of the Wesleyan ministers was nigh at hand; and in the Minutes of Conference for that year (1796) we find the first appointment of "missionaries for Africa, namely, "Archibald Murdoch, and William Patten," with the following note at the bottom of the page: "Dr. Coke laid before the Conference an account of the failure of the colony intended to be established in the Foulah country in Africa; and, after prayer and mature consideration, the Conference unanimously judged, that a trial should be made, in that part of Africa, on the proper missionary plan. The two brethren above mentioned, having voluntarily offered themselves for this important work, the Conference solemnly appointed them for it, and earnestly recommended them and their great undertaking to the public and private prayers of the Methodist society."†

Thus one good resulted at once from the evil; and that was the immediate appointment of two brethren "on the proper missionary plan," who were commended to the prayers of the

* "Missionary Magazine," p. 69.

† "Minutes of Conference," vol. i. p. 335.

Methodist society. But it appears that neither of these brethren sailed for Africa; for, in the following year they were appointed to Ireland, and in 1798 Archibald Murdoch was sent to Tortola in the West Indies, where he laboured for several years. I find no farther record on the Minutes as to the appointment of missionaries for Africa, or as to the number of members in the society, until 1808; when it is stated, "*Sierra-Leone*, A preacher is to be sent, as soon as the general superintendent and Committee can find a suitable person."*

Dr. Coke having occasionally to visit the religious societies on the continent of America, the superintendence of the missions devolved upon a Committee appointed in 1804. This Committee consisted of the preachers resident in London, and of nine other gentlemen; and it was during this year that public collections in support of the missions were appointed by the Conference throughout the Connexion.

We have already stated that among the members of society who went from Nova-Scotia to Sierra-Leone, two or three officiated as local preachers; these brethren, we have also said, frequently wrote to Dr. Coke and others, beseeching them to send a missionary. The following letter from one of them, addressed to Dr. Coke, will be interesting; it is dated,

SIERRA-LEONE, *July 5th*, 1806.

REV. SIR,—I wrote to you more than two years ago; but I am rather doubtful whether you received my letter, as I did not receive any answer thereto. I now make bold to repeat the contents of that letter; and inquire whether you could not send us a pious person, who could assist in preaching to the people, and taking the charge of our small flock. Dear Sir, you know money will not procure us a minister; and if it would, we have none. Therefore, if our brethren in England will not pity us, and take our case into their serious consideration, none will. Our congregation consists of about forty members, who appear to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our blessed Lord. But as I am old, and my assistant, Mr. Gordon, is likewise advanced in years; and as there is no prospect of any suitable person being raised up here, that could attend to the little flock, in case we should be called hence; we the more earnestly desire and pray that God may send us a person of warm zeal, to assist in carrying on his blessed work; and that our brethren, of whose household we are, may remember us in this important matter.

Our place of meeting was much decayed, and we have been obliged to build another, which is now finished; and the next sabbath-day it will be opened for Divine service.

Myself, and all the members of our society, beg to be remembered in your prayers.

I am, &c.,

JOSEPH BROWN.†

* "Minutes of Conference," vol. iii. p. 17.

† "Methodist Magazine," vol. xxx. pp. 283, 284. (1807.)

No "suitable person" as yet having offered himself for this interesting field of labour, the little society was continued under the pastoral care of the two or three local preachers on the spot; but the great Head of the church was with them, and their numbers increased. In 1808 one of the coloured brethren wrote to Dr. Adam Clarke, giving an account of a good work which had commenced among the Maroons, and stating that they had "begun to subscribe two cents each per week, for the further promotion of the gospel of Christ." The writer observes: "The converted Maroons give their love to their reverend fathers and brethren in Christ Jesus, and hope that their souls are in health as ours are." The whole number of members in the society at that time was about one hundred. Still they were left as sheep without any regularly constituted shepherd. The prejudicial effects of the climate on European constitutions was the great and primary cause why this interesting little church was kept so long without a missionary; for it was well known that, though the locality of Sierra-Leone was one of the best on the coast as to health, it was nevertheless an unhealthy atmosphere; and therefore the man who went thither must go with his heart full of the love of God, and with yearning pity for the souls of his fellow-men, "not counting his life dear unto him;" and the absence of these qualifications was too well remembered as the cause of the previous failure, to permit any precipitancy or indiscretion in the selection of a suitable missionary on the present occasion, who should make a trial in that part of Africa "on the proper missionary plan."

At length a man was found possessing the requisite qualifications for the undertaking. Whilst travelling in the west of England in the winter of 1810, Dr. Coke met with Mr. George Warren, who was at that time an itinerant preacher in the Helstone circuit, in Cornwall. Mr. Warren stated that "for a long season his mind had been deeply impressed with a persuasion that it was his duty to visit Africa; that even then he would prefer that station to any other; and that he was fully persuaded these impressions came from God." Accordingly, in the Minutes of the Conference for 1811, we find George Warren appointed to Sierra-Leone. Three pious young men from the Dewsbury circuit also volunteered their services; and, after being examined by a Committee of the Leeds District, they were accepted as assistants or schoolmasters. Their names were Rayner, Healey, and Hirst: the two former were local preachers. These brethren, with the Rev. George Warren, sailed from Liverpool, September 21st, 1811, amidst the prayers and best

wishes of many of the benevolent and pious friends of Liverpool. Amongst those who "accompanied them unto the ship" was the venerable Dr. Coke, with the Rev. Messrs. Entwisle, Gaulter, and Buckley: the three latter were at that time stationed in the Liverpool circuit, and all four have long since been gathered to their fathers. The brig "Traveller," on board of which these brethren sailed, was commanded by a pious Quaker, of the name of Paul Cuffee, a free man of colour; and the ship was wholly manned by American sailors of the same description and complexion, all of whom were reported to be men who feared God.

On the 3d of October they were in 44° N. lat., and 19° 51' W. long., when they had a narrow and providential escape from a French privateer. At length they reached the colony in safety, and landed at Sierra-Leone about five o'clock in the afternoon on the 12th of November. They were kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Nylander, the chaplain of the colony, as also by the governor, and other friends, "who showed them no small kindness." But by none were they more cordially welcomed than by "the little flock" to whom they were sent. One of the local preachers, whose heart seemed to overflow with joy, after recovering a little from the transport of his amazement and gratitude, exclaimed, with a degree of rapturous pathos which no art can imitate, "This is what we have been praying for so long, and now the Lord has answered our prayers!"

On the 15th of November, 1811, Mr. Warren commenced his missionary labours, by preaching to a crowded congregation in the chapel which these pious Blacks had erected some years before. On the following day he met the stewards and leaders of the whole society, and was much pleased with their attention to discipline, which they had carefully maintained: the number of members in the society was also, to his agreeable surprise, one hundred and ten. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was now administered by the missionary, which was a fresh cause of thankfulness; though it was arranged that it should not be celebrated at the same time that the ordinance was administered at the church.

Mr. Warren had not long continued to preach, before he had the happiness to perceive some fruit to his labour, in the conversion of sinners to God; and the chapel, though capable of accommodating four hundred persons, was soon too small to hold the congregation. The other brethren were co-workers with the missionary in a variety of ways, but particularly in the schools. In a few months death removed Mr. Warren, after

a short illness, to his eternal rest. The sudden removal of this faithful and laborious missionary was severely felt, not only by the society, but by the inhabitants generally.

GEORGE WARREN, from a child, knew the holy scriptures, and experienced them to be the power of God unto salvation. He also began early to make known to mankind the things of God, an employment in which he never grew weary. He entered the Wesleyan ministry in 1807, and was stationed to the Cardiff circuit: he subsequently travelled in the Kington, St. Austle, and Helstone circuits, where he laboured with credit to himself, and profit to others. It was in the latter place that Dr. Coke met with him at the close of 1810; and knowing that, at the time, Africa was without any missionary, and that it was with extreme difficulty one could be procured, though the necessity for one was so urgent, Mr. Warren nobly offered to go, being rather encouraged than intimidated by the difficulty and dangers of the mission. Western Africa had long been impressed upon his mind; but, his parents objecting, he had paused for a time. Mr. Warren then wrote to them, beseeching them, by the blood of souls, not to hinder him from going. After a desperate struggle, one of them gave consent, and soon after the mother died: then his way was open, and, with a glad heart and free, he embarked for Sierra-Leone in Western Africa. He not only went willingly, but "*preferred* that station to any other;" nor was he disappointed after his arrival in Africa, though very different from an English appointment. In a letter to Cornwall he wrote: "I bless God I do not at all regret the sacrifices which I have made; nor have I ever been more satisfied in my own mind, with respect to being in the way of Providence, than I now am." But Infinite Wisdom saw fit to take him to Himself: his race, therefore, was soon run. He entered into the joy of his Lord on the 23d of July, 1812, after a residence of little more than eight months. Mr. Warren was the *first* Wesleyan missionary who preached the gospel in Western Africa, and he was the *first* that *died* there; but he neither lived in vain, nor died in vain; and, both by his life and by his death, "he, being dead, yet speaketh."

Mr. Rayner, one of the schoolmasters, about this time returned to Europe, and was sent out in 1813 as a missionary to the West Indies, where he laboured faithfully for several years, and died in the work.

After the death of Mr. Warren, a considerable time elapsed

before another could be procured to fill his place; and, during this interim, the prospects of the little society were rather gloomy, in consequence of the derangement which his death occasioned, and the return to England of Mr. Rayner on account of ill health. But the other two European schoolmasters, though they were "perplexed," were "not in despair:" they did all they could to serve both the school and the society; and God continued to favour them in their little assemblies, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter from these two brethren, addressed to the late Rev. Robert Smith, the secretary to the missionary Committee:—

SIERRA-LEONE, *August 3d*, 1813.

IN meeting the society, we were much delighted to find many of them rejoicing in the light of God's countenance. We may safely say of them, that their souls are in a more prosperous state than our fears suggested. Blessed be God, the glory has not departed from us. We feel him many times in the midst of our little assemblies, especially in the band-meetings. In these and in the love-feasts, the Spirit is frequently poured out in such abundance, that the people are at a loss how to express themselves; their joy is indeed unspeakable.

The congregations are in general very good, and our society consists of ninety-one members, beside four or five whom we consider on trial.

JOHN HEALEY,
THOMAS HIRST.*

It is generally known, by the friends of missions, that, during the year 1814, the Wesleyan connexion and the cause of missions met with a severe loss in the death of Dr. Coke, while on his voyage to establish a mission in Asia. In the "annual Report of the State of the Missions" from "February 1st, 1814, to February 1st, 1815," printed at the Conference-Office, there is an address "to the generous subscribers who have contributed towards the support of the missions," in which there is the following allusion to this event:—"Our missions being supported by your generous subscriptions and donations, we think it right to furnish you, annually, with a report of our success, and of the expenditure of your money. The former Reports were drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Coke, whose sudden death we deeply lament; but the task now devolves on the secretaries of the missions appointed by the last Conference."† In this Report,

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxxvii. p. 79. (1814.)

† They were the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson and the Rev. James Buckley, who were stationed in the two London Circuits. The departure of Dr. Coke for the East, and his lamented death, led eventually to a more complete and efficient organization of the missionary operations of the connexion. At the above period there were several of the Methodist societies and congregations, in different parts of the kingdom, who had formed themselves into Missionary Societies, for the pur-

under the head of "Sierra-Leone in Africa," the state of that mission is thus referred to:—

Every event of Divine Providence, however painful to our feelings, is designed to answer some good end; and yet we are so short-sighted, and so foolishly prone to prefer our own will to the will of God, that we do not always see his gracious intentions, or bow down to him with pious submission. This remark applies, in too many instances, even to the flock of Christ, especially when they lose valuable pastors. Perhaps our brethren in Sierra-Leone felt something of this, when the Lord took from them our beloved brother Warren. Ever since his lamented death, we have been anxiously looking out for a suitable person to supply his place; and, at length, our wishes have been accomplished. Brother Davies, the Welsh missionary, from London, has undertaken the pastoral care of that little flock. May the Chief Shepherd support him, and crown his labours with great success!

There is a discrepancy in the Minutes of Conference for 1814; the name of William Davies being found on the Stations for Sierra-Leone, at the same time that he was appointed for London, and was labouring there as a Welsh preacher. The probability is, that in the original Minutes for that year he was appointed to London only, and that Sierra-Leone stood as it did in the preceding year, "One wanted;" and that the mistake occurred in the reprinting of the fourth volume of the Minutes several years afterwards.

Mr. Davies, with his wife, sailed from Plymouth on the 23d of December, 1814, in the ship "Wilding," Captain Gibson, under a convoy, which, having to touch at Cork, detained them for a short time. There were seven persons on board connected

pose of raising pecuniary supplies for the support of the Wesleyan missions. But, at the Conference of 1817, a "plan" was drawn up and printed, to combine these various exertions of the societies and congregations of the Wesleyan Methodists into one Society, under the denomination of "the General Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society;" and a meeting of the Society was appointed to be held annually in London, in the month of May. The Rev. George Marsden and the Rev. Richard Watson were elected as joint-secretaries. The Conference of that year had directed the executive Committee to make such additional arrangements as might be deemed necessary for perfecting the plan, and carrying it into full effect. This was accordingly done, and was presented to the following Conference, when it was printed in the Minutes, under the title of, "Laws and Regulations of the General Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society." It was also published in what was called the "First Report" of the Society, in 1818, at which time the general treasurers were, Thomas Thompson, Esq., Hull, and the Rev. George Marsden, London; and the general secretaries were the Rev. Jabez Bunting, A.M., the Rev. Joseph Taylor, and the Rev. Richard Watson. Mr. Taylor was the "resident secretary;" the other two were doing the full work of a circuit. The General Committee consisted of fifty members, one-half of whom were laymen. The above "Laws and Regulations," &c., are printed every year in the annual Reports of the Society.

with the Church Missionary Society, some of whom were missionaries; and the cheerful, social, and Christian spirit of the whole party contributed much to each other's comfort. The wind being favourable, they finally put to sea on the 5th of January, and arrived safely at Sierra-Leone on the 13th of February, 1815, after a pleasant voyage from the Cove of Cork.

Mr. Davies soon met with the brethren Healey and Hirst, and the coloured friends, who greatly rejoiced because God had answered their prayers in sending them a missionary. He commenced his labours the following day, by preaching from Isaiah xlv. 22, and after the service met the leaders and members, when he read to them the letter, with the regulations, of the Committee in London, which afforded them great satisfaction. Many in the society were truly alive to God, and the school-masters had been usefully employed, several of the boys having proceeded in arithmetic as far as the rule of three, and being able to read and write tolerably well.

At the close of March, it was found that there were one hundred members in society, and nine on trial. Mrs. Davies was also actively engaged in meeting a class of females, and was made a blessing to the souls under her care. The well-known and highly-respected Governor Macarthy caused a large school-room to be built on the mission-premises, where upwards of two hundred children were daily collected; and in this department the wife of the missionary found delightful work.

The rains had closed in October; and though the captain of the "Wilding" died a few days after his arrival at Sierra-Leone, and several other Europeans, during the sickly season, had fallen victims to the climate, one of whom had resided in Africa many years, yet Mr. and Mrs. Davies were mercifully preserved. Mr. Davies, it is true, was occasionally "a little feverish," at other times "rather faint in body;" but Mrs. Davies enjoyed good health during the whole of the worst season of the year, and in November "was going on charmingly well with the school." But the cold hand of death was not far distant: she was taken ill on the 8th of December, and her husband was seized with fever on the same day; he was in one end of the house, and she in the other. Medical aid was immediately resorted to, and the greatest attention was paid to both of them; but the strength of Mrs. Davies diminished daily, and at the end of a week "the weary wheels of life stood still." On the morning of the day of her death, Mr. Davies "crawled to see her," and was much affected at the change; but, in answer to the question, "Is Jesus precious?"

she, with a faint voice, and pressing his hand, said, "Yes, yes," and spoke no more till she joined the assembly of the first-born above. The next day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, her remains were conveyed to the silent tomb, accompanied by His Excellency the Governor, the chief gentlemen of the colony, and almost all the inhabitants, and amid the tears of the school-children; Mr. Davies being at the time confined to his bed in solitary sadness, mourning his loss.

MRS. DAVIES was a woman of a cheerful disposition, amiable temper, tried piety, and superior accomplishments. She was fond of reading, and, having a strong memory, could recite the history of almost every book she had read. She was calculated for great usefulness, and nobly co-operated with her husband in advancing the kingdom of the Redeemer. Her character, talents, and unwearied zeal rendered her a valuable auxiliary to the mission at Sierra-Leone. She was mighty in prayer, paid laudable attention to the members of her class, and before her death had a school of one hundred and fifty girls under her care, to whom she was much attached. But in the midst of her usefulness she "was cut down like a flower," and her death was a great loss, not only to her husband, the society, and the school, but to the colony. This was stated by His Excellency Sir Charles Macarthy, when waited upon some time after by Mr. Davies, to ask for a stone to put on his dear wife's grave. Sir Charles replied, "By all means: any thing that is in the department is at your service for the sake of Mrs. Davies. There is not a man in the whole place, yourself excepted, that feels more at the loss of that amiable woman than myself. Her loss is the public's loss."

She died on the 15th of December, 1815, in the thirtieth year of her age, and after a residence in Africa of ten months and two days. Mrs. Davies was the *first wife*, or, perhaps with equal propriety it may be said, she was the *first Wesleyan female missionary*, that fell in Western Africa; and this was the *second* loss by death which that mission had sustained. But, in reference to herself, "to die was gain;" and it was therefore an appropriate quotation at the close of the inscription on the tomb-stone, "NOT LOST, BUT GONE BEFORE."

CHAPTER XII.

WESLEYAN MISSIONS.—SIERRA-LEONE.

(1815—1821.)

A CONVERSION—State of the Society in 1816—Christian Spirit and Conduct of the Colonial Chaplain—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Brown—Sickness of the Missionaries—Death of Mrs. Brown—Sketch—Mr. Davies returns to England—Letter from Mr. Brown—An African Fever—Appointment of Messrs. Baker and Gillison—State of the Mission in 1819—Mr. Brown's Return Home—Death of Mr. Gillison—Letter from Mr. Baker—Revival of Religion—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Huddleston and Mr. Lane—Numbers in the Society in 1821.

As soon as Mr. Davies was able to be removed, he “locked up the house,” and went “to reside for a while with his beloved friend, the Rev. L. Butscher,” the colonial chaplain, “in order to change the scene, and forget the stroke.”

On Christmas-Day he resumed his labours, and at four o'clock in the morning preached on the birth of Christ. On the 4th of February, 1816, the power of God was graciously manifested at a prayer-meeting held in the school-room; and one poor native, of the name of Prince Edward, who had for some time been in a state of spiritual bondage, was, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, brought into Christian liberty. This was while Mr. Davies was engaged in prayer. A voice of rejoicing broke out at the furthest end of the room, and the man went and lifted Mr. Davies off a little platform where he was kneeling, took him up in his arms, and cried aloud, “I found Him! I found Him!” On being asked what he had found, he answered, still holding Mr. Davies in his arms, “I found Christ. I feel his pardoning peace. His Spirit says, ‘Go in peace; all thy sins are forgiven thee!’” Thus was this poor sable sinner, whose name was Prince, that day numbered with the princes of God's Israel, and “he went on his way rejoicing.”

At the close of March, the number in the society was one hundred and twenty-nine, eleven having found peace with God since Mr. Davies had been with them; and several had left the church militant to join their friends on the other side Jordan; among whom was Mrs. Butscher, the wife of the chaplain, who was a member of our society.

In April Mr. Davies visited some of the country places; and on one occasion His Excellency Governor Macarthy accompanied him to Kisse-Town, and told the people that the missionary had come to preach to them the word of God: accordingly, they assembled together under a shed. Mr. Davies read prayers, and the kind governor officiated as clerk, repeating the responses on his knees, on the mud floor, which had a very good effect on the people. The excellent chaplain, the Rev. L. Butscher, also frequently accompanied him on these errands of love and mercy on week-day mornings. "And O how delightful it is," writes Mr. Davies, "when going, before day-break, through the streets of Free-Town, to hear the sound of praise and prayer around the family altar! Every professor is sure to hold family worship before he crosses the threshold of his door."

On one occasion, after Mr. Butscher and Mr. Davies had preached at one of the villages in the morning, the head man of the town gathered all the *greegrees* in which they had been trusting, and by noon he had a bag full of them, made of leather, horn, or paper, with Arabic words upon them rendered sacred by their priests. He commanded some of the people to bring shavings, sticks, straw, &c.: he then emptied the bag, and set fire to the whole, and they were burnt. One of the inhabitants complained sadly, saying, "What me do now for *greegree* to keep me?" when an aged man answered, "Hold your tongue, you! We be tink these ting keep we from the big fire, and he no can keep himself from burning before my eye. Me be fool no longer. Me seek white man God: me seek Massa Jesus to save me."

Monthly missionary prayer-meetings were commenced about this time; and they were held regularly once in the Baptist chapel, once in Lady Huntingdon's chapel, and twice in the Wesleyan chapel, there being no lamps in the church. The worthy chaplain heartily co-operated in these "Evangelical-Alliance" means of grace. Indeed, he was a frequent hearer in the Wesleyan chapel on Sunday evenings; and it was stated by the missionary, that he, on some occasions, gave a warm exhortation after the sermon, or concluded with prayer. "We are brethren indeed," writes Mr. Davies. "When I administer the sacrament in our chapel, I give the bread, and he the wine; and once in the quarter, all our people go to church, and he gives the bread, and I the wine."

Mr. Davies, after the death of his beloved wife, paid as much attention as possible to the state of the school, and was pleased

at the regular daily attendance of the children, and at the evident improvement they were making. It was a delightful sight to see the re-captured Negroes rescued from the hold of slave-vessels, clothed, and learning to read the word of God, and other useful things. His Excellency often visited the school, and was present one day in the month of April that year, when Mr. Davies and Mr. Butscher baptized one hundred and five of these kidnapped children. "All were dressed in clean clothes, and had labels hanging before them, with their new names;" and the missionary adds, "O may they all have a new name from above!"

Mr. Davies having more than he could attend to, and additional openings continually presenting themselves, he appealed to the Committee for help. Accordingly, in the Minutes of the Conference for 1816, the name of Samuel Brown was added to that of William Davies, for Sierra-Leone. Mr. and Mrs. Brown sailed in October, and arrived in December. They were met on the beach by Mr. Davies, who was thankful for this seasonable supply of coadjutors. It was during this year (1816) that the Wesleyan Missionary Committee commenced the publication of the Monthly "Missionary Notices," containing abstracts of letters and other communications from the foreign stations, &c.

The following letter from Mr. Brown, addressed to the Committee, announces his arrival and reception, and gives an interesting view of the state and prospects of the mission. It is dated,

FREE-TOWN, SIERRA-LEONE, *February 4th*, 1817.

THROUGH the tender mercy of God, we arrived here in health and safety on the evening of the 26th of December.

On the first day of our arrival, I waited upon His Excellency, Charles Macarthy, and showed him my credentials. He welcomed us to the colony, and behaved in a very affable, friendly manner: he is very much respected as a humane, fatherly man.

I think this colony, in the space of fifty or one hundred years, will be of great importance to England. Many of the re-captured Negroes are taught to read, write, and some useful trade. They afterwards form connexions, marry, and live as orderly as in many of our English villages. I have visited two of these native towns, Congo-Town and Portuguese-Town. In the latter we have established a meeting. When we first went, we found them beating their rice, and doing other kinds of work, on the Lord's-day. We told them we were come to preach to them; but if they worked on Sundays, we could not. They instantly attended to the advice given; and now when we go, they are prepared, like the people whom Cornelius had gathered into his house, to hear what God will say by his servants. Two of them are awakened to a sense of their sin and danger, and are anxious to be baptized, and united with us in church-fellowship. This people said, "Other

towns had house for God," and regretted that they had none, but expressed a determination to have one soon. Congo-Town is three miles from Free-Town; but, as they do not like its present situation, they have bought five acres of land, for £5, a mile and a-half from Free-Town, where they were for removing in the space of a fortnight. They assign two reasons for changing their situation: First. That they may hear the gospel, or, as they generally term it, "God palaver." Their other reason is, that they may be near the sea, and have an opportunity of supplying their families with fish. After partaking of a fowl, some cassada, and rice, which they cheerfully boiled for us, I gave them an exhortation, sang and prayed with them. They have pressingly invited me to preach regularly for them, when they are settled in their new situation. Though the Africans are generally inclined to their "country fashions," which are very immoral and base; yet, when they are converted, the traces of true godliness are very apparent through the medium of their simplicity.*

About the same time Mr. Davies, who was actively engaged in different parts of the colony, having preached three times on the sabbath at Leopold, and feeling his mind rather low, went to Regent's-Town to see his friend Johnson. After taking a cup of tea, they went to the church, and Mr. Davies preached, "when the tears were seen flowing over many a sable face." There was one person in particular, of the name of Tamba, who was in great distress, and cried aloud. He remained in the church after the others were gone, and seemed resolved not to rest till he obtained peace with God. Mr. Johnson, the church missionary at the station, met him the next morning, looking very cheerful; when he said to him, "Well, Tamba, how are you this morning? How do you feel your heart this morning?" Tamba answered, "My heart dis morning, massa. My heart no live here now." "Well, Tamba, where does your heart live?" "O, massa, *heart live top now.*"

At the end of March there were in the society in Free-Town 115 members, with 24 on trial. The experience of the members was spoken of as being "scriptural and rational." Two, also, were admitted on trial in Portuguese-Town; and soon after this a school was opened at the same place. Early in July, Mr. Brown wrote to the Committee, expressing his thankfulness that both himself and his wife had, he hoped, passed through the seasoning sickness, and were then in good health; but in two or three weeks after this, both the missionaries, with Mrs. Brown, were attacked with violent fever, and were all ill at the same time. Mr. Davies was the first that recovered, at least so far as to be able to render some assistance to Mr. and Mrs.

* "Missionary Notices" for April, 1817, p. 127.

Brown in their trying circumstances ; but she soon fell a victim to the disorder, nature becoming exhausted with the repeated attacks she had endured. She continued sensible to the last, though for a few hours before she departed, through weakness, she was unable to speak. She expired about half-past eleven o'clock on the evening of the ninth day after the attack. This was the third loss this mission had sustained by death.

Mrs. BROWN was a most affectionate wife and sincere Christian. She had had the charge of a class of eighteen members ; and from her engagements in the school for female Negro children much usefulness was anticipated ; but "here we have no continuing city." She was present at the funeral of the Rev. L. Butscher, the colonial chaplain, who had died a few weeks previously ; and this event had impressed her with the probability of her own approaching end, and tended to quicken her pace in the road that leadeth to everlasting life. "In her last illness," writes one who witnessed it, "it was delightful to behold her gaining fresh spiritual strength ; her soul stayed simply on Jesus, and deriving consolation from his all-sufficiency and willingness to save." She had a short struggle with the enemy about two days before she died, but afterwards obtained deliverance ; and, "with tears trickling down her face," she exclaimed, "Glory be to God, the enemy is chained !" Afterwards, on being asked how she was, she answered, "Very happy, very comfortable." She departed this life in the full assurance of faith, on the 28th of July, 1817, after a residence in the colony of seven months and two days. The body was interred in the same grave with that of Mrs. Davies ; but their disembodied spirits have long been "with the Lord," and they now "rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

Mr. Brown was very ill at the time of his wife's death, but in a few days was out of danger ; and, though he felt the shock most severely, he bore it with Christian fortitude, and resumed his labours as soon as possible.

Mr. Davies, on account of repeated attacks of fever, returned to England early in 1818 ; but the great Head of the church continued to bless the labours of Mr. Brown, and the mission prospered. The following letter from this devoted missionary, addressed to the late Rev. Joseph Benson, will show the state of the mission at that period :—

SIERRA-LEONE, *May 20th*, 1818.

MY DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER,—You have, I doubt not, of late received information, through various means, relative to this mission. But, being desirous of adding some further particulars to it, I venture, with some reluctance, again to present the subject before you.

At our last quarter's visitation of the classes, we had one hundred and fifty persons in society, and forty-four on trial, against whose moral character I found no material objection. About ninety are Nova-Scotian settlers, or their children; twenty, Maroons; forty, re-captured Negroes; and the probationers are chiefly of the last description. That the piety of African believers is equally bright, vigorous, and stable, with that of Europeans in general, is what I cannot think or say; as a religion but partially enlightened is always weak and precarious. But, though they have not the advantage of taking-in all those rays of gospel-truth, by which they might have been exalted in their experience and practice; yet the day-star from on high hath visited them, and given many the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the person of Jesus Christ. It is true that many have but an imperfect view of divine things, yet I may with confidence assert that they are receiving an increase of light, growing in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

That we have brighter prospects of usefulness, and more pleasing scenes of labour opening before us than we have had, I am pretty confident. Our congregation in Free-Town on Sundays is generally greater than our chapel there can well contain. And the congregations at Soldiers'-Town and Portuguese-Town are encouraging; usually at the former from fifty to a hundred attend, and at the latter from thirty to eighty. Our little congregation at the west end of Free-Town, in the old school-house, is broken up, as the temporary place has fallen into ruins; but the Maroons are building a stone chapel at this end of the town, which, in the space of twelve months, will, I doubt not, be finished, and will add strength to our mission, as well as increase our labours. They are a vigorous and persevering people; and their erection and settlement of their chapel on the Conference plan, (which, I trust, will be done,) will provoke to holy jealousy the Nova-Scotians in carrying on with spirit the building they have begun at the east end of Free-Town. The dimensions of the former are sixty feet by thirty; and of the latter, sixty-five feet by forty; each of them are raised about two or three feet above the surface of the ground.

I verily think the school we have had here would be a great blessing, were it re-established. The colonial school is situated at the extremity of the east end of Free-Town; while at the west end scores of children are brought up in ignorance, and attend no school.

But my hands are full, and more than full; so that my honoured fathers will see, I hope, a necessity of sending a married missionary to take the superintendency, and bear the burden of domestic affairs. You will excuse me when I say that it is by no means proper that an individual missionary should be on any station, especially a young man. I think, Rev. Sir, when you have weighed the statements that are given, you will see with me that the season is arrived for the permanent establishment of our mission; that the present is a critical period, and that the work should be in the hands of an experienced, holy, and prudent minister. I might further urge this subject by telling you *I alone* have had all the weight of our mission here upon me ever since my arrival in Africa; that the circumstances in which it is now placed call aloud for men of piety, prudence, and talent, to come over and help us.

As regards my own experience, by the Divine mercy I can say, I am raised above

an inordinate love of life, and a slavish fear of death ; my desires are expressed in one of our hymns :—

“ If in this feeble flesh I may
Awhile show forth thy praise,
Jesus, support the tottering clay,
And lengthen out my days.”

Though all God's waves and billows have gone over me, though I have none with whom to communicate ; yet I have converse with my heavenly Father, and happiness in the exercise of my ministry ; so that my time does not hang heavy upon my hands ; my wound also is bound up, closed, mollified with ointment, and healed.

I shall not soon forget your great kindness to us while in London, and the suitableness of the address delivered to our dear brethren Fox, Osborne, Newstead, and myself, in Lambeth chapel ; your kindness in presenting me with a volume of your sermons, one of which, No. XI., proved a cordial to my drooping spirits a few weeks after the death of Mrs. Brown, and my own severe sickness.*

During this season, Mr. Brown suffered severely from the country fever, having had repeated attacks ; and he felt the force of that passage, “ Woe to him that is alone when he falleth ; for he hath not another to help him up.” Still God was with him : his European brethren of the Church Missionary Society were very kind ; the governor also called to see him, and offered him any thing in his house ; and he adds : “ I have proved more than ever the love of the people towards me, in their anxiety for my recovery. They have offered many prayers for me, paid me many visits, and done me many kind offices.” But, “ O, who can describe the painfulness of a burning African fever, which drinks up the spirits, yea, absorbs the very moisture, destroys the powers of reason, and is attended with a head-ache, thirst, and violent strainings to vomit ? These things I fully experienced, and never expected more to cumber this world.” But he was mercifully preserved through the rains, which proved fatal to several Europeans that year ; and, as soon as he was able, he resumed his beloved employment, “ the Lord working with him, and confirming the word with signs following.”

Two single men, Messrs. Baker and Gillison, were appointed, and sent out at the end of the year, to succeed Mr. Brown, who, from having been repeatedly and dangerously ill, and from the loss of his excellent wife, it was thought, needed a change. These brethren sailed from Gravesend on the 16th of December, and arrived at Sierra-Leone on the morning of February 14th, 1819. It was the sabbath-day ; and Mr. Brown was soon on board to give them a hearty welcome. “ From the ship,” observes Mr. Brown, “ we went to the chapel, when, after I

* “ The Methodist Magazine,” 1818, p. 793.

had read prayers, Mr. Baker preached for us, and in the evening Mr. Gillison. It is truly pleasing to myself and our members to receive an increase of missionary labour to this part of the world; and, what is infinitely more, I am certain it is pleasing to God, and well-timed. O that their health and life may be spared; that they, from an enriched and overflowing heart, may ever bless their hearers out of Zion in the name of the Lord!"

By these brethren Mr. Brown received the following communication from the General Secretaries:—

A RESOLUTION OF THE MISSIONARY COMMITTEE.

November 18th, 1818.

That in future the missionaries sent to Sierra-Leone shall not be required to remain on that station more than three years, unless they shall themselves be willing to continue longer; and that missionaries so removed from Sierra-Leone be sent for the remainder of their missionary service to some other foreign station less unfavourable to health than West Africa.

By the Stations filled up and altered at the same meeting, John Baker and John Gillison, single men, were appointed to Sierra-Leone; and you were, in consideration of your late affliction and indisposition, appointed to St. Vincent's, in the West Indies, one of our old and best stations, and where your health, we hope, will be completely restored.

(Signed,) JABEZ BUNTING,
JOSEPH TAYLOR,
RICHARD WATSON.

December 7th, 1818.

At the same time, he received the following note, dated a few days after, from the "Resident Secretary:—

77, Hatton-Garden, December 12th, 1818.

I HAVE distinctly to state that your being removed from Sierra-Leone is merely in consequence of your late affliction, and from a wish to save your life. The Committee have the fullest confidence in you, and the greatest satisfaction with you and your labours.

Yours truly,

(Signed,) JOSEPH TAYLOR.

For some months previous to the arrival of these new missionaries, a gradual revival of the work of God had been going on, and from twenty to thirty undoubted conversions had taken place. Mr. Brown, in referring to this, and to one or two remarkable instances of the grace of God, in a letter dated February 27th, 1819, remarks: "I have sown in tears, but now we reap in joy. Thank God, this is an ample recompence for every sigh, every tear, every shaking ague, every burning fever, every bereavement, every restless and sleepless night I have had to endure since I came to Africa. This makes me very reluctant to leave. I feel I love their precious souls; the

affections of my heart are interwoven with theirs; and I know they love me. This, in union with a joyous sense of my acceptance with God, makes me willing to spend and be spent for the welfare of the church, and the honour of my adorable Redeemer; to count nothing dear to me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and be received to that eternal rest which remains for the people of God."

Shortly after this, Mr. Brown returned to England, when he furnished the Committee with the following interesting report of the mission, giving the etymology of several of the villages, with some other important facts: *—

We have five different places at which we regularly preach; two in Free-Town, and three in country villages entirely inhabited by re-captured Negroes.

At the east end of Free-Town stands our principal meeting-house, which is a boarded building, with a grass-thatched roof, fitted up with benches, excepting one pew which joins the pulpit. It may, when crowded, contain from three to four hundred hearers. We have freehold land sufficient on which to build both a commodious chapel and a preacher's house. The foundations of a chapel, sixty-five feet by forty, are laid, and stones prepared, which cost £100, collected by Mr. Davies. In addition to this, we have since collected upwards of £100.

We preach in this meeting-house twice on Sunday, give a lecture to children on Monday evenings, preach on Wednesday evenings, and hold prayer-meetings every morning, and on two evenings in the course of the week. The congregation on Sunday is usually larger than the place can accommodate. It consists of Negroes from Nova-Scotia, Maroons, and re-captured Negroes. My mind has often been much pained, that the bounds of our decayed wooden meeting-house could not seat all who anxiously came to hear the word of life. Many were obliged to sit down on the outside, in the scorching heat of the sun. This meeting-house is at the head of our mission: here our re-captured people from the villages attend on sabbath mornings; and, influenced by the cleanly habits of the Nova-Scotians and Maroons, make a decent appearance, which does credit to the religion they profess. Here they are

* On the eve of his embarkation for England, Mr. Brown received, amongst other letters, the following polite and Christian note from His Excellency, the late Sir Charles Macarthy:—

"Government-House, Sierra-Leone, April 22d, 1819.

"DEAR SIR,—In returning to you my sincere thanks for the Annual Report of your missions, I feel great pleasure in assuring you of my most sincere good wishes for your welfare, in whatever part of the globe you may be employed.

"I enclose herewith a letter to the respectable members of your Committee, to whom I express, in very inadequate terms, my opinion of your zeal and exertions in the good cause. I accept with gratitude your prayers for my welfare and the prosperity of our colony.

"Believe me, with the highest esteem,

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful, obedient servant,

"C. MACARTHY.

"To the Rev. Samuel Brown, &c. &c."

brought more intimately into acquaintance with our society, and have further opportunity of improvement.

Among my most pleasant labours I may rank the lectures which I gave twice a week to children, apprentices, and servants of all descriptions; part of them I met at the mission-house on Sundays, and the rest and greater part on Monday evenings. The number on Sundays was from twelve to twenty, and on Monday evenings from sixty to one hundred.

The west end of Free-Town is chiefly inhabited by the Maroons and re-captured Negroes. With a design to awaken a spirit of piety, in the dry season of 1818, I preached on Sunday morning, alternately in the streets at the east and west end of the town, and visited most of the inhabitants from house to house. Some good arose from this to my own mind, and to the souls of several of my hearers. Several re-captured families became our constant hearers, and are now members of our society. In the hut of one at this end of the town we preach twice a week, and hold a prayer-meeting. The brethren now on the Station have formed a promising class at the same place.

Congo-Town is so called from its inhabitants chiefly consisting of re-captured Negroes from the river Congo. Its population, taking-in the scattered huts in the neighbourhood, may be averaged at from three to four hundred adults, exclusive of children. About the middle of 1818, I took them wholly under my care; and, by the help of the leaders, visited them three times a week. They are all re-captured Negroes, and, in general, married. From an earnest desire to have their children taught to read, that they might have an opportunity of hearing the gospel, they commenced a subscription to build a chapel. It is now nearly completed, and will serve the double purpose of a school and preaching-room. Here we have twenty-seven members, under different degrees of concern for their salvation. We have appointed Moses Brown, whom I taught to read and write, as schoolmaster, under the immediate care of the brethren. We are fully satisfied as to his suitability for the work. He lived with me two years, and, on the whole, behaved himself to my satisfaction. The congregation is usually from forty to eighty, and the prospects are very encouraging.

Soldiers'-Town is the first of our country villages, for the fruit it has yielded to our mission. It received its name from being the residence of the re-captured Negro soldiers who are now in the African corps. Its population may be averaged at six hundred adults, besides children. On February 13th, 1817, I commenced my labours in it; and took my stand in the open air, on an elevated place, and, assisted by some of our members from Free-Town, began the service. At first about twenty attended, chiefly females; afterwards the number increased to fifty or sixty. I continued my out-door preaching fourteen weeks; when, on July 6th, I opened a wattled meeting-house, which cost us about £10, and would accommodate a hundred and fifty hearers. I now, by the assistance of some of the leaders, visited them three times each week, twice on Sundays, and on Thursday evenings. The congregation was usually from fifty to one hundred, about two-thirds women, and very attentive. Some became impressed by the truths which they heard, and showed a reformation in their lives. The concern of many wore away; but their places were more than filled up by the addition of others. I found it very difficult, at first, to make myself understood; and was obliged to accommodate myself to their capacities and knowledge of the English language. The state in which I found them, unmarried, unbaptized, sunk in superstition, fornication, and every vice, suggested the necessity of keeping them on trial from six to eighteen months, until their knowledge was enlarged, and their conduct proved their sincerity. In the latter end of November, 1817, several who had been for some time in deep con-

cern for their salvation, made a clear and satisfactory profession of faith in Christ. One whose name is John Crown came to the mission-house, and said he was come to tell me what God had done for his soul; that when I baptized his child, (which had taken place about four weeks,) conviction seized his mind; that he had prayed in the bush, in his house, or wherever he might be, for the Lord Jesus to forgive his sins; that every thing bad that he had done came to his recollection; that his trouble was so great, that he could neither eat nor sleep; that his wife and former companions frequently questioned him as to what burdened his mind, and urged him to eat, and not give way to trouble; that when he had been at prayer in a retired place in the bush, and was returning home, he felt a sudden change pass upon his mind, his trouble went away, and gladness filled his heart; that this good thing which he felt was sweet; that in his own country he had eaten honey, and in white man's, (Sierra-Leone is so called by the re-captured Negroes,) sugar; but this, putting his hand to his breast, is sweeter than all; that since his mother bore him, he never felt the same; that if the governor had given him plenty of shops full of cloth, his heart could not feel as glad as it did. "O," said he, "I thank God for this good thing; that ever he brought me into this country, and that he may ever keep this good thing in my heart." This man has been very useful to the society, which consists of about thirty members, and the same number on trial. The conversion of many of them is clear and satisfactory. At the present time we have a new wattled meeting-house, (the first, after standing two years, having sunk into decay,) built chiefly by their own exertions. It is generally filled with a congregation of from fifty to a hundred and fifty. The brethren, Baker and Gillison, have joined me in expressing the pleasure which it always affords to visit this society; the hearts of the members abound with love and gratitude to God, and to their ministers.

Portuguese-Town takes its name from the majority of the inhabitants having been rescued from the Portuguese. In the beginning of February, 1817, I first visited this town, and by ringing a small bell collected the inhabitants; to whom, under the side of one of their huts in the open air, I published the truths of the gospel. The hearers were attentive, and my congregation was usually from thirty to sixty. On the 30th of April I opened a wattled meeting-house in the village, and by the help of the leaders held meetings three times a week. Two females appeared concerned for their salvation, whom I put under the care of an experienced Christian. On May 5th, 1817, I commenced a day-school. Twenty-nine attended, and seemed anxious to learn to read. This school was continued but for a short time: sickness and death caused a suspension, and, finally, a dissolution, of it. After continuing my ministry under many discouraging circumstances, we had at length the pleasure of seeing some fruit of our labour. A man and his wife became experimentally acquainted with the Saviour. The work spread, and four other persons professed to experience the same blessing. The society at this time consists of fifteen members, and some on trial.*

The total number of members in the society in the whole circuit at this time was two hundred and fifty, being an increase of one hundred during the year. Several *greegree*-men were amongst those who were converted to the faith, and who had cast far from them all their charms and tools of enchant-

* "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society," 1819, pp. 30—32.

ment : so that, in the language of the inspired historian, it may be said, "Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men : and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." (Acts xix. 19, 20.)

At the Wesleyan Conference of 1819, Mr. Brown was appointed to Nevis, in the West Indies,* where he laboured for several years : since which period he has been usefully engaged in the ministry at home.

In the mean time the brethren Baker and Gillison had entered upon their work. The former writes :—"I never felt happier in my life : I would not exchange my present station for a crown. It is my determination, and that, I believe, of my colleague also, that, through Divine assistance, we will lay ourselves out in every possible way to advance the cause of Christ in this mission." They did so ; but death again speedily made a breach in this little party, and that passage was literally fulfilled, "Then shall two be in the field ; the one shall be taken, and the other left." (Matt. xxiv. 40.) Mr. Gillison had not been in Africa quite six months, when he was carried off by the fever peculiar to that climate, after an illness of eleven days, much lamented by his colleague and the people.

JOHN GILLISON was converted to God when very young, at Bourne, in the Grantham circuit, where he laboured for several years with great acceptance as a local preacher. He was a young man of deep piety and respectable talents, an affectionate colleague, and an acceptable preacher, and bid fair to be a very useful missionary. He had laboured one year in the ministry in England, and cheerfully accompanied Mr. Baker to this post of danger, where God crowned his efforts with considerable success. On the evening of July 29th, he buried a corpse, and another the next morning : in the afternoon he preached at Congo-Town ; and soon after his return home in the evening he went to bed rather poorly. During the night he was seized with fever, which never left him. Mr. Baker was also ill at the same time ; but after some days he was assisted into his colleague's room, though in a very weak state. Mr. Baker writes :—"When I came, he requested to be helped up in bed, and we seemed like two dear friends meeting, who had long been separated. I immediately asked, 'Is Jesus precious to you ?' He distinctly

* The appointment was changed from St. Vincent's to Nevis.

answered, 'Yes, glory be to God for it, he is!'" The next morning Mr. Baker saw him again, and found him happy in God, and prepared for his will; and, in all the intervals of delirium which afterwards occurred, he continued to express himself in the same manner, till, on August 10th, he exchanged mortality for the joy of his Lord. He died in the twenty-second year of his age, and the second of his ministry.

"That life is *long*, which answers life's great end."

As soon as Mr. Baker's extreme weakness would permit, he took up his pen to communicate to the Committee the melancholy intelligence of the death of his worthy colleague: he was himself, even then, in a delicate state of health, having had a relapse of the fever, occasioned by his preaching Mr. Gillison's funeral sermon, which quite overpowered him. As health gradually returned, he engaged in the work of the mission; but was frequently laid aside during the rainy season, and fears were entertained for his life. In November he writes:—

I can assure my dear fathers, notwithstanding these trying dispensations of Providence, I feel happy in my work, and am satisfied I am in my providential place. The Lord makes me happy by the continual manifestations of his favour, and many of these dear people make me happy by their unblamable life and conversation. Glory be to God, unworthy as I am of such an honour, he is pleased to make me useful! Here in town I have some time since had to cut off some whose lives were inconsistent with their profession, and who, I believe, have been a stumbling-block to others; but lately the Lord has been reviving his work in the society, and gathering in some from the Heathen. He was pleased to bless to many souls the last two or three sermons I preached before my late sickness. O for more strength to preach His word! I bless God I can say, I only wish for life to spend in publishing the sinners' Friend. He is my all and in all,—“In toil my rest, my ease in pain.”

My late dear colleague and myself laid it down as a rule, from the first, never to flinch from any point of discipline, or suffer those, in any place, who we had reason to fear were deceiving themselves, to go to hell quietly: this made us use the plainest and most faithful dealing we could with such characters; and now, thank God, the incorrigible have been all, or we trust nearly all, discovered. The members have for some time past been growing in grace. Many flock to hear the word of God; and it grieves me to see the want of room to accommodate them. I am certain the chapel, though much the largest in town, is not half large enough to contain the people who wish to attend. The place is crowded to suffocation. I am obliged, as soon as I get home after every sermon, to change every thing I have on, even to my coat.

I wrote to you some time ago of our having formed a class at the west end of Free-Town, which, thank God, is now one of our promising societies. After they had been on trial, I told them they must all get married, if they wished to remain with us. They were quite willing, and I took down the names of eleven couple. Two or three of the women had ungodly men, to whom some of them said, “Suppose you no marry me, I leave you; *this time* I want for seek God, and live Chris-

tian fashion." The men have all consented. These things are pleasing, and to me very encouraging.

The governor is going in a few days to the river Gambia, to form a settlement higher up, perhaps two hundred miles or more from St. Mary's. Should this succeed, there would certainly be a fine opening for the exertions of a faithful missionary. This station will be about 14° north latitude, and consequently much healthier than Sierra-Leone. I find, according to Park, this part of the river is near a chain of mountains; and if the people there, as in some places in the interior, live much above the level of the river, the station will be healthier still.

Protected by the countenance of the British Government, the missionaries might proceed much further up, if needful; and, I have no doubt, would be useful. I must say, that I always think, if a minister of the gospel is faithful, God will, in some way or other, make him useful; and though the first missionary to that place might not live to see fruit of his labour, yet it would doubtless appear after many days. In reference to the healthiness of such a station, there can be no doubt of its being healthier than this. It is a well-known fact, that they have not so much rain on the Gambia as we have here; and the cause of the sickness at St. Mary's is more owing to the very low situation of the island on which our present settlement is found, which in the rains is in a state of inundation from the rise of that great river, and from a bad morass on the island, so low as not to admit of draining, and which makes the air passing over it bad. The rains begin as far south as the Line, and go as far as Senegal, 17° north latitude.*

In the annual Missionary Report for 1820, the numbers in society were as follows: Free-Town, 172; Congo-Town, 10; Soldiers'-Town, 17; Portuguese-Town, 28; West-End, 34; total, 261; being an increase of eleven on the preceding year. But before the close of that year a great revival of religion took place, "and the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." Mr. Baker, under date of November 1st, 1820, in giving some particulars of this, observes:—

I scarcely know where to begin; but the best of all is, God is truly with us. We have the greatest outpouring of the Spirit I have ever yet witnessed.

And when I consider the meanness of the instrument made use of, I sometimes tremble lest it should not be real. But I can never look closely at the work without discovering the finger of God plainly engaged in it. He himself has done it, and that in his own way. May he grant me ever to feel as I do now! for my spirit truly says, "Not unto us, Lord; not unto us; but to thy name be all the glory." The work has been gradual: I can trace its beginning up to the commencement of the year. But within the last three months it has increased rapidly; and still goes on, and increases like the noise in the camp of the Philistines. All my sleepless nights, all my burning fevers, all my severe conflicts, and all my agonizing pains,—all, all put together, and heaped up, seem no more than dust in the balance, when compared with this great work. Here is not only double, but tenfold, for all my hire. I have no talents to attract attention; but I go on as God helps me, preaching with all my might a present and a full salvation by faith in Christ. I do verily believe, that preaching a present salvation, and insisting upon the direct witness of the Spirit, is the glory of the gospel. I thank

* "Missionary Notices," vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

God my views of this subject are enlarged; and especially since this work began. It brings to my remembrance the days of our venerable Founder, and makes his name to sound more sweetly in my ears. Those who have lately been brought in, manifest that they have not believed a cunningly devised fable. They bear the consequent fruits of living faith; and I do not hesitate to say, of nearly all of those who have been added, I no more doubt of their conversion than my own. We have had twenty-five, twenty-seven, and twenty-nine of a week brought into liberty. At our last Quarterly-Meeting, I found we were three hundred and thirty; since then we have not added less than fifty. Poor Congo-Town, where I have so long laboured, and seemed to be spending my strength for nought; even there, the Lord is gloriously making bare his holy arm. We had, at the last Quarterly-Meeting, only fourteen in that place; now we have fifty-six; forty-seven of whom can rejoice in a sin-pardoning God. Our chapel stands just where it should do, and is filled.

In town, also, this work has been great; we have had many added to our numbers. I am quite worn down with labour; and am a standing miracle to all who know my work, and what I have suffered. But I thank God I do it cheerfully; and if I may but hold out till my colleagues come, then, if the will of God be so, let me

“My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live.”

This work has really produced a general reformation; and the grog shop-keepers are mad against us, as their craft is not only in danger, but has very considerably suffered. Some of the greatest rebels, who were like the man among the tombs, are now sitting at the feet of Christ, clothed, and in their right mind. I bless God I ever came to Africa. May the Lord help me to go on insisting on a present and full salvation! *

On the 8th of November, just one week after the above letter was written, Mr. and Mrs. Huddleston arrived at Sierra-Leone, and were much pleased with the kind and warm reception they received, as well as with the state of the mission: they were soon joined by Mr. Lane, who sailed for that station in January, 1821; and now Mr. Baker was at liberty to visit the river Gambia, to commence a new mission, to which he had been appointed by the preceding Conference. The numbers in the society at Sierra-Leone in 1821 were 470; being an increase of upwards of two hundred on the preceding year.

* “Missionary Notices,” vol. iii. pp. 40, 41.

CHAPTER XIII.

NATIVE SUPERSTITION AND CRUELTY.

SOURCE and Termination of the River Gambia—Influence of the Tide—Scenery—Birds and Animals, &c.—The native Tribes—Jollofs—Mandingoes—Foulahs—And Jollars—WESTERN AFRICA—The moral Degradation of the Natives—Slave-Trade and Slavery—Polygamy—Degradation of the female Character—African Superstitions—Greegrees—Various Objects in Nature regarded with superstitious Dread—The three worst Features of Superstition are Witchcraft, a System of Demonology or Devil-Worship, and human Sacrifices—A Reference to Romans i. 21—32.

THE Gambia is one of the finest rivers in Africa. It is supposed to take its rise in a group of mountains a short distance to the north-east of Teemboo, in Foota Jallon, and not many days' journey from the famous Niger. After running in a serpentine course for upwards of one thousand miles, it empties itself into the Atlantic in $13^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and in $16^{\circ} 42'$ west longitude. It is about fourteen miles wide at its mouth, and is navigable for upwards of five hundred miles by vessels of considerable burden; and small vessels might sail much farther, particularly in the rainy season.

This noble river contains many islands; the principal of which are St. Mary's, Elephant-Isle, Deer-Island, Paboon or Dean's Island, and Macarthy's Island. On two of these, that is, the first and the last, the English have formed settlements, which will be noticed in the following chapter. In the dry season the influence of the tide is felt as far as Cantalicunda, and the falls of Barraconda, the highest trading-ports on the river, supposed to be two hundred and fifty leagues, or seven hundred and fifty miles, from the sea-coast. A number of other small rivers and creeks empty themselves into the Gambia; and it is to be lamented that these have not as yet been properly surveyed, as it is not improbable that some of them would be found to communicate with other rivers north and south of the Gambia, and thus an extensive inland navigation would follow, which would increase the trade by affording a more ready and friendly intercourse with the natives.

For about one hundred and fifty miles the banks of the river are covered with thick mangroves, which, being always green, tend to relieve the eye from the oppressive glare of the scorching sun: the water here also becomes fresh, and is used for all

culinary purposes, and as the common beverage of man and beast. In advancing higher up the river, the scenery varies, the country becomes more hilly, and the trees assume a more variegated appearance, being rich in foliage, and splendid in their blossoms. The beautiful palm, monkey-bread, and stately mahogany trees, are conspicuous; and in many places the country wears the appearance of one extensive and majestic forest, and not unfrequently the scenery is highly picturesque. Birds of the most beautiful plumage are numerous; paroquets, partridges, pigeons, guinea-birds, and water-fowl are also abundant. But your right to advance on the river is often disputed by large monkeys of the baboon species, residing in vast families at a distance from each other on the trees near the river. Sometimes they become outrageous; climbing the trees nearest to the intruders, chattering in the most menacing tones, breaking off sticks, and throwing them with all their might, bending the extreme branches, and shaking them towards their enemies, plainly intimating what they would do if the water did not prevent them. These strange exhibitions, with the amusing antics of those of a smaller size, and of a more harmless kind, which are frequently seen with the squirrels, sporting on the branches of the trees; together with the songsters of the grove, and the harsh crow-like sound of the graceful crown-birds, (Balearic cranes,) flying over-head in great numbers; the huge alligator basking fast asleep on the mud and sand of the banks of the river, till awoken by the report of a gun with a few shot, which only bound from his back like peas falling on a pavement, when he instantly shakes his tail and slides into the water unhurt; the beautiful horned deer and striped antelopes, which are seen in herds quietly grazing in the meadows; with ever and anon a small canoe crossing the river, with a single native at its stern, or one of larger dimensions, at a point or turn of the river, or perhaps coming down a creek, and containing from ten to twenty Negroes, who propel it forward at a rapid rate with their short paddles, which they ply with great dexterity, cheerfully and musically singing some song made on the occasion, and beating time to the tune with the strokes of their paddles:—all tend greatly to relieve the tedium of a six or ten days' voyage up the Gambia.

When on board a small cutter, or open boat, lying at anchor in the middle of the day, without a breath of air, and waiting for the tide, it is no small treat to be rowed ashore to some village, or up one of the narrow creeks, or "natural canals," as they have been called, where the thick foliage from these everlasting greens proves a most welcome screen from the vertical

rays of the sun, and presents an appearance of real rural beauty. But take care you do not bathe, lest you should come out of the water *minus* an arm or a leg, or perhaps be divided and subdivided, or consumed altogether, by one or more of the numerous alligators which infest those creeks.

By night the hippopotamus is heard snorting, and plunging from the banks on which it grazes into the river; sometimes so near your canoe or boat as to place it in danger of being swamped by the motion of the water, should it be a small one. This animal in bulk is only second to the elephant. The head is of an enormous size, and the mouth, when open, is about two feet wide; the legs are short and thick, and the eyes and ears small. The hair on the body is very thin; but the skin is very thick and strong, and the tusks, which are from twelve to upwards of twenty inches long, furnish the best ivory. Though possessing amazing strength of body, this animal is naturally of a mild disposition, and is only formidable when provoked. When wounded, or when their young are injured either by accident or design, they will rise and attack boats and canoes with great fury, and will sink them by biting large pieces out of the sides, or striking holes in the bottom, or by placing their huge bodies in such a position as to upset them in an instant; and not unfrequently the people are drowned. One or two accidents of this kind occurred in the Upper Gambia during my residence in Africa. It need scarcely be said that the hippopotami are amphibious; but they are so cautious that it is during the night principally that they leave the river in order to pasture, when, consuming large quantities of millet, rice, and other eatables, they do much damage to the cultivated fields and plantations. But though rarely out of the water by day, I have frequently seen their small pointed ears, with a little of the head, when rising towards the surface in order to take-in fresh air. In this manner they may be seen in herds, as many as a dozen of them together.

This part of the continent, in fact, abounds with specimens of natural history in almost all its branches,—with shells and fish, plants and flowers, insects and reptiles, birds and wild animals; to say nothing of its minerals, some districts being interlaced with inexhaustible veins of the precious metals. The naturalist and geologist would therefore find full employment for their scientific researches from one year's end to another.

If the writer had the ability to enlarge upon this subject, the nature and limits of this book would forbid it; suffice it to say, that, as to fish, the Gambia abounds in these of various kinds,

from the sprat to the dolphin and shark of sixteen feet in length. Here, too, is to be seen the little, exquisitely, beautifully plumaged humming-bird, smaller than the linnet, or, as a fair authoress expresses it, "scarcely larger than an humble-bee;" with the towering eagle, the gigantic stork, and that king of the feathered tribe, that swiftest of all running creatures, the ostrich. On the Gambia, likewise, or in its neighbourhood, the traveller may find the small red monkey, not much larger than a rat, with almost every other species of apes up to the orang-outang and chimpanzee: here, too, are to be found the prowling wolf, the screaming hyæna, the snarling leopard, and the roaring lion; the lizard and the crocodile; the leech, so numerous in the creeks, and so useful to man in sickness, the venomous snake, the boa-constrictor and serpent of from twenty-five to thirty feet long.* And here, too, the European may be teased and bitten by the tiny, but troublesome, mosquito; and he may be gratified and excited by a sight of the sagacious and majestic elephant. The ostrich is exclusively indigenous to Africa, and even the problematical unicorn is still said to exist in the interior. The shrubs and earth swarm with termites, ants, spiders, and caterpillars, while passing armies of locusts frequently obscure the sun like clouds. The most beautiful insects abound, and the force of vegetation is extraordinary; the earth renders back the seed to the cultivator increased at least a hundred-fold, and the climate and soil produce plants, flowers, and fruits of various kinds.

* The following extract from an American paper, which appeared a few months ago, will confirm this statement:—

"ANOTHER MONSTER SNAKE.—The good ship 'Allen,' Captain Williams, recently arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, from the coast of Africa, having on board a living monster serpent of the constrictor kind, which verifies all the stories we have heard of their crushing and swallowing a horse in a single meal; it is much larger than any ever before taken, its length being thirty feet. Of course, the arrival of such a monster set all our showmen into a wonderful fever. Van Amburgh, and June, and Titus, despatched an agent for them, *via* New-Haven; one of the firm of Raymond and Baring proceeded by way of Worcester; and Barnum sent his *major-domo*, Hitchcock, by the steamer 'Bay State.' The Yankee proprietor of the *snake*, seeing such an excitement, and feeling that it will be difficult to run an opposition, has taken his ground; and a telegraphic despatch to Van Amburgh and Co. announces that he will take no less than ten thousand dollars for it, and in case of not finding a customer he will turn showman, and exhibit himself. The agent offered seven thousand dollars for it; but Mr. Hitchcock immediately bid five hundred dollars more, and so the matter stands. Captain Williams positively avers that it took one hundred and twenty-six Negroes seven hours to secure this monster. They did it by means of a heavy rope net made for the purpose, and thrown over him when coiled up. What a *serpint*!"—*New-York True Sun*.

But as we have to do rather with the human and rational part of the creation in this brief history of missions, it will be necessary to say something of the people amongst whom the missionaries have laboured.

The aborigines inhabiting the banks of the Gambia, and the countries bordering on that river, though distributed into many distinct governments and independent states or nations, may be fairly divided into four great classes or tribes; namely, the *Jollofs*, the *Mandingoes*, the *Foulahs*, and the *Jollars*.

The *JOLLOFS* are of the middle size, proportionably built, of jet black, with woolly hair, their lips and noses not so prominent as most of the other Negro tribes. The countenance is open and intelligent, with fine eyes and beautiful white teeth, which are kept in a pure state by frequent washing, or rather constant rubbing with a small twig of the tamarind-tree, which they substitute for a tooth-brush, and which answers as well as, or even better than, the European instrument used for the same purpose. The *Jollofs* are warlike, brave, and generous, ardently attached to each other, and proverbial for gratitude and fidelity. At the same time, they are very superstitious, and are much afraid of ghosts and evil spirits, against whose dreaded influence they have many imaginary means of defence. They live principally in the country which lies between the Gambia and the Senegal. The language is harsh and guttural, and frequently coarse and vulgar. These people are a mixture of Pagans and Mohammedans; and some of those who have come into immediate contact with the French colonists in the Senegal and Goree are tinctured with the forms of Popery, though few of them have learned any of the doctrines or precepts of pure Christianity.

The *MANDINGOES* are the most numerous and warlike tribe in this part of Africa. They are called *Mandingoes*, as having originally migrated from *Manding*, an elevated region about seven hundred miles eastward from the coast; and are now spread into various independent states and nations, down the banks of the Gambia to the kingdoms of Barra and Combo on the sea-coast; whilst they are to be found in considerable numbers as far south as Sierra-Leone. The physical characteristics of the *Mandingoes* have already been described; and Mungo Park has given a faithful record of the habits and manners of this people.

The pure *Mandingo* language is mellow and harmonious, and, with few exceptions, is universally understood from the Senegal and Gambia to the Joliba or Niger.

In speaking of the *FOULAHs*, it will be necessary to notice the different tribes; a distinction which it is the more useful to

make, as they have frequently been spoken of as one and the same class of people. There are, properly speaking, at least three tribes, called in Africa *Teucolors*, *Loubies*, and *Foulahs*; and to these may be added the *Fallatahs* of Central Africa, who are of the same race: the latter are frequently spoken of by Lander as being superior to other native tribes, in personal appearance, dress, industry, moral virtue, and intelligence.

The *Teucolors* resemble the Mandingoes in appearance, character, and prowess. They have established themselves in several powerful kingdoms, the chief of which are Foota-Torro, on the north of the Senegal; that of Bondon, between the Senegal and Gambia; and Foota-Jallon, about four degrees north-east of Sierra-Leone. The colour of their skin varies a little, some being quite black, and others of a fairer complexion. They are properly a settled people, though they have a few scattered villages amongst the Mandingoes. The *Teucolors* are generally strict Mahomedans.

The *Loubies* are a degenerate race, stunted in growth, and haggard in appearance. They are generally quite black, though in features they much resemble the *Foulahs*, and they also speak the *Foulah* tongue. They possess neither towns nor cattle, but are the gipsies of Western Africa, living by the manufacture of wooden bowls and other utensils, which they sell to the Mandingoes.

The physical characteristics of the *Foulahs* (the third class or tribe) we have briefly given in the first chapter of this work. They are in features and complexion, manners and habits, obviously distinguished from the rest of the aborigines of Western Africa. Their features have a close resemblance to the European, with a fairer skin than the Negroes in general, some of them approaching to the Mulatto colour. They have a tradition, that they descended from a white man,* and, when talking of different nations, always rank themselves among the white people. They have no lands of their own, but are much attached to a pastoral life; and have introduced themselves into many of the kingdoms as herdsmen and husbandmen, paying a tribute to the sovereign of the country for the lands which they hold. They breed much cattle, and are dexterous in the management of them. The whole herd belonging to the respective towns feed during the day in the neighbouring savannas, and, after the removal of the crops, in the rich grounds. They are attended

* See an interesting article on this subject in the "Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine," for the year 1834, pp. 29—33.

by herdsmen, who prevent their entering the corn, or escaping to the woods. As they make no claim to a right in the soil, but live by the sufferance of the Mandingoes and Jollofs, in whose countries they find pasturage for their cattle for the time being, and have no certain dwelling-place, they are called "wandering Foulahs," removing their families and cattle from place to place as occasion may require. Being thus dependent, the Foulahs suffer much at times. They have not only to pay a large tribute for the privilege of pasturing their cattle on the lands which they cultivate, but the king will sometimes come down upon them, and take away nearly all they have. Being also a timid people, and unaccustomed to fight, they are frequently plundered by marauding parties, who go about day and night scouring the country. Thus the Foulahs, though the most industrious, are the most grievously oppressed.

The JOLLARS (or Feloops) are small and short in stature, but are strong and nimble runners. Their colour is a deep black, with rather a rough skin; but their features are tolerably regular, except when distorted by the fantastic figures which they imprint on their faces. They wear very little clothing, merely a small apron or *pagne* loosely fastened round the loins. They are not numerous, and reside chiefly to the south of the Gambia, in the neighbourhood of the Casamaza. The Jollars are nearly the zero of the thermometer of African civilization in this part of the continent. They are a wild and unsociable race of people, of a gloomy disposition, and are supposed never to forgive an injury: they are even said to transmit their quarrels as deadly feuds to their posterity, insomuch that a son considers it incumbent on him, from a just sense of filial obligation, to become the avenger of his deceased father's wrongs. The Jollars are Pagans, and pay homage to no being but the devil; and him they worship, to him they offer sacrifice and consecrate a house, thinking, if they secure his friendship, they shall be safe.

In addition to the preceding four great classes of Africans, there are many other nations between the Senegal, Sierra-Leone, and the Gold-Coast. But, however numerous the native tribes of Western Africa, in a faithful description of one tribe we have a fair picture of the whole; for, whether Mahometan or Pagan, the Africans are all ignorant, guilty, and depraved, "earthly, sensual, and devilish," "sitting in darkness and in the region of the shadow of death," "having no hope, and without God in the world."

The moral degradation of both Mohammedans and Pagans in Western Africa is shown in many striking features, and fully

corroborates the declaration of the Psalmist, "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

Of the Slave-Trade we have before spoken, with its attendant horrors of war, rapine, and death. The fire, blood, and desolation which marked the track of those invading and marauding bandits engaged in the seizure, will never be forgotten by the tens of thousands on the other side the Atlantic, who were the victims on those occasions, and who are now watering with their sweat and tears the soil which enriches their oppressors. The Slave-Trade renders Africa a perpetual scene of bloodshed; for one tribe is continually making war upon another, for the sake of the prisoners obtained in the contest. It fosters a state of barbarism, excluding every thing which can soften, or enlighten, or civilize, or elevate the people of that vast continent. It loosens all the ties of nature, debases the morals of the people, creates endless insecurity, banishes commerce, knowledge, and social improvement, and constitutes one of the principal obstacles to the progress of Christianity.

But even the Slave-Trade, with all its accumulated horrors, is only one among the many evils with which Africa is afflicted, though confessedly one of the greatest. We have, in a preceding chapter, distinguished between the Slave-Trade and Slavery; and it is necessary here to state, that this distinction belongs to Africa as well as to the New World. Without, therefore, at all blinking the fact, that the Slave-Trade, as still carried on by several European nations, adds fifty *per cent.* to the misery of Africa, it must at the same time be admitted, that Africa is a land of slaves, and that Slavery existed in Africa long before the Slave-Trade commenced, and will probably continue long after that iniquitous system is abolished. At all events, it does exist, separate and independent of the Slave-Trade, and that to a considerable extent. According to the computation of Mungo Park, and other celebrated authorities, not less than three-fourths of the entire population of Africa are in a state of Slavery. What, then, must be the condition of society in a vast continent like Africa, when so many millions are held in abject bondage? It is true that, in some countries, the system is comparatively light, among the domestic slaves especially; but with regard to others, it is not so: the slave is treated with unkindness and severity, according to the caprice of his master; and cruelties the most barbarous are frequently practised upon these unfortunate beings. In some nations the master may kill his slave without exposing himself to the smallest amount of punishment, whilst, on special occasions, numbers are slain in

sacrifice. Where life may be thus taken away with impunity, what security can there be against the commission of other enormities? It is well known that in some of the great as well as the smaller kingdoms of Africa, the female part of the slave population are commonly and systematically let out for the hire of prostitution, and are liable to the grossest abuses to which their savage masters may choose to subject them.

But even taking the mildest form of this great evil as it exists in Africa, the slaves on that continent, like those of all other slave-holding nations, have no property in themselves. Their bones, their blood, their sinews, their hands and feet, are not their own! They live, and breathe, and move, not for themselves, but for others! Nor is this all: they have no property in their children; they are fed and nursed and bred for others, and not for themselves! And, African Slavery being *hereditary*, the system is perpetuated. To this natural cause we may add, that famine, insolvency, and crime are so many sources which supply this unrighteous system with victims. It would be easy to furnish a long catalogue of evils in connexion with the means by which Slavery is replenished, and replenished to such a degree, that the practice may be said to be almost universal.

Polygamy is another dark feature in the moral and social condition of Africa. No sooner has the African taken to himself one wife, than he is ambitious to have a second, a third, &c. With the Mohammedans there is imposed some limitation as to the number: in the Koran the followers of the false prophet are usually restricted to five; and in those countries where the dictates of Mohammed are implicitly obeyed, this number is not exceeded. But among the Pagan kingdoms of Western Africa, polygamy prevails to an extent still more fearful. Every man of free condition, as soon as his circumstances will allow it, has a plurality of wives. Some private individuals have six, eight, or even ten wives, and as many concubines; while the higher classes and the native chiefs take wives almost without number. I have seen some of the Mandingo kings surrounded by a host of females, all said to belong to one of these sable monarchs; and it is stated, that in Ashanti the law allows the king to have three thousand, three hundred, and thirty-three wives; but in what consists the charm of this mystic number, which is carefully kept up, does not appear.

The result of this state of African society may be easily inferred. One inevitable consequence is, to make one passion almost the sole end of life; and this evil propensity of a depraved nature is not only thus indulged and sustained by the system

under consideration, but among the Mohammedans it is supported and sanctioned by religion.

The domestic arrangements, in places where this fearful evil prevails, are formed on different principles from those which regulate an English or civilized family. In Africa the husband lives separate from his wives, who dwell in different huts or sheds, built contiguous to each other, in the form of a square; and these are enclosed with a wattled cane fence. This enclosure contains one family; that is, one husband and one father; but that husband has many wives, and the wives have many children. Favouritism prevails, jealousy is aroused, and revenge unsheaths the sword which deals forth destruction. Polygamy is the fruitful source of jealousy and distrust: it contracts the parental and filial affections, weakens and disjoins the ties of kindred, and degrades the female character almost to a level with the brute creation. Before marriage, and in the affairs of courtship, the wishes of the female are but little consulted, the daughter being the property of the parents: the business is chiefly settled between the suitor and them; and in all cases the parent receives a sum for his daughter, instead of giving a fortune with her, as is the practice in European countries. In marriage, therefore, the African female is literally sold,—sold, like an article of merchandise, to the best purchaser. Nor is her condition in the least degree improved after her marriage: she has only changed proprietors; that is, from being the property of her parents, she has become the property of her husband. In our beloved country, woman is what she ought to be, man's companion, the nurse of his children, and the mistress of his home; but in Western Africa, the men look upon their wives, not as their companions, but more like hired servants, and employ them as such. Hence the weightiest duties generally devolve upon the wife, who may be seen transacting business in the market, cultivating the plantations, or, with a child upon her back, "grinding at the mill;" and, instead of the husband maintaining the wife, as in duty bound in all Christian countries, in many parts of Africa the woman supports the man: for if an African can obtain six or ten wives, the fruit of their united labours is sufficient to enable him to lead a life of indolent ease and licentious enjoyment. Thus the females have assigned to them the merest drudgery and the hardest labour, and are treated more like beasts of burden than women, and are looked upon by their husbands more in the capacity of slaves, or creatures of convenience, than as bosom friends.

In countries where polygamy prevails, it might be presumed, that either there is a great disparity between the sexes, or that all do not marry. According to Bosman, the number of women among the natives on the coast, in his day, was much greater than that of the men; but it is supposed that the proportion of women to men in Ashantee is not two to one; and it is the fact, that the majority of the males live without wives. Sometimes a caboceer will give his daughter to a confidential slave; but celibacy is the condition of far the greater proportion of the slave population, which principally constitutes the military force of Ashantee. From this unequal state of things, the grossest irregularities naturally follow. In despite of the penalties with which incontinence is visited, the violation of the marriage-contract is notoriously common; and prostitution is openly countenanced. In some instances, females are provided by the state, and are set apart to their office by public formalities and religious ceremonies. As many as two hundred and fifty females of this description have been seen together on state occasions at the court of Dahomy. But scarcely any single circumstance tends to show so clearly the demoralization of Negro society, as the fact that wealthy females on their death-bed regard it as one of the most meritorious acts which they can perform, to bequeath to the public a few female slaves. What must be the moral condition of a people, where the state lends its authority to legalize crime, and the sanctions of religion are employed to invest vice with the attributes of virtue!*

Such are some of the evils and pernicious tendencies of this crying sin of polygamy, and such is the condition of women in Africa. In the language of another excellent author, "it must suffice to say, that almost all that is foul and black in the history of female depravity in other parts of the world, is daily poisoning and darkening the moral atmosphere in which woman lives and moves in Africa. If such, then, be woman, what must be man? what, the children whom she bears? Depraved herself, woman in Africa fosters whatever is evil in man, and instils into the minds of her offspring the same vicious principles which characterize herself." †

Another feature in the moral degradation of Africa is to be found in the prevalence of its superstitions. This is an item of no small magnitude; sufficient, indeed, of itself, to fill a volume, which might be "written within and without" in "lamentations, and mourning, and woe." It is true that some of the superstitions of that great continent are comparatively innocent and harmless, and sometimes not a little amusing: but they have generally an immoral tendency, and are, therefore, injurious in their effects; whilst, in other cases, they assume a graver aspect, and are still more demoralizing and debasing to the intellect and to the heart, until they reach such a point of cruelty and brutal wretchedness and depravity, that the bare narration of the terrible facts makes the heart sicken.

* BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 129, 130.

† EAST'S "Western Africa," p. 60.

Nearly every writer on Western Africa, in describing the manners and habits of the people, makes frequent mention of their superstitious regard for *greegrees*. The word *greegree* is probably a corruption of a Persian word, which signifies "a charm" or "incantation." Hence it has received divers names from different writers,—*saphie*, *amulet*, *charm*, *fetish*, and *greegree*. The latter term is more generally in use in the Senegambia, and from thence to Sierra-Leone. The *greegree* is nothing more than a scrap of Arabic, being in most cases a short select sentence from the Koran, written by one of the priests. This is enclosed in a piece of red cloth, or stained leather, which is neatly sewed up, so as to be worn on the person as an ornament. They are either of a square, triangular, round, or oblong form, and promise to the wearer perfect immunity from danger, such as drowning, fire-arms, wild beasts, &c. They are generally worn round the neck and arms, sometimes as a girdle round the waist, and even round the legs; and I have frequently seen the Mandingoes so armed at all points with these *greegrees*, that it was with difficulty they could get upon horseback. They are used for an almost endless variety of purposes: for instance, in addition to the above, some are obtained to cure disease, others to ward off sickness; traders purchase them to insure success in business, and have them attached over their store-doors, or shops, to prevent fire; and they are sometimes hung upon orange and other trees to prevent the fruit from being stolen. They are to be seen, in fact, in all directions, and are worn by young children, as well as by persons of riper years, and even down to the white-bearded and grey-headed old man; from the slave in chains to the king; men and women wear them, pagans and bushreens, chiefs and warriors. They are also frequently tied round the necks of horses, sheep, and goats; and the infant babe has not been in the world many hours before a small *greegree* is fastened round the neck or loins. The Mohammedan scribes derive a considerable revenue from the sale of these *greegrees*, the price varying according to the supposed intrinsic value or nature of the charm; and not unfrequently ten and twenty dollars and upwards are given to obtain one of these *saphies* or *greegrees*, so much dependence do they place on them. Tatta Fodey, a celebrated *slatee*, or native trader, residing at Subakunda in the kingdom of Woolli in the Upper Gambia, has frequently given a horse for one of these charms; and the Alkaid of Jillifree, about thirty miles from the entrance of the Gambia, on one occasion, travelled to Jume in

the kingdom of Bondou to a popular Marraboo priest named Kabba, to obtain a particular kind of *greegree*. This was not less than five hundred miles' journey; and he gave to the bush-reen, in payment for the said charm, a *female slave*, about fourteen or fifteen years of age. In other cases, as will be seen hereafter, two slaves and more are given in this locality; and on the Gold-Coast prices still more enormous are sometimes paid for these charms manufactured by the followers of the false prophet, even to the amount or value of thirty-seven slaves!

"The origin of amulets," observes Dr. Winterbottom, "is lost in deep antiquity. The Jews had their phylacteries; the Greeks their *apotropaia*, *phylacteria*, *amynteria*, *peripta*, *periammata*; and the Romans had their *phylacteria*, *amuleta*, and *præbia*. The *bullæ aureæ* worn by the Roman youth, and used as an insigne of triumph, and which often contained herbs supposed capable of resisting the effects of envy, were of the same nature. . . . In Europe at the present day the superstitious practice of wearing amulets still prevails, and great faith is reposed in them, when hung round the necks of children, to protect them from disease. Anodyne necklaces are worn to prevent convulsions in teething, as a cure for worms, hooping-cough, &c.; and it is only lately that such modes of cure have been banished from our Dispensatories, many instances of which may be seen in the writings of the excellent Mr. Boyle. It is not improbable that the necklace which at present forms so ornamental a part of female dress, owes its origin to these superstitious practices."*

John of Gaddesden, the physician to Edward II., 1320, our earliest English medical author, had a great taste for an amulet, and an anodyne necklace. In his *Rosa Anglica* he gives this admirable recipe for the small-pox: "Immediately after the eruption, cause the whole body of your patient to be wrapped in scarlet cloth, or in any other red cloth, and command every thing about the bed to be made red: this is an excellent cure. It was in this manner I treated the son of the noble king of England, when he had the small-pox; and I cured him without leaving any marks."† So much for quackery in England in the fourteenth century, in the use of red cloth as a cure for small-pox; and though this mode of cure has long since been exploded, there are still to be found in some parts of our country

* DR. WINTERBOTTOM on Sierra-Leone, vol. i. pp. 257, 258.

† DUNCAN'S "Essays and Miscellanea."

some relics of Paganism, which have a striking resemblance to some of the lesser evils of superstition as practised in Africa. Red cloth especially is a favourite article and colour with the Africans; and in small patches of this, many of the *greegrees* are carefully wrapped up.* The preceding may be considered as the first stage or lowest grade of superstition on that continent.

Nowhere does superstition exert her baneful influence more powerfully than in Africa, where all classes of people are deeply affected by it. It is interwoven with almost every act of life; and nearly every object in nature is formed into a species of *greegree*, or is looked upon by them as a kind of subordinate deity. They conceive of the Divine Being as too high and exalted in his nature, and at too great a distance from themselves, to concern himself with the affairs of men, and that he has consequently committed the government of the world to these inferior deities and spirits which they worship. In addition, therefore, to the written *greegrees* furnished by the Mohammedan priests, as already described, the articles of which African charms consist are exceedingly numerous: a tree, a stick, a stone, a piece of rag or string, or a feather, and many other trifles equally insignificant, often make a *greegree*. The head of a snake, a lock of a white man's hair,

* In the "Boston Herald" newspaper, in the early part of the present year, (1850,) I find the following:—

"SUPERSTITION IN LINCOLNSHIRE.—At the magistrates' office, Spilsby, William Martin, of Bratoft, was charged with imposing on Tobias Davison, by giving him a pretended charm, to cure his wife of a certain complaint, and receiving for the same the sum of 10s. Martin is an old man, eighty-five years of age, and has long enjoyed the reputation of being 'a wise man.' Davison stated, that about eight weeks ago he went to the prisoner's house, and told him that his wife was ill, and he was to come and see if he could cure her. He told the prisoner that he had only 10s.; and he said, 'Well, I cannot help it, if you have no more.' He took the money, and went to another part of the room, and shortly after came again and gave him a paper parcel, which, he said, was to be suspended round his wife's neck, and it would do her good. His wife wore it some time, according to prisoner's direction, but did not receive any benefit. The bench ordered the parcel to be opened, when in several folds of the paper were found some pieces of sticks and a piece of writing-paper, on which was written the word *Abracadabra*, the twelve signs of the zodiac, some fractional numbers, and the following lines:—

'By St. Peter and St. Paul,
God is the maker of us all;
What he gave to me I give to thee,
And that is nought to nobody.'

Ordered to be committed for fourteen days, to pay all expenses, and the cost of maintenance in prison."

or a handful of soil from a grave, are carefully preserved as *greegrees*. The sun, moon, and stars, the dry land and sea, the rivers, creeks, and lakes, the wind and weather, thunder and lightning, rocks and mountains, the deep glen and "the wide waste," animals, reptiles, and insects, and almost every thing that can be mentioned, form an object of superstitious dread or veneration to the inhabitants of Western Africa. And in addition to the various deities furnished by the animate and inanimate creation, artificial representations are adored. Hence some of the images, to which religious offerings are presented, are made of wood, rudely carved, so as to resemble the human form. These are generally from twelve to eighteen inches in length, and are called "the household gods," being placed in a corner of the room within the house, and covered by a curtain.

One of the Wesleyan missionaries residing at York, in the colony of Sierra-Leone, on one occasion went out to visit the people, and called on a widow, to invite her to Christian service. He writes: "She had in her room four gods: one for herself, one for her late husband, and one for each of her two children. She had been rubbing *eggiddi* (a rich kind of food, made of Indian corn, beaten fine in a mortar, and mixed with palm-oil) on their mouths; but they ate not. I endeavoured to show her the folly of such practices; but she was joined to her idols!"

Thunder is an object of worship with many, and they have an idol which is called "the god of thunder." When they worship, they call a party of their friends together, with drum-beaters and dancers; they then kill a fowl, and present the blood to the god, and sometimes they pour out a libation of palm-oil before him. On one occasion, a man and his wife, at Sierra-Leone, were killed by lightning; and their bodies were allowed to remain on the ground three days, because the people were afraid to touch them, lest they should offend their imaginary god.

There is also the god of iron: to this deity the offering is a dog; whose blood is sprinkled on the god, and the carcass hung over him to drain. It is afterwards boiled; and, with vegetables and other animals, is eaten by the whole party. This feast is kept up by a repetition of *dog sacrifices* for six or seven days. Goats, sheep, and oxen are also presented as offerings to these subordinate deities, as well as fruit, boiled eggs, &c.

"We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one." (1 Cor. viii. 4.) But, in

Western Africa, though the worshipping of idols, as practised in the East, does not in that form so generally prevail, yet it will be admitted, from the preceding brief statement, that "there be gods many and lords many," and that "they have become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts are darkened."

But the three worst features of superstition that have come under my own observation in Africa, are a species of WITCHCRAFT; a system of DEMONOLOGY, or devil-worship; and HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The natives generally believe in the power of *witchcraft*; and this produces continued excitement and alarm, injurious at once to the peace of the community, and to the mental tranquillity of individuals. If an African is taken ill, he imagines that his neighbour, or some one else, has been using enchantments against him. Many instances of this kind have come under my own notice. A liberated African of the Pappa tribe, residing at Soldiers'-Town, on the island of St. Mary's, had a brother who died rather suddenly at Macarthy's Island. This man attributed his brother's sickness and death to a female of the same tribe, who, he said, had bewitched and killed him. The woman soon afterwards returned to St. Mary's. Bent on having his revenge, one evening, just before sun-set, seeing her walking down a narrow path or street at the outskirts of the town, he rushed from behind the fence, and, though the poor woman had a child upon her back, and was leading another by the hand, this infatuated man stabbed her in the neck and face with a long knife, and almost severed the head from the body. She was so dreadfully wounded and mutilated that she instantly expired. This occurred in February, 1843, not many yards from my residence. Hearing the noise, I hastened to the spot, and found the poor creature weltering in her blood. The superstitious assassin fled into the bush, dug a deep hole in the sand, and covered himself with small branches of trees and other brush-wood; and, being armed with a gun and other weapons, bade defiance to any body that dared to seize him. He was, however, at length captured by the natives, and unfortunately shot by the party in self-defence. This poor wretch I also saw a few minutes before life was extinct. Thus were two lives sacrificed at the shrine of this Pagan altar.

Another item in the catalogue of the superstitions of Africa is to be found in a system of *demonology*, or *devil-worship*, which prevails among nearly all the Pagan tribes of Western Africa. All the Africans, as already intimated, acknowledge a Supreme

Being, the Creator of the universe; and the notion of a future state universally prevails: but their ideas of that future state are exceedingly vague and confused. They also believe in the existence of the devil; but, supposing that the Almighty is endowed with too much benevolence to do harm to mankind, they think it unnecessary to offer him any homage. It is therefore from the devil, demons, and evil spirits only, that they apprehend danger; and they endeavour to deprecate their wrath by sacrifices and offerings. This is done in various ways on different parts of the coast.

Beelzebub, "the prince of the devils," is supposed to walk at large; but those of an inferior order have a locality ascribed to them, and are said to inhabit different places, such as the sources of large rivers, the deepest recesses of a forest, rocks and mountains of a peculiar construction, immensely large trees, which are rendered venerable by age, and some particular parts of rivers and creeks, with many other places which have a strange and uncommon appearance, or such as are calculated to inspire the spectator with awe.

Lander, in descending a branch of the Niger near the Atlantic, speaks of one of the latter:—

These meditations, and a train of others about home and friends, to which they naturally led, occupied my mind, as our canoe passed through the narrow creeks, sometimes winding under avenues of mangrove-trees, and at others expanding into small lakes occasioned by the overflowing of the river. The captain of the canoe, a tall, sturdy fellow, was standing up, directing its course, occasionally hallooing, as we came to a turn in the creek, to the *fetish*; and where an echo was returned, half a glass of rum and a piece of yam and fish were thrown into the water. I had never seen this done before; and on asking Boy the reason why he was throwing away the provisions thus, he asked, "Did you not hear the *fetish*?" The captain of the canoe replied, "Yes." "That is for the *fetish*," said Boy: "if we do not feed him, and do good for him, he will kill us, or make us poor and sick." I could not help smiling at the ignorance of the poor creatures; but such is their firm belief.*

A similar custom prevails in the Gambia. About seventy miles from the entrance of that river there is a sharp elbow-turn from left to right: the left bank is rather hilly, and is covered with trees: this is called "Devil's Point." The river is here about two miles wide; and, in passing this place, the natives are in the habit of consigning to the deep some small portions of the ship's cargo, or eatables, in honour of his satanic majesty, and to insure a safe passage up and down the river. The first time I sailed up this splendid stream, I was requested

* LANDER'S "Journal," vol. iii. p. 242.

to give something to the devil at this place, which, of course, I declined; but it is still practised by the superstitious natives and sailors; for the prince of darkness is said to have a residence under that point of land, and to stretch out his long arms beneath the water, in order to receive the offerings presented by his worshippers.

In the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, the same custom prevails. In a creek of the river near Bashia, there is a rock, to which the natives offer sacrifices, supposing it to be the residence of an evil spirit, and asserting that the rock sometimes moves, and that it would be death for any one to put his foot upon it. In other cases, as with the Jollars already mentioned, there are huts or sheds erected, and dedicated to the devil, where offerings of palm-wine and other trifles are presented.

In the Bassa country, the town is not complete which has not a devil-house, where the people daily offer sacrifices, and dedicate a part of their food to the devil. They profess to believe that there is a good and merciful Deity, who can and will do them good, and not evil; but that the devil is all-powerful, and that it is necessary to appease his wrath. "Every town has its peculiar devil."

Rankin, in speaking of the Timmanees, and of one of these temples, says: "The devil-house, whose shelter I was not permitted to seek, was erected over a small relic of the nest of the warlike ant, now abandoned. These *booga-boogs* being regarded as imps, the servants of Satan, secure this honour for the corpse of their abode. On the apex of the nest lay a small piece of broken white earthenware; an article sufficiently uncommon so far from the English settlement to be considered worthy of Satan's acceptance."

In a visit which I paid to Madina, the capital of Woolli on the Upper Gambia, in 1837, I witnessed a still more awful instance of this species of devil-worship. The chief of that kingdom had recently been waging war, or rather committing ravages, upon the territories of a neighbouring chief of the name of Kemmingtan, and had taken away a great number of slaves. These were distributed in various ways; but a few of the juveniles were in the capital: among these was a little interesting Foulah boy of about six years of age, whom I saw in the king's yard, and, hearing that his father was killed in the attack which had captured the child, with many others, I ventured to ask His sable Majesty if he would place him under my care, and I would take him to the mission-house at Macarthy's Island, and

have him educated, &c. To this the king objected; and, pointing to a long spear attached to his royal residence, he said, "That boy is dedicated to that *greegree*;" in other words, this innocent and unoffending child was by some cruel means to be put to death, and thus presented as an offering to the devil, to insure success in another meditated attack upon Kemmingtan. I would fain have rescued this poor little fatherless boy from the unmerciful grasp of these wild barbarians, by giving a handsome present for his redemption; but even had I succeeded, another would doubtless have immediately been substituted in his stead.

A short time previous to this, Kemmingtan consulted one of the head Mohammedan scribes to obtain a *greegree*, for the purpose of keeping war from his country; or, in case of an attack, that he might be successful in repelling the assailants. The bushreen demanded two slaves and five horses for his trouble: and a young female was selected, of about twelve years of age; and two holes were dug in the earth near Kemmingtan's fort, about two feet in depth. In these holes the feet of the female were fixed; and, notwithstanding the bitter lamentations of the mother, and the loud screams of the unfortunate sufferer, men were employed in building a wall of clay round the body, till it was ultimately worked over the head, and thus the poor creature was smothered to death. This awful monument of Mohammedan and Pagan superstition and wickedness was seen standing some time after the horrid crime was perpetrated.

At Badagry, the devil is publicly worshipped; and Mr. Martin, one of our missionaries there, has seen a man in the streets take up his own child, and offer it up to the devil for the sake of his "blessing."

The Dahomians on the Gold-Coast, though by their warlike character they are the terror of the surrounding country, yet are very superstitious, and are even alarmed at travelling alone by night, lest the devil, who, they believe, assumes various characters, and frequently flies about in the shape of a small snake, should touch them. And as this evil being is supposed to be ever at hand for the purpose of mischief, they are in a state of constant alarm and apprehension.

Among the Fantees and Ashantees, the devil is not worshipped.

On the contrary, he is annually driven away on the Gold-Coast, with great form and ceremony. This custom is observed at Cape-Coast-Town, about the end of August. Preparation is made for the ceremony in the course of the day; as the hour of eight o'clock in the evening draws nigh, the people are seen collecting in

groups in the streets, armed with sticks, muskets, and other weapons; at the instant when the eight-o'clock gun is fired from the castle, a tremendous shouting, accompanied with the firing of muskets, breaks forth from all parts of the town; and the people rush into their houses, and beat about with their sticks in every corner, shouting and hallooing with all their strength. This sudden outburst of all kinds of noises often alarms Europeans who have recently arrived, inducing them to suppose that an enemy has attacked the place. When it is imagined that the devil is excluded from all the houses, a simultaneous rush is then made out of the town, and the people in a body pursue the invisible enemy, with lighted flambeaux, shouts, and the firing of muskets, until it is concluded that he is completely routed and put to flight. After this achievement, they return; and, in some of the towns, the women proceed to wash and purify their wooden and earthen vessels, to prevent the devil from returning to their houses.*

But of all African superstitions, the most dreadful and appalling is that of *human sacrifices*.

Only a few instances of this horrible species of the degradation of Africa have come under my own observation; but in Ashantee, Dahomy, Benin, and among other countries where the Mohammedan religion and the Mohammedan power do not prevail, this iniquitous, revolting, and diabolical practice is carried to a fearful extent. Hundreds, nay, thousands of human beings, men, women, and children, are deliberately murdered in cool blood.

The occasions on which these sacrifices are offered are numerous. We have already mentioned two cases where this horrible custom was observed by two chiefs in the vicinity of the Gambia, at the commencement of war; and it is stated that human victims were daily sacrificed by the king of Ashantee at the commencement of the war with the British in 1823-4. In that battle, it has been already stated, the late Sir Charles Macarthy was unfortunately killed. Mr. Williams, Sir Charles's secretary, was also stunned by a ball, and fell; but his life was spared. Two other Europeans were killed at the same time, and on the same spot; and on Mr. Williams recovering a little from the wound he had received, and looking round, he "witnessed the appalling sight of the headless trunks of Governor Macarthy, Mr. Buckle, and Mr. Wetherell. He remained for some time a prisoner in the Ashantee camp; during the whole of which period, he was regularly locked up at night in the same place with the heads of his unfortunate companions, which, by some peculiar process, were kept in a state of perfect preservation; Sir Charles's head presented nearly the same appearance as when alive." But, not content with decapitating

* BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," p. 184.

the unfortunate victims, the body of Sir Charles was cut up, and "it is stated that his heart was actually eaten by the principal Ashantee chiefs, in order that they might, as they imagined, imbibe his bravery; and his flesh, having been dried, was then divided, together with his bones, among the men of consequence in the army, who kept their respective shares about their persons, as charms to inspire them with courage."* Such was the conduct of these savage conquerors, previous to and during this dreadful campaign.

On the achievement of a victory, and at the death of distinguished personages, these human sacrifices often take place on a larger scale. At the conclusion of the Gaman war, for instance, itself full of horrors and bloodshed, two thousand wretched victims, selected from the prisoners taken in the contest, "were slaughtered over the royal death-stool, in honour of the shades of departed kings and heroes."

The exquisite torture to which the unhappy victims are frequently subject previous to death, is another terrible feature in this barbarous and diabolical practice; and the term, "living sacrifice," may, in a certain sense, be applied to those unfortunate sufferers. One or two instances will suffice.

Bowdich, who visited Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, in 1817, says, While waiting in the street for leave to attend the king, "our attention was forced to a most inhuman spectacle, which they paraded before us for some minutes: it was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice. His hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of 8; one ear was cut off, and carried before him; the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder-blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him."†

In addition to this "inhuman spectacle," let the reader attentively peruse the following affecting record from a Wesleyan missionary, who was also an eye-witness of what he describes at the same place, and what occurred very recently:—

Sad are the scenes which sometimes transpire in Kumasi, showing the brutalizing effects of Heathenism upon the heart of those who are brought under its influence.

* BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 75, 76.

† BUXTON on the Slave Trade, p. 233. From BOWDICH, p. 33.

In the "customs" which are held in honour of any deceased chieftain, great numbers of slaves are generally beheaded. This is done under the belief that the spirit of the individuals so sacrificed will attend upon their deceased masters in another world, and will there wait upon them, as they had been accustomed while here.

In the selection of the victims, no regard is paid to age or sex, but male and female are slaughtered.

Should it be the case that a female, with an infant at the breast, is condemned to die, the child is not spared; but as soon as sentence of death is pronounced upon the mother, her infant is regarded as an abomination. Hence, when the mother is led to the place of execution, and falls in the streets a headless corpse, her child falls with her. The body of the mother may remain all day in the street, exposed to the gaze of every passer-by; and by her side may remain her helpless living infant, exposed, too, not only to the heedless foot of the multitude, but suffering intensely from the effects of the direct rays of a tropical sun. Seldom does any eye pity: no one would ever think of taking away that child, and thus of saving its life: it remains in the street until evening, and then, as the individual, whose business it is to drag away the bodies of these victims, takes away the mother, he at the same time takes away the child; not to pity and to save it, but to cast both mother and infant together into the dell where these wretched victims are thrown, and there both remain to putrefy, or to be devoured by swine, or carnivorous birds.

During the time of my residence in Kumasi, several infants perished in this miserable manner. Never shall I forget the effects produced upon my own mind, when, on one occasion, a person connected with the mission family came in from the town in great distress, and, with a countenance expressive of fear and pity, as well as of horror, stated that he had just passed a spot where lay a victim and her infant: the mother had been sacrificed two hours before, and her infant, pressed by hunger, had crept to her bleeding neck, and was literally feeding upon the blood of her who gave it birth! I shuddered as I listened to the narration, and at once determined, if possible, to save that child. Bidding the narrator accompany me, I hastened to the spot; but it was too late: a by-stander, observing my approach, and suspecting my errand, had placed his foot upon the neck of the infant! It was dead, and there it lay: side by side were these two unoffending persons, victims of a sanguinary superstition, pleading in death, in language which could not be misunderstood by a Christian heart, the necessity existing for teachers.

With a sad heart I returned to the mission-house, to weep over and pray for the people of my charge; a whole nation with but one missionary! Many were the earnest prayers which this and similar scenes prompted, that messengers of mercy might be sent to guide the feet of these wanderers into the way of peace.*

"Scenes" like these are "sad" indeed; but the repetition of them in Ashantee causes them to be so familiar with the inhabitants of that sanguinary nation, whose "feet are swift to shed blood," that they "glory in their shame."

The Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, in his first journey to Ashantee, was detained some time at Fomunah; and under date of Tuesday, February 19th, 1839, he writes thus:—

* REV. GEORGE CHAPMAN.

Last night a sister of Korinchi died, after a long sickness. Her death was announced by the firing of muskets, and the "mourners going about the streets." When an Ashanti of any distinction dies, several of the deceased's slaves are sacrificed. This horrible custom originates in some shadowy ideas of a future state of existence; in which they imagine that those who have departed hence stand in need of food, clothing, &c., as in the present world; and that, as a vast number of concubines, slaves, &c., are the chief marks of superiority among them here, so it must also be in a future state. Accordingly, as I walked out in the morning, I saw the mangled corpse of a poor female slave, who had been beheaded during the night, lying in the public street. It was partially covered with a common mat; and as this covering is unusual, I concluded that it was thrown over in order to hide it from my view. In the course of the day I saw groups of the natives dancing round this victim of superstitious cruelty with numerous frantic gestures, and who seemed to be in the very zenith of their happiness.

A few days subsequently Mr. Freeman writes:—

To-day another human victim was sacrificed, on account of the death of a person of rank. As I was going out of the town in the cool of the evening, I saw the poor creature lying on the ground. The head was severed from the body, and lying at a short distance from it; several large turkey-buzzards were feasting on the wounds, and rolling the head in the dust.....While the body was lying in the public street, many of the people were looking on, with the greatest indifference; indeed, they are so familiar with these awful and bloody scenes, that they think as little of them, yea, not so much, as they would of seeing a dead sheep, monkey, or dog.*

On arriving at Coomassie Mr. Freeman again witnessed these scenes of darkness and of blood. The king had lost one of his relations by death, and in consequence four human victims were immediately sacrificed, and their mangled bodies were lying in the streets, where a number of large hawks and turkey-buzzards were hovering over them.

Throughout the day, (writes Mr. Freeman,) I heard the horrid sound of the death-drum, and was told in the evening that about twenty-five human victims had been sacrificed, some in the town, and some in the surrounding villages; the heads of those killed in the villages being brought into the town in baskets. I fear there will be more of this awful work to-morrow.

In two days forty human beings were immolated on this Pagan altar, and their headless and naked bodies left in the streets until they began to decompose; and such was the callous state of mind of the people, that many were seen walking about and among the putrefying bodies, smoking their pipes with amazing indifference.

In a second visit which Mr. Freeman paid to the capital of Ashantee in the latter end of 1841, he once more beheld the hor-

* FREEMAN'S "Journal of a Mission to Ashanti," pp. 24, 28, 29.

rid effects of this superstitious custom. Under date of December 17th, he writes :—

In the afternoon I heard that a chief had died, and that three human sacrifices had been made in the town : the mangled victims were left in the streets as usual. O God, have mercy upon this bewighted people ! I saw a lad near my lodgings, who is one of the king's executioners. He had decapitated a poor victim that morning. He appeared to be from sixteen to eighteen years of age. I asked him how many persons he had executed : he answered, "Eighty." O awful fact ! eighty immortal spirits hurried into the eternal world, by the hands of a boy under eighteen years of age, and he only one of a large number engaged in the same dreadful employment !*

On a subsequent occasion the same excellent missionary, on walking into the town, saw two criminals seated on a block of wood, in a street near the king's residence, each accompanied by an executioner. In this case he witnessed a barbarous and horrid spectacle, similar to that mentioned by Bowdich : "Two knives were forced through the cheeks of each criminal, one on each side, which deprived them of speech." This brutal practice, we are told, is adopted to prevent them from cursing the king, or swearing the death of any person or persons whom they might be disposed to mark out for destruction.

The Rev. George Chapman, writing from Coomassie, under date of January 2d, 1844, says :—

The scenes I have been called to witness, during my short residence here, have in many instances been of the most soul-harrowing description ; nor could I have thought it possible that human life should be so little cared for, or common humanity be so foreign to the mind, as is the case in Kumasi. I do not exaggerate when I say that, during the past four months, at least eight hundred persons have fallen by the sacrificial knife, not one of whose dishonoured remains has been laid in the grave. On several occasions I have seen the headless trunks of these poor victims lying in heaps of from fifteen to twenty, the swine and turkey-buzzards either greedily preying upon them, or standing by literally gorged with the flesh of one's fellow-men. Often has my heart sickened at these most revolting spectacles, and I have returned home to weep over and pray for a people so deeply sunk in error, and so far from the way of peace. Often is the language of that beautiful hymn commencing, "Saviour, whom our hearts adore," the language of my heart. Great indeed will be the change when Kumasi, now mourning with the blood of thousands, if not "millions, slain," shall "sound the mystery of redeeming love." O may this happy consummation be hastened ! May Ashanti soon "stretch out her hands unto God !" Surely the Christian church, even in these days of "rebuke and blasphemy," will continue to make special intercession for a part of the human family so deeply degraded, and so greatly needing the kind interference and help of those who themselves have tasted that the Lord is gracious.†

* FREEMAN'S "Journal of a Mission to Ashanti," p. 128.

† "Wesleyan Missionary Report," 1844.

The Rev. Henry Wharton, another Wesleyan missionary who was stationed in Ashantee in 1846-7, wrote as follows :—

The annual Yam Custom has passed off with its usual debasing ceremonies. On the first sabbath after its commencement, a fat freeman—as is customary—was sacrificed near the gate of the king's palace, and afterwards cut up by the executioners, who danced about the town with pieces of the victim's flesh between their teeth. They were all horribly disfigured, and most of them had the jaw and other bones of sacrificed human beings strung around their necks. During the day the greatest excitement prevailed. In the afternoon another man was immolated at the sacred town of Bantama ; after which, the skulls of vanquished kings and warriors, including that of Sir Charles Macarthy, were displayed in procession through the town.

One of those horrifying tragedies which, alas ! are but too frequently acted at the celebration of the above festival, was exhibited on the present occasion. The facts are briefly these :—Previous to the Yam Custom of 1845, the principal chief of Morpon (a large provincial town) was cruelly put to death by his own people, through some jealous feeling arising among them. Four spear-knives were thrust through his cheeks, two on either side ; his limbs were amputated, and the remaining fleshy parts of his body cut off and shown to him with a view to aggravate his sufferings. After several hours of the greatest possible torture, he was despatched by decapitation. On the arrival of the Yam Custom of 1845, the people who were guilty of this diabolical act purposely absented themselves, in opposition to the desire and expectation of His Majesty Quako Duah. Their contempt was, however, for the time passed over in silence. About two months previous to the arrival of the Yam Custom of the present year, His Majesty, fearing that the delinquents would again think proper to keep away from the approaching festival, contrary to the constitutional usages of the country, sent one of his linguists to them, requesting their attendance ; to secure which, some inducement was held out which had the desired effect. On their arrival in Kumasi, several days were allowed to elapse in silence. At the close of that period the king summoned his principal chiefs and captains to attend at the palace, for the purpose of looking into the Morpon "palaver." After several hours' investigation of the case, the people of Morpon were pronounced "Guilty ;" and the king issued orders for their immediate arrest and imprisonment. The scene which then transpired cannot easily be described. A body of men, consisting of several hundreds, rushed from the palace to the quarters of the people in question, who were violently seized, and so unmercifully beaten with sticks, that the blood flowed copiously from their persons. Men, women, and children were hurried through the streets to the place of imprisonment. Every article of which they were possessed was taken from them, not excepting the loose drapery of native cloth which they wore. Three men were beaten to death, and about twelve more were decapitated, principally chiefs and linguists. The women, children, and a number of men, who were deemed innocent, were subsequently liberated.*

More terrible still are the scenes which take place on the death of some powerful chief or king. On these occasions whole hecatombs of human beings are sacrificed, and the streets are made to stream with gore. At the death of Adahunzan, one

* "Wesleyan Missionary Report," 1847.

of the kings of Dahomy, two hundred and eighty of his wives fell as victims to the sanguinary superstition of the country.

When Osai Quamina died, the funeral custom was repeated every week for three months, two hundred slaves being sacrificed, and twenty-five barrels of powder being fired on each occasion; but when the king's brother died, during the invasion of Fantee, the king devoted three thousand victims, two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners, and nearly one thousand more were furnished by various towns; making in the whole about four thousand human beings who perished at the grave of this royal personage.*

Such is the fearful extent to which these deeds of blood are perpetrated, under the dictation of a debasing superstition. Nor is this all; for the graves of the departed must in some instances be annually "watered" with human blood. And "when the king dies, Ashantee is, in fact, one vast Aceldama; for all the 'customs' which have been made for deceased subjects during his reign, must be repeated by their families, simultaneously with the 'custom' which is celebrated, in all the excess of extravagance and barbarity, for the departed monarch himself."†

Other cases might be mentioned in which human beings were inhumanly tortured and put to death, sometimes at the mere caprice of some cruel tyrant, or to gratify his notions of brutal grandeur. The following fact furnishes a frightful corroboration of this statement:—

After a great victory achieved by the army of the king of Dahomy, the officers and soldiers having been liberally rewarded by the distribution of cowries and cloth, the skulls of the vanquished enemy were ordered to be applied to the decoration of the royal walls. The operators accordingly proceeded with their work, till the skulls were all expended, when it appeared that there were not a sufficient number for the completion of the task. On the defective part of the walls being measured, and a calculation made, it was found that one hundred and twenty-seven more heads were required, to finish this barbarous embellishment. The prisons, therefore, where the wretched captives had been confined, were thrown open, and the requisite number of devoted victims dragged forth to be slaughtered in cold blood, for this hellish purpose. And this act of barbarity is said to have been applauded by all present!‡

Mr. Freeman witnessed this horrible spectacle in 1843, in a visit which he paid to Abomi, the capital of Dahomy.

In the preceding pages a tale of licentious wickedness, deep-rooted superstition, and awful depravity has been told; and it would be easy to extend the recital to a much greater length; and even to add others of a more horrifying and diabolical character; for almost every crime which has polluted other parts of the Heathen world is chargeable on Africa. But it is hoped

* BEECHAM'S "Ashantee," p. 237.

† *Idem.*

‡ DALZEL'S "History of Dahomi," p. 190 (1785).

that enough has been said to give a tolerable idea of the demoralized and degraded state of millions of the human race on that vast continent. It may be truly said, in reference to Africa, that "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint." But we cannot further enlarge. If the reader desires a more detailed account of the moral and social condition of that people, I would refer him to BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," EAST'S "Western Africa," and to the works of MUNGO PARK, BOSMAN, MEREDITH, BOWDICH, GRAY, DUPUIS, and the LANDERS. And those who wish to see at a glance, and in few words, what many parts of this great continent is, I would respectfully direct to Romans i. 21—32. In the deeply-affecting account there given by the apostle of the Heathen world in his day, the reader will find a correct portrait of the present state of Western Africa.

It is, however, gratifying to know that "the gospel of Christ" is now, as it was in the days of the apostle, "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" and therefore, after giving in the following chapter some account of the British settlements on the Gambia, we shall proceed, in chronological order, with a brief history of the missions, in which this truth will be clearly demonstrated.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GAMBIA AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1821—1824.)

DISCOVERY of the Gambia—Long been an English River—Fort James—British Settlement at St. Mary's—Commencement of the Wesleyan Missions—Messrs. Baker and Morgan—First Impressions—Tentabar—Mandanaree and St. Mary's—Erection of Mission-Premises at Mandanaree—The Missionaries visit St. Mary's once a Week—First-Fruit—Sickness of the Missionaries—Rainy Season—Mr. Baker removed to the West Indies—Mr. Bell appointed—His Sickness and Death—Sketch of his Character—Mr. Lane sent from Sierra-Leone—The Missionaries visit Mandanaree—St. Mary's—Letters from the Brethren—Sickness of Mr. Lane—His Removal to Sierra-Leone—Mr. Lane's Death—His Character—Death of Mr. Huddleston—Sketch—Mrs. Huddleston's Return to England—State of the Mission at Sierra-Leone—Messrs. Piggott and Harte appointed—Their Arrival and Reception—Number of Members in the Society.

THE Gambia is almost entirely an English river, and has been so for nearly the last two hundred years; the attempts to form settlements upon it having for that period been principally confined to our own nation. It first became known as a river of some magnitude about the middle of the fifteenth century. Prince Henry of Portugal, having heard of this river, "coupled with the wonderful accounts of the wealth of its banks, employed Cadamosto, in 1454, to undertake a voyage of discovery thither." The Portuguese, therefore, as at Sierra-Leone, were the first European settlers at the Gambia. The great object at this period, and previously, as stated in a preceding chapter, was to obtain slaves; and the ravages committed were so great, that Prince Henry, who was eager for the trade, but wished it to be carried on with as much humanity as was compatible with success, thought it necessary to make stringent regulations to prevent those excesses.* Subsequently forts were erected, and factories established, in different parts of the river; and the trade chiefly consisted in "Negroes and gold, in exchange for Portuguese goods." At Tancrowall, about forty miles from the Atlantic, they had a considerable establishment, "and built their houses in a different style from the Mandingoes."

* BANDINEL, p. 18. From Cadamosto in Ramusio.

In the upper river they had several other factories and trading-posts; so that, for a lengthened period, the Portuguese possessed nearly the exclusive commerce of this important stream. In Jobson's voyage up the Gambia, in 1621, he met with "the Tenda merchants at Setico," a town about four miles from the river, and the largest he had seen in the country. This "formed the highest point to which the Portuguese had carried up their trade;" and at this place "a considerable commerce was carried on in slaves, salt, and gold." Soon after this the English obtained a footing in the Gambia; and, notwithstanding "the jealousy of the Portuguese and Mulatto inhabitants," they succeeded in a short time in establishing a trade with the natives, and formed several small factories and trading-posts on the right and left bank of the river, as far as Fattatenda.

James Island was one of the first and most important of the English settlements. Here a strong fort was built, and a small garrison kept. This island is about thirty miles from the mouth of the Gambia: it is very small, being only about two hundred yards long and fifty broad, and is situated in the middle of the stream, which is here from three to four miles wide. But the French, on capturing it in 1688, destroyed the works. It was resumed by the African Company at the commencement of the last century; and Francis Moore, who was for several years factor or superintendent for the Company at the different trading stations on the Gambia, published a work, in 1735, containing some interesting information on the subject of the trade, and the natives of the surrounding country. But though, according to Moore's statement, "a salute" was generally "fired by order of the governor" of James Island on the arrival of vessels from England, it appears the fort was never entirely restored to its original state.

Jillifree stands opposite to Fort James, on the northern bank of the river, in the kingdom of Barra, and is surrounded by a fertile district. It has long been a noted place for trade, and is rendered somewhat remarkable as being the landing-place of Mungo Park in both his journeys into the interior. The first was on the 21st of June, 1795; and the second, on the 9th of April, 1805. The French have a small factory called Albradar, about a mile and a half below Jillifree, of which more will be said hereafter.

During the American and continental wars, at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, the Senegal and Goree alternately belonged to the French and English; and the commerce of the Gambia was carried on for some years

during the latter period exclusively by the English traders from Goree, though Fort James was still maintained and defended by a few British traders and soldiers. But on the final restoration of Senegal and Goree to the French, in 1816, exclusive possession of the Gambia was re-assured to the English by the treaty of Paris, on the same footing as that of 1783.* The English immediately turned their attention to the formation of a new and larger settlement in the Gambia, for the protection and extension of legitimate commerce, as well as for the suppression of the iniquitous traffic in slaves. The place selected was the island of St. Mary's, about ten miles from the Atlantic, or the cape of the same name.

St. Mary's is a small island on the south side of the Gambia, about sixteen miles in circumference, and is separated from the main-land by a narrow creek, called Sarra Creek, or, more generally, "the Oyster Creek," from the quantity and good quality of oysters, which grow spontaneously upon the mangroves as they hang in the water.† It was purchased by the British Government of the king of Combo. The island is low, and in some parts swampy; but this locality was chosen on account of the advantages which it afforded, both for trade and for commanding the river by a garrison, as well as for the harbour, which furnished good anchorage for vessels of almost any burden. Hither, therefore, the English merchants and traders from Goree at once repaired, and commenced building temporary residences, until more substantial ones could be erected. "The troops arrived there in March, 1816, in number about fifty, besides a few natives, commanded by Captain Grant." These fifty soldiers were Europeans, eight of whom died during the first rains. In November of the same year, "the town consisted of the commandant's house and a few huts;" and at that time they were busily employed in intrench-

* The following is the article of the treaty of 1783:—"Art. X. The Most Christian king, on his part, guarantees to the king of Great Britain the possession of Fort James and of the river Gambia." (See MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 562.)

† This is the case in the West Indies, and some other warm climates: but about two hundred years ago it appears that some attention was paid to this mode of growing oysters. Hence an old historian, in speaking of Slavonia and Illyricum, and the islands contiguous thereto, says, "Near to this last island (Languste) is good fishing for *sprats*;" and it is reported of the natives, that they possess "an art in making their trees to bring forth *oysters*, by bending down the boughs, and staying them under the water with stones; so as in two years there are so many oysters fastened to them as is strange to see, and in the third year they are very good." (See HEYLYN'S "Cosmographie," 1657, p. 556.)

ing themselves, as they feared an attack from the natives, who were displeased, it was said, at the English coming "to prevent the smuggling of slaves." They were, however, unmolested, and proceeded with the settlement. The town, which is situated on the north-eastern extremity of the island, was called Bathurst, in honour of the noble lord who was colonial secretary when the buildings commenced. Major Gray, who called at St. Mary's on his expedition into the interior in January, 1818, thus speaks of it: "The settlement, although in its infant state, has made a most rapid progress in improvement. Many fine substantial government-buildings have been lately erected, and the British merchants resident there have vied with each other in the elegant and convenient arrangement of their dwelling-houses and stores, all which are built with stone or brick, and roofed with slates or shingles." At the commencement of the following year the inhabitants amounted to eight hundred, and they were increasing; and already the prospect of a fair and profitable trade was most encouraging; the wood was partly cleared away, and the place promised to be as healthy as any part of the coast.

From the Sierra-Leone Gazette we learn that, in ten vessels, there were consigned to London during the year 1819, from Bathurst, the under-mentioned exports, on which were payable, in Great Britain, the duties specified:—

EXPORTS.				DUTY.		
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>cwt.</i>	<i>qr.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	£.	s. d.
Wax	142	6	1	6.....	9,463	15 7
Ivory	3	12	1	12.....	217	10 0
Gum.....	1	1	1	26.....	12	18 0
Gold.....	130oz.	14dwt.	12gr.			
Hides	53,619				1,340	9 6

Total duties, 11,034 13 1

In 1820 the population was upwards of one thousand, beside the garrison; and Captain Grant formed a school, and read prayers on the forenoon of the sabbath-day. A strong desire having been expressed to have a chaplain, a short time after this, the Rev. Robert Hughes was sent, who arrived at Bathurst, by way of Sierra-Leone, in March, 1821. This gentleman usually "preached on the sabbath morning, and expounded in the afternoon; and also on Tuesday and Thursday evenings."

On the establishment of this British settlement at St. Mary's, the few soldiers at Fort James were removed, and the island, principally on account of its inadequate size, was abandoned; and Fort James is now a heap of ruins. It was about this time

TOWN OF BATHURST, ISLE OF ST MARY'S, RIVER GAMBIA.



that the "French, for the purpose of securing a footing in the river, dispatched an agent from Goree to establish a trading-post, or *comptoir*, as they call it, at Albradar, under pretence of their having formerly had a *comptoir* at that place."* The result of this intrusion on the part of the French proved very injurious to the English traders on the Gambia, as well as to the general prosperity of the new colony; and it cannot but be deeply regretted that this infant and rising settlement, formed as it was on the same humane and philanthropic principles as the colony of Sierra-Leone, should have been retarded in its progress by this unjustifiable conduct of the French.

It was well known that, in the year 1820, the French Slave-Trade had swelled to a more enormous extent than at any former period, the number of slave-ships on the Coast being almost incredible. But, not content with reviving the traffic on the Senegal, the French slave-traders actually entered the Gambia. The following extract from the "Fifteenth Report of the African Institution," published in 1821, will more fully exhibit this :—

As a further proof that the statement of the cessation of the French Slave-Trade at Senegal and its neighbourhood is not correct, it may be added, that when Governor Macarthy visited Bathurst, in the river Gambia, in the month of August last, on his way to Europe, he learnt, on undoubted authority, that the Slave-Trade was at that time carried on with great activity by various merchants, both of Senegal and Goree. These persons were pointed out to him; and it was added, that they had established agents for this purpose at a small village called Albrada, in the river Gambia, about forty miles above its mouth.

Albrada was formerly a French factory dependent on Goree. By the treaty of 1783, it will be seen that France relinquished all right to its occupation. Indeed, by the terms of that treaty, which has not since undergone any modification, it clearly appears that the river Gambia was as effectually and unreservedly ceded to Great Britain, as the river Senegal was to France: and as France would fairly object to our attempting to re-establish ourselves on any part of the Senegal, or even to navigate that river at all; so are we entitled to maintain the same exclusive right of occupation and navigation in respect to the Gambia.

Since the British establishment of Bathurst was formed on the island of St. Mary's, near the mouth of the river, no French vessel has been allowed to enter or leave the river without undergoing an examination. Notwithstanding this restriction, however, a very considerable Slave-Trade is carried on by the French factors of Albrada throughout the whole length of the river Gambia; for, although the authorities at Bathurst do not permit any vessel with slaves on board to pass that settlement, yet they are carried in canoes to the left bank of the river, and thence conveyed by land to Cacho or Cuzamens, whence they are shipped for the West Indies. By these means the whole of that noble river, which would otherwise be entirely free from this traffic, is, from one end to the other of its navigable course,

* MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 563.

exceeding one thousand miles, made the scene of the atrocities of the Slave-Trade : and thus not only is the progress of civilization and improvement in that fertile region retarded, and the natives prevented from pursuing a course of peaceful industry and beneficial intercourse, but wars are excited among them, and the surrounding districts are involved in depredation and blood. Such being the case, it appears to be highly expedient that the British Government should claim the strict execution of the provisions of the treaty of 1783. This measure is pressed on us, under existing circumstances, by the highest moral considerations; and Great Britain, therefore, seems bound to vindicate her exclusive right to the navigation of this river, were it only to deliver our suffering fellow-creatures, in that quarter of the globe, from the violence and cupidity of the slave-traders. This subject, the Directors believe, is now under discussion between the two Governments.

The subject was discussed between the two Governments; for representations setting forth the injurious effects of Albradar on the trade of St. Mary's, as well as its being a market for the slave-dealers, were forwarded by memorial to the secretary of state, from the English merchants at the Gambia. But, "unfortunately," as Mr. Montgomery Martin, in his "History of the British Colonies," says, "this was not resisted at the time by the English commandant, Colonel Grant, for want of sufficient information on the nature of the treaties; and every attempt made since to dislodge them by fair means, has failed of success. It is but justice to our Government to add, that the most persevering remonstrances have been addressed in vain to the French Government on this subject."

The French, therefore, retain the possession of Albradar to this day, in defiance of the treaty, and despite the repeated remonstrances of the English Government, as well as to the great annoyance and injury of the fair traders at the British settlements, whom I have frequently heard bitterly complain of this encroachment on the part of the French. And well they might; for, independent of the French Slave-Trade, as carried on in that factory, as well as in the upper river, for many years, which gave them a pecuniary advantage over the honest and honourable English trader, there were certain colonial duties levied on various articles of merchandise at St. Mary's, to which the French at the small factory of Albradar were not subject; and, as a natural consequence, the English merchants and traders could not compete with them, even in a fair and legitimate commerce.

But, notwithstanding these vexatious annoyances and drawbacks, the British settlement gradually advanced; and, as we shall see presently, an additional one was in a few years formed in the upper river. At Bathurst, the article of bees'-wax soon amounted to two hundred tons annually; and in the years

1822 and 1823 the article of gold had increased so much, that, in each of these years, from three to four thousand ounces of that precious metal were exported. The trade also increased in ivory, hides, and other useful commodities; and several ship-loads of fine timber of the mahogany kind were sent to London, and met with a ready market. The population of St. Mary's in 1823 was 1,845: forty-five of these were Europeans, of whom eight were females. There were one hundred and thirty-five Mulattoes, male and female, adults and children. The others were principally Blacks, with the exception of a few strangers. In 1826 the population was about the same, there being a little increase of Blacks, but a decrease of Europeans. In 1833 there were thirty-six Whites, five being females; seventy-five Mulattoes; and the rest Blacks: making a total of 2,740. This did not include the garison, which consisted of about one hundred and fifty of the Royal African Corps.*

The Gambia had been recommended to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, as an eligible situation for a new mission, by the excellent and benevolent Sir Charles Macarthy, the friend and patron of all Protestant missions on the Coast; and, at the Conference of 1820, Messrs. J. Baker and Morgan were appointed.†

Mr. Morgan landed at St. Mary's, direct from England, on the 8th of February, 1821; and, having a note of introduction to Mr. Dodd, he was kindly received by that gentleman. "The morning after my arrival," writes Mr. Morgan, "Mr. Dodd accompanied me to the government-house, and introduced me to the commandant, Captain Stepney, who very kindly expressed his approbation of the object of my mission, and promised to do any thing he could for its furtherance." He was also introduced to all the respectable merchants in the colony, and on "the following sabbath preached, at the government-house, to the Europeans, the soldiers from the barracks, and to a great number of re-captured slaves." But "the brutal wretchedness of the natives surpassed all his previous conception of human

* These were Blacks from the West Indies, and re-captured Negroes, with European officers; the mortality among the white troops being so great, that the idea of keeping up a sufficient supply of white soldiers was found impracticable. It is stated that, during the years 1825 and 1826, there were sent to the Gambia, at three separate periods, three hundred and ninety-seven English troops, and that out of that number "in nineteen months two hundred and seventy-nine perished."

† W. Walker's name stands in the Minutes with that of John Baker; but he was sent by the Committee to the aborigines of New South Wales; and Mr. John Morgan was sent to the Gambia in his stead.

misery and degradation. He was even tempted to think them inferior to the human species, and incapable of benefiting by his labours. Having walked about among them for several days, striving in vain to make those who professed to understand English, understand the object of his coming among them, he turned a wistful eye to the vessel from which he had landed, and wished in his heart that, consistently with his duty to those who sent him, he could immediately return in her to England." Such were Mr. Morgan's first impressions, as expressed by himself. But, on the arrival of his colleague, Mr. Baker, about a month after this, his "doubts of success were soon removed."

Mr. John Baker, it will be recollected, had laboured with great zeal and success among the same class of people at Sierra-Leone, for two or three years; and "no sooner did Mr. Baker begin to preach to them in their own dialect, with which his services at Sierra-Leone had rendered him familiar, than an awakening to a consciousness of guilt and danger took place, and several began to inquire, 'What must I do to be saved?' A little society of these inquirers after salvation was soon formed; several of whom were free emigrants from Sierra-Leone, and had profited by Mr. Baker's ministry at that place."

Tentabar, some distance up the south bank of the river, had been pointed out as a suitable place to commence a mission; and a small trading-vessel sailing up the river presented an opportunity for the missionaries to proceed to the place of their appointment. But Mr. Baker, having an attack of fever, and being previously emaciated by labour and sickness on the Coast, was unable then to undertake the journey. It was therefore determined that Mr. Morgan should go alone, to see the king, obtain his permission to settle on his land, look out for an eligible situation, &c. On his arrival, and making known his object, the king readily granted him permission to settle in any part of his kingdom; but significantly added, "I advise you to build your house as near the river as you can; then, if any of my people should attempt to injure you, you can jump into a canoe, and get out of the way of them." This was as much as to say, "I cannot engage to protect you." Other circumstances combined to make an impression on the mind of Mr. Morgan, that Tentabar was not suitable for a missionary establishment; and he returned to St. Mary's, to consult with his colleague, who concurred in his opinion; and they then resolved to look out for a settlement in the kingdom of Combo, from whence

they might be able to visit the people at St. Mary's, already benefited by their labours.

A present to an African king is an invariable custom, previous to an interview ; and having ascertained that scarlet cloth was in high estimation among the native chiefs, they bought a large piece of a merchant on the Coast, and a small horse, for a present to the king of Combo. On May 3d, 1821, covered with the scarlet cloth, from head to tail, they led the horse away to the king, who was much pleased with their blazing present. He readily granted them permission to dwell on his land ; not, of course, from respect to their religion, (for of that he knew nothing,) but from a hope that white men living in his country would promote trade. Having spent the night in the best lodgings the king could afford them, they set out in the morning, guided by one of the king's slaves, to look for an eligible locality. They soon found that the people regarded them as unwelcome neighbours, as from place to place they expressed determined opposition to their settling near them. In vain the missionaries tried to convince them that their object was only to do them good. "We have heard," they said, "of white men before, and know that you want to steal our children, and make slaves of them. If the king settles you here, we will all leave." At night the missionaries reached a place called Mandanaree, fatigued and famishing with thirst. They found in the town an old Negro, known in the British settlement, who granted them permission to lie down at the door of his hut for the night ; but he had nothing but a little dirty water to give them to drink. Having made their bed of palm-leaves, they lay down ; but, from the stinging of musquitoes, and from the noise of wild beasts, though fatigued, they had but little sleep. Their situation was now peculiarly trying. The rainy season was just at hand, and they were without home or shelter, in the midst of rude and unfriendly savages. But, finding the neighbourhood of Mandanaree an eligible place, situated on the south bank of the Gambia, and not more than eight miles from Bathurst, they fixed upon an elevated spot, and determined to locate amongst this people. In the mean time, they took lodgings in the miserable hut of the old Negro ; and, having obtained their tools from St. Mary's, proceeded to cut down trees for the erection of their house, which they completed with the help of a few natives, after several weeks' hard labour. During the erection of the building, and subsequently, the brethren alternately visited St. Mary's once a week, and sometimes both went together.

In a letter to the Missionary Committee, dated Mandanaree, May 26th, 1821, Mr. Baker thus writes: "In preaching, we can do nothing here till we have learned the language. In the mean time, we go to St. Mary's every Saturday afternoon in a canoe, and return on Monday morning: we meet our little class early on Sunday morning, attend the chaplain's preaching at ten A.M., preach at two P.M. to about one hundred people, and in the evening at six, to frequently more than double that number. Our intermediate time on the sabbath is devoted to visiting the poor people; and on Monday we have an opportunity to procure anything we want for ourselves or the settlement. This at present is all our preaching, and must be, till the language is our own; and we hope by the end of the rains to have made considerable progress."* Speaking of the people at Mandanaree, Mr. Baker, in the same letter, says: "Their character is bad enough. As masters, they are proud, insolent, and cruel. As servants, they are fawning, hypocritical, and extremely dishonest. It seems as though Mohammedanism had made them almost, if not altogether, the worst of men; and the generality of them think themselves authorized to cheat and steal from white people at every opportunity. In this kingdom, however, liberty of conscience is allowed. The king himself is a Pagan; and so are the greater part, if not all, of the people of this town; yet their Paganism is mixed up with the worst Mohammedan superstitions." A yearly tribute of twenty dollars was to be paid for the land; and Mr. Baker further remarks: "We are at present busily engaged in cutting down the bush, and building a temporary house of rind-trees, split for posts, and bamboos, woven for the sides, and plastered; which, should our mission, under God's blessing, succeed, will be our school-house. We can both say with the apostle, 'We labour with our hands.'"

Mr. Morgan about this time writes:—"The following Saturday, (May 12th,) I went to St. Mary's, to preach on the sabbath. In the evening, soon after I arrived at my lodgings, a poor woman visited me, who had met in class a few times, and said to me, 'O, massa, my heart trouble me too much. I see myself lost sinner.' I exhorted her to believe in Christ, and explained the nature of justification by faith. She left me with her sins as a burden too intolerable to be borne. The next morning I met her in the class, and was delighted to hear her express her religious joys. She said that, after she left me the

* "Missionary Notices," vol. iii. p. 151.

preceding night, 'me went into the bush, and put me knee down on the ground, and I pray, I pray, till all my trouble go away, and my heart be full of joy. Me glad too much, and I praise my Massa Jesus; and then I pray for my poor husband, that my Massa Jesus would save him.'”*

Here we have recorded the “first-fruit” of this mission, the conversion of one soul, with its invariable characteristic, a concern for others, especially those near to it: “And then I pray for my poor husband, that my Massa Jesus would save him!”† On the following sabbath, Mr. Morgan was again at St. Mary's, “met the class, and was happy to find a good spirit among the people. I preached to them twice.”

On the 14th of June, he says, “We left our lodgings, and became inhabitants of our own building: the change was much for the best, although our new building is far from a commodious one.” From the elevation of the spot which they had chosen, the missionaries indulged a hope that their settlement would have proved comparatively healthy; but in this they were disappointed. In addition to this, the “hard labour” and fatigue, in “felling trees” and “labouring with their hands” in the erection of the mission-premises, soon proved too much for Mr. Baker's previously-impaired constitution; and before the rains commenced, “every two or three days he was attacked with fever.” Mr. Morgan had but recently arrived, fresh from the balmy air of England; and being “blessed with a strong constitution,” the climate on him for some time “produced no sensible effect.” He laboured on under the warm rays of a vertical sun, and retired every evening, “much fatigued;” but this he “considered an advantage; for, having very uncomfortable lodgings, if not fatigued, he could not sleep at all.” But even this “strong man” soon “bowed down” under the withering effects of the climate, and was attacked with the country fever. This was on July 14th: his colleague was at the same time ill in bed, but recommended him to hasten to St. Mary's for medical advice. Mr. Morgan writes: “Assisted by two men, I walked to the canoe, and at evening reached St. Mary's.” The first night, he lodged at Mr. Grant's, and then with difficulty was placed in the military hospital, where he remained nearly two months. This was the worst part of the rainy season, when every European is more or less attacked

* “Missionary Notices,” vol. iii. p. 260.

† Some account of the consistent life and happy death of this first convert will be given hereafter.

with fever, which often proves fatal, especially to new-comers. It did so this year to several; and, among the rest, the worthy chaplain, and his excellent wife, were both cut off in the midst of their plans of usefulness. Mr. Hughes, the chaplain, as we have previously stated, arrived in March, and died on the 24th of August; and Mrs. Hughes, on the 28th; leaving two very young children, and one son about fourteen years of age, who had remained in England, to mourn their loss.

The two Wesleyan missionaries were, however, mercifully preserved, though both of them suffered much; and there can be no doubt that their sickness was superinduced and aggravated in a great measure by over and incautious exertion. But as Mr. Baker was an invalid on his arrival at St. Mary's, it was not intended that he should remain longer than was necessary to commence the mission; and in the end of the year Mr. W. Bell was sent to supply his place, and "Mr. Baker was removed to the West Indies to save his life." After labouring for a short time in the West Indies, and in British America, the state of his health obliged him to return home. In England his health became established, and he laboured in several important circuits with great diligence and acceptance for many years.*

Mr. Bell arrived at the Gambia on the 28th of January, 1822, "in good health;" and Mr. Morgan was delighted with the prospect of having in him an efficient colleague, as he considered him "a good subject for the climate," but hoped he would "be cautioned, by his indiscretion, against too much exertion." His knowledge of agriculture also rendered him an additional acquisition to the mission. But, alas! how short-sighted is man! And how little do missionaries abroad, or even medical men at home, know as to who will be able to stand against the pestilential atmosphere of Western Africa! Though Mr. Bell had arrived "in good health," and at the most healthy season of the year, and appeared to be "a good subject

* This excellent minister died at Brighton, November 17th, 1845. A brief, but faithful, record of him is printed in the Minutes of Conference for 1846. But as it is announced in the title-page of this work that a sketch of those missionaries only who died *in* Africa is to be here given, I am reluctantly compelled to omit any further remarks respecting this devoted missionary, except to say, that in the above memoir it is correctly stated, that in Africa "he laboured with great zeal, fidelity, and success," and that in England he "retained his missionary ardour to the last." I may also be permitted to add, that many African children, I doubt not, will be "the crown of his rejoicing in the day of the Lord."

for the climate;" and though he, doubtless, profited by Mr. Morgan's past indiscretion, and by his brotherly advice in other respects, yet the great Head of the church, whose "thoughts are not as our thoughts," "numbered his days;" and those were "few;" for he lived only forty-six days from the period of his landing in Africa till he was safely landed "in a nobler clime."

WILLIAM BELL was a native of the neighbourhood of Louth, in Lincolnshire, where he acted in the capacity of a local preacher for several years, with general acceptance. His piety was steady and consistent, and was tested and exemplified under peculiarly trying circumstances. Soon after his arrival in Africa, he was assailed by a violent fever, which continued for several weeks. When free from the delirium caused by his disorder, he expressed himself to his colleague as having "no doubt of his acceptance through Christ;" and one of the brethren, who wrote of this bereavement, says, "Though his race was short, his prize was secured, and his exit peaceful;" and so satisfied was he with the closing scene that he adds, "May my end be like his!" Much more we are unable to give: but, from his being the first missionary who fell in the Gambia at an early stage of the mission, and after so short a residence, the touching lines of the Bard of Sheffield, written on the melancholy death of another Wesleyan missionary, in a different part of the same great field, are not inapplicable to this excellent young man:—

"How did the love of Christ—that, like a chain,
Drew Christ himself to Bethlehem from his throne,
And bound Him to the cross—thy heart constrain,
Thy willing heart, to make that true love known!
But not to build, was thine appointed part,
Temple where temple never stood before;
Yet was it well the thought was in thy heart,—
Thou know'st it now,—thy Lord required no more."

Mr. Bell died at St. Mary's, on the 15th of March, 1822, aged twenty-seven years.

Mr. Morgan was now alone, and not in a very good state of health; but the news of Mr. Bell's death having reached Sierra-Leone before Mr. Baker found an opportunity of sailing from thence to the West Indies, the brethren Baker and Huddleston thought it advisable that Mr. Lane should at once proceed to the assistance of Mr. Morgan until further help came from England. Mr. Lane therefore arrived at the Gambia on the

11th of May, and found Mr. Morgan was "very unwell," and some weeks after this he was "still feeble." But cheered with the presence and hearty co-operation of a colleague, he was "not weary in well-doing;" and, in company with Mr. Lane, soon after his arrival, he proceeded to Mandanaree; but their prospects there were not cheering, owing to their being ignorant of the Mandingo language; and the choice of the place, from there "being very little water, and that very bad," was considered "an unhappy one." St. Mary's, in the mean time, occupied a considerable share of their attention. The population, at this period, amounted to upwards of two thousand; and though the greater part of these were Jollofs and Mandingoes, there were some discharged (Black) soldiers, and a few liberated Africans, who partially understood the English language, and to whom the missionaries could preach so as to be tolerably understood. In a letter, dated St. Mary's, June 25th, 1822, Mr. Lane writes:—"Our labours here are not great at present: we preach twice on the sabbath, and meet a class, and hold a prayer-meeting in the week: we have also a small day-school at our lodgings; but this is attended with inconvenience, through not having a house of our own for that purpose." In a joint letter from Messrs. Morgan and Lane, dated August 15th, they write: "We have taken a house in Jollof-Town, at four dollars per month, where we preach twice on the sabbath, and once in the week. At this place we keep a day-school for children, and take the care of it a week each alternately. We also preach at Soldiers'-Town twice on the sabbath, and once in the week; and on Sunday mornings we meet the class at this place."

The rains having again set in, the brethren confined their labours principally to St. Mary's, having here two preaching-places, with a small week-day school, and an infant society. But, though their "labours were not great," yet, owing to repeated attacks of sickness, they met with considerable interruptions. Mr. Lane was ill with fever from the 7th of September to the 16th of October: he had been to Cape St. Mary's for a week, but "returned no better than when he went;" and towards the close of the rains, by the advice of his medical attendant and friends, he sailed for Sierra-Leone, intending to return as soon as his health would permit.

Mr. Morgan was therefore once more left alone; but some good had been achieved at St. Mary's; enough, as Mr. Morgan expressed it, "to compensate for the time, money, health, and life, which have been already expended." Nor was he dis-

couraged by the afflictions and difficulties with which he was surrounded. About this time he writes: "Our prospects of effecting much at present are certainly not cheering: yet I think I can look through the cloud which at present surrounds us, and behold distant prospects of success."

Mr. Lane arrived safe at Sierra-Leone, and found Mr. Huddleston in tolerable health and spirits. These two brethren, it should be remembered, had laboured harmoniously together for a considerable time previous to Mr. Lane being sent to the Gambia, and God had blessed their labours; but during the former part of the year some misunderstanding arose in the society at Free-Town, between the settlers and Maroons, which led to a division: a local preacher having headed the party, they took one of the chapels, and called themselves West-African Methodists. This necessarily led to a reduction of the number of members, though it would appear the missionaries continued to supply the chapel. Matters were, however, now in a more settled state; and Mr. Lane, under date of December 16th, writes: "To-day I have called upon some of our members and friends. I am disposed to think that the providence of God has brought me back to Sierra-Leone, as also that by its direction I went to the Gambia: therefore I am thankful for both." Mr. Lane at the same time expressed himself as being "happy in finding our humble society in a prosperous state, and most of the pious Maroons in fellowship with us. The word of the Lord is blessed to those who hear; a serious deportment and fixed attention are conspicuous in the congregations; and, above all, souls are brought to a saving knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ." As far as his strength would permit, Mr. Lane again co-operated with Mr. Huddleston in carrying on that interesting mission, and preaching he designated as his "most delightful employment." But he never fully recovered from his serious illness at the Gambia, and was consequently unable to return thither. On the 27th of March he had another severe attack of fever. It was hoped, with the Divine blessing upon the prompt and able treatment of "Dr. Shower, the oldest physician in the colony," that in a few days he would recover; but it was otherwise ordered. Mr. Huddleston, shortly after this, writes: "Our beloved brother is now 'as water spilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up again;' and his liberated spirit has fled to the realms of light and immortality. How mysterious a providence! How happy a visitation to him! how painful to us!"

GEORGE LANE was a native of Bath, and was a young man of considerable promise. He arrived at Sierra-Leone as a Wesleyan missionary early in 1821, where he laboured with diligence and fidelity, with occasional interruptions, arising from sickness; nor did he labour in vain, either there or at the Gambia. At Sierra-Leone, especially, he witnessed some gracious manifestations of the Divine presence and power, particularly whilst preaching to the re-captured Negroes, and in the quarterly love-feasts. He was a kind and an affectionate colleague, a faithful and successful missionary; in life highly respected, and at his death greatly lamented. This was manifested by the "numerous assembly" who attended the funeral. The members of the society especially, writes Mr. Huddleston, "mingled their tears with ours;" and the colonial chaplain, the Rev. S. Flood, kindly read the funeral service over the corpse, which was conveyed to the Wesleyan chapel for that purpose. It was afterwards removed to the colonial burial-ground, and Mr. Huddleston "committed him to the grave." Mr. Lane died at Free-Town, Sierra-Leone, in great peace, April 16th, 1823, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the third of his ministry.

The loss of Mr. Lane was severely felt by Mr. and Mrs. Huddleston, as well as by the society and other friends; but, painful as it was, it was shortly followed by another mysterious dispensation of Providence. Scarcely had three months passed away, when he who had committed his "respected and much-loved brother to the grave," was himself called to "walk through the valley of the shadow of death;" and the mission, by this rapid succession of deaths, was left destitute; with four chapels and their congregations without a missionary!

JOHN HUDDLESTONE, it will be recollected, took charge of this station on Mr. Baker's removal to the Gambia early in 1821. He was a sincere and upright Christian, and a laborious and enterprising missionary, being anxious to carry the gospel into the regions beyond the limits of the colony. He had a good constitution, having passed the first rains in comparative health, though about thirty Europeans, that season, went to their long home. Indeed, he continued to labour, with but slight interruptions from ill health, till within a few weeks of his death. In the month of April, 1823, he wrote: "My dear wife and myself are both well, and know not how to be sufficiently thankful for this blessing, much less for all the goodness of the

Lord our God." But though he had withstood the country fever for nearly three years without his health being materially affected, the yellow fever was too much for him: few, indeed, who are attacked with that malignant and dreadful disease ever recover; and during this year it prevailed along the coast, and proved fatal to many Europeans at Sierra-Leone. Mr. Huddleston had been ill the latter end of June and the beginning of July; but, on the 14th of that month, the fever returned with greater violence; and it soon became evident from the colour of the skin, that his complaint was the dreadful disease just mentioned. Mrs. Huddleston writes: "He had much bodily suffering; but patience had its perfect work in him. He was resigned to the will of God, and, at every interval of ease, he cried, 'O how good the Lord is! How gently he deals with me! Praise him for his mercies!'" Two days before his decease he was informed that there was very little hope of his recovery. "He then said, he had not a doubt of his acceptance with God, through the blood of his Saviour; that his prospect of heaven was glorious. 'Yes,' added he, 'I shall be carried by angels into glory.'" He charged his wife "to tell the Committee that he had exerted every nerve in the cause of the mission, and that he was dying happy in the faith." This event took place on the 20th of July, 1823, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

Mrs. Huddleston, soon after this painful bereavement, left the colony, and arrived safe and in good health in England. She furnished the Missionary Committee with the particulars of her husband's sickness and lamented death, the substance of which is embodied in the preceding brief sketch. From the members of the society, also, the Committee received a pleasing testimony to the character and usefulness of the excellent men who had laid down their lives in the work of God, and a pressing entreaty to have ministers sent out to them. The Maroon chapel at Free-Town was then occupied, and would contain six hundred persons; and the new chapel at Portuguese-Town, to which His Excellency the Governor Sir Charles Macarthy had kindly presented two donations, was finished, and the mission was in a rising and promising state when these painful visitations of death took place. The leaders, in the mean time, held services on the sabbath in each of the chapels; and in the Maroon chapel prayers were regularly read every Sunday morning, and occasionally one or two of the leaders gave exhortations.

But the society was not long left destitute of pastoral care and the ministry of the word of life. Two heroic men, who "counted not their lives dear to them" in comparison of the salvation of their fellow-creatures, gave the preference to this post of danger. These were Messrs. Piggott and Harte, who, after a voyage of five weeks, arrived at Sierra-Leone, March 19th, 1824. Soon after their arrival Mr. Piggott wrote: "Never could two missionaries be more joyfully received: the news of our arrival soon spread; and to see the poor Blacks running from one house to another to inform their brethren and sisters, lifting up their eyes and hands towards heaven, thanking and praising God, was such a scene as we never witnessed before; and we could not for a moment regret having left home to preach salvation to those of whom it may be said, 'The fields are white already to harvest.'" On the following day Mr. Piggott "examined the class-papers, and met the leaders; and was happy in finding that the society had been wonderfully preserved." The number of members in the society at that time was eighty-one, with several on trial; and, owing to the prejudicial effects of the climate on European constitutions, the stay of missionaries was limited to two years.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GAMBIA AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1824—1827.)

THE two Stations blended for the Sake of chronological Order—THE GAMBIA—Mandanaree—St. Mary's—Mr. Morgan visits the upper River, with the Commandant—Formation of a new Settlement—Named after Sir Charles Macarthy—Its Situation, &c.—Mr. Morgan's Return to St. Mary's—Extracts from his Journal—Missionary Fruit—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins—Mr. Morgan visits Macarthy's Island—Excessive Heat—Extracts from his Journal—Attacked with Fever—Returns to St. Mary's—The Mission-House and Chapel finished—Communication from Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hawkins—Sickness of the Missionaries—SIERRA-LEONE—Death of Mr. Harte—Sketch—Communications from Mr. Piggott at Sierra-Leone—THE GAMBIA—Return of Mr. Morgan to England—Reflection on the Result of Missionary Labour at the Gambia—Communication from Mr. Hawkins—Mr. Piggott—SIERRA-LEONE—The Appointment of Messrs. Dawson, Courties, and May—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Dawson at Sierra-Leone—Death of Mrs. Dawson—Joint Letters from Messrs. Piggott and Dawson—THE GAMBIA—The Arrival of Messrs. Courties and May at Sierra-Leone—The Gift of Tongues—Negro Patois—The Day of Pentecost—Great Diversity of Nations at Sierra-Leone—Prevalence of the English Language—The Holy Spirit graciously vouchsafed, producing Fruit—Mr. Piggott's Return to England—Mr. Dawson proceeds to the Gambia to succeed Mr. Hawkins, who also returns to England—Both these Brethren had remained beyond the prescribed Term of Service—Mr. Piggott remains in England—Mr. Hawkins goes to the West Indies.

IN giving a connected view of the rise and progress of the Wesleyan missions in this interesting part of the great moral field, with a brief notice of the deaths which so frequently occurred, it will be necessary now to blend the two stations at Sierra-Leone and the Gambia together, and, for the sake of keeping up a chronological account, frequently to pass from one to the other.

Mr. Morgan, it will be remembered, was left alone at the Gambia at the close of 1822. The mission at Mandanaree had been suspended on account of the state of his health; and when he recovered, the work at St. Mary's fully occupied his attention. Here the little society had increased from twelve to twenty-four; and as there was little or no fruit at Mandanaree, as the water was very bad, and as other openings more favourable presented themselves in the upper river, this place was ultimately abandoned. Mr. Morgan took up his residence at

St. Mary's, where, in addition to the day-school for children, he opened an evening school for adults, which, with preaching on different parts of the island, gave him full employment.

At the beginning of March, 1823, Major Grant, the commandant at St. Mary's, sailed up the river for the purpose of selecting a suitable place for a new and additional mercantile settlement, and at the same time visiting the different chiefs near the river, to promote a good feeling and understanding between them and the traders. Mr. Morgan accompanied him in this expedition, with a view to the extension of the Wesleyan mission. Each of the kings whom the major visited expressed a great desire that the most advantageous place for the new settlement might be found in his own dominions. Some endeavoured to persuade the commandant, that the people beyond them were so vile and malignant that strangers could not go near them, without danger of being shot with poisoned arrows from the thicket. Having, however, proceeded without molestation as far as Cantalicunda, near the falls of Barracunda, a distance of from five to six hundred miles from the Atlantic, they returned and fixed upon Lemon Island, in the king of Kattaba's dominions; this being about midway between Cantalicunda and St. Mary's. In their way up, on passing this place, they found the king of Kattaba in his camp, embroiled in war with a young prince called Kemmingtan, who was endeavouring to establish a kingdom for himself in Kattaba's land, for which he sought to justify himself on the ground of a family feud. King Kattaba's father had slain Kemmingtan's father by cutting off his head, which the son considered it his duty to avenge by exact retaliation, or, if he could not, it must descend as a duty to the next generation.* Major Grant tried to put a stop to this war; but Kemmingtan refused to see him, alleging, as an excuse, that he had no *greegree* that would insure his safety so near the river. Lemon Island, or Janjamberry, which was the native name, being considered the most eligible situation which the major had seen for the establishment of the new settlement, and the king of Kattaba being much straitened by the war, a bargain for the land was easily struck.† The union-jack was at once raised on it; and from respect to the excellent governor at Sierra-Leone, who had manifested great interest in the welfare of the Gambia, it was named Macarthy's Island. A

* We have already mentioned this desperate chief, and shall have occasion to do so again, probably more than once.

† An annual custom being afterwards paid to the king.

mud-walled fort, seventy-four feet in length, ten feet high, and three feet in thickness all round, with a bastion at each corner, was speedily erected, which was called Fort George, in honour of His Majesty George the Fourth; and a Black sergent, with thirteen Black soldiers, were left to occupy and protect it. With the concurrence of the major, Mr. Morgan fixed on a lot of land for his missionary establishment, on which stood the largest and most beautiful mahogany-tree he ever saw, under the grateful shade of which he intended to build his house, and commence his mission. Duty, however, required his return to St. Mary's, from which he had been absent several weeks; and, after a long and toilsome passage of ten days from Macarthy's Island, he landed safely at St. Mary's, having "left the major and Mr. C. Grant directing the building of a fort for the garrison, as the commencement of a place which, it is expected, will be of considerable importance in a few years, in a commercial point of view." Mr. Morgan added: "And I pray, with great hope, that it may prove a centre from which the Sun of righteousness shall diffuse its rays through the dark shades of Mohammedan error and superstition."

Macarthy's Island is about two hundred and fifty miles up the Gambia. It is situated nearly in the middle of the river, the main branch being on the north side, opposite to Yani, the territories of the king of Kattaba. This branch of the river is about two hundred yards wide. The island is a rich tract of land, in the form of an ellipse or oval, and contains about nine square miles. Its elevation is not sufficient to prevent partial inundation in the rainy season; but, though the heat is more intense than at St. Mary's, it is supposed to be more healthful. The town called Fort George, which consisted entirely for some time of native houses, is at about an equal distance between the two extremities of the island, and is near the water's edge on the northern bank of the river. There was also a small Mandingo town about half a mile distant; but the inhabitants were all Mohammedans.

The day after Mr. Morgan arrived at St. Mary's, which was April 14th, he says: "I attended my school, and was sorry to find that the boys had sustained great loss in my absence, notwithstanding a young man had given them instruction every day." The congregation had also necessarily suffered during his absence; but he was glad to find that the greater part of the members had been diligent in the means of grace. The following extracts from Mr. Morgan's journal will not be uninteresting here:—

April 27th, 1823.—I preached in Jaloof-Town in the morning, and in the afternoon at Soldier-Town, to small congregations. In the evening I went again to preach in Jaloof-Town, where my mind was greatly pained to see so few attending to hear the word of God, while the people were sauntering about by hundreds in the streets and walks. When I came to the meeting-house, I found no one present but my little society; upon which I determined to take my people into the street, and preach there; and by this means I collected together about a hundred persons.

May 1st.—After school I preached at Soldier-Town. This last week we have been favoured with a strong breeze from the sea, which has rendered the air pleasantly cool. May the Lord's name be praised, I still enjoy good health, which long affliction has taught me to appreciate more highly than in any former period of my life. I think I never felt better, nor ever more thankful for this inestimable blessing. May the Lord help me to show forth his praise by labouring more diligently in his service! In the evening I preached in Jaloof-Town.

5th.—This morning I met the society. Several seemed deeply impressed with a sense of their depravity, and we had a solemn meeting. After preaching in Jaloof-Town in the morning, and in Soldier-Town in the afternoon, in the evening I preached again in the street, and to a large congregation.

10th.—My heart is deeply impressed with a sense of the goodness and mercy of God towards me. He continues to bless me with health; and I recollect no period of my life in which I was more happy than the present. I feel delight in my work, and am able to prosecute it with great hope of success. This evening, after school, I preached in Jaloof-Town.

12th, Sunday.—This morning I met the society as usual; all present. I preached in the morning and afternoon in the meeting-houses; and in the evening stood in the street near the dwelling of some Greots, a most degraded set of people, who get their living by dancing, drumming, and singing at festivals, &c. They are almost always in liquor, and in their mode of living come nearer the brute than any people I have seen. I was led to hope that the novelty of my preaching at their doors would attract their attention; but in this I was disappointed, as not one of them appeared, though several of them understand a little English. I had none to hear me but my own people, for the novelty begins to wear off; but if I am spared, I will preach at one place more next Sunday evening, that every part of the town may have an opportunity of hearing.

26th.—My congregations in the house to-day were much larger than usual. In the evening I took my stand at a place where many could hear me in their houses.

27th.—This evening, in Soldier-Town, I was much encouraged by the attention and increase of my congregations.

July 3d.—After school I preached in Soldier-Town, and was followed home by a young Jaloof man, whom I have long observed to be very attentive, and who gave me the happiness to hear a detailed account of his conversion. One good mark of his sincerity is, that he manifests a great concern for the salvation of his countrymen, and embraces every opportunity to caution and instruct them; telling them what God has done for him.

This is truly the day of small things here; but I thank God, that in my little sphere I am often encouraged by a hope of increase; and my society, though small, contains several instances of the converting grace of God.

My school, though small, is encouraging. It consists of about twenty-five boys, with seven adults, who attend in the evenings and on the Sunday mornings; and it often tends to support my mind when walking to the meeting, and cast down by

the anticipation of a small congregation, to be accompanied by such a number of the children of harlots, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, and thieves; and nearly half of them with their Bibles in their hands, to read after me the word of God.

13th, Sunday.—This morning I met the society, preached, and baptized a young man. I preached again twice in the following parts of the day, and afterwards had much conversation with a marraboo. He affords me but little ground to hope that he has been benefited by former discourses which we have had together, as he is totally ignorant of his natural depravity; and till he is convicted and condemned in his own conscience, I can entertain very little hope of doing him good, though I think it might be an easy thing to make a convert of him to a profession of Christianity. This, however, would be of no advantage either to him or to the church. He talked candidly; praised the moral precepts of the Koran; and stated some difficulties which he felt in acknowledging the truth of the Bible, but which were all founded on the prejudices of habit and education. He told me, that the principal thing which led him to think that the Christian religion might be from God, was the disposition of Christians to do good to others. He had observed that I instructed the children gratuitously, without respect to persons, and freely gave advice to any who asked for it. He was also certain that if the Mohammedans had the power which the Christians have in this island, they would put us all to death, whereas he saw that the marraboos were permitted to live among us without molestation. He also adverted to our abolition of the Slave-Trade as a proof of the superiority of the spirit of Christianity to Mohammedanism.

20th, Sunday.—I met the society, who seemed in a good spirit. The congregations, through the day, much as usual. It affords me much pleasure to see that several of them enjoy religion, by their voluntarily assembling together for devotional exercises.

August 4th.—I visited the sick, and felt much pleasure with one poor woman who lay in the most excruciating pain. Her husband, an irreligious man, seemed to murmur at Divine Providence; saying, “Me no sabby,” (know,) “massah, what for that poor woman get that bad sick: too much pain catch her this time, me no sabby what for.” The poor woman immediately rebuked him, though almost incapable of moving on her bed; saying, “Ah, no talkey so! no let poor sinner say he no sabby what for sick catch him: we been do wicked enough.”

10th.—I desire to be unfeignedly thankful to Almighty God, that I enjoy good health thus far through the rains; and that, while the greater part of the Europeans on the island, and many natives, are sick, nothing has hitherto prevented my attending to preaching and to the school.

Sept. 3d.—After school I preached in Soldier-Town. My marraboo still perseveres in learning to read English.

7th.—I spent the evening in conversing with my marraboo on things relating to his soul. I talked to him of experimental religion, and endeavoured to show him the depravity of his nature, and the necessity of regeneration. Two young men of his country were present, who belong to the society, and have lately obtained justifying faith; and they confirmed to him what I said from their own experience, at which he expressed great astonishment. After having pointed out the justice and holiness of God, and man's corruption and disobedience, I was led to hope that he saw something of the sinfulness of his nature, and of his need of a Saviour, as he appeared much concerned, and said, he had always thought well of himself, seeing he had been taught to read when a child, and had abstained from strong drink; but now he feared he should go to hell. He says, he sees that every thing I tell him is true, but he knows not what to do: and this, I believe, is the case; but I

fear his heart is not sufficiently impressed with a sense of its importance, to stand the trial to which he will be exposed as soon as the marraboos take alarm ; when, if it be in their power, they will injure him ; and he will have need to take care of being poisoned. His father, too, is now absent ; and, on his return, will undoubtedly disinherit him, unless he abandons my house.

23d.—This day I was visited in my school by a strange marraboo, who is considered as a sort of metropolitan in this place. He appears to be the most learned among them, as he can read my Arabic Bible ; and he was desirous of disputing with me in favour of Mohammedanism ; but his arguments were much the same as those of the rest who visit and hinder me almost every day, and are not worth repeating.

Oct. 4th.—I went to my garden, which I have made on the lot of land enclosed for the mission-house ; and was sorry to find that all my labour has been in vain for this year, as the grasshoppers have fallen by tens of thousands on my young vegetables, and destroyed them all.

7th.—In the evening, after school, I went into several yards, and invited the slaves to attend the preaching, through the medium of an interpreter, in the Jaloof language. Many promised to come ; and about six o'clock my house was thronged to such an extent, that I went through the service trembling lest the floor should give way, and let us down into the warehouse below. My interpreter executed his office with much ability. Heretofore I have been afraid to trust even to the best that I could get ; but this young man is a Jaloof, and knows his language well ; and has, besides, a much better knowledge of English than most of his countrymen, having, within this last year, since I have kept school, been taught to read in the Bible, so as to get through a plain chapter with little difficulty. His crowning qualification, however, is, that God has graciously given him to experience in his soul the blessedness of that truth which he assists in declaring to others. My marraboo was present, with many of his tribe ; and I conversed a long while with him after the service, as he expressed himself much interested in what he had heard. My interpreter, and another of his countrymen who has lately been brought in some measure under the influence of the gospel, delivered what I said in Jaloof ; and they related to him their experience, at which he expressed much wonder. He said, he had been taught to read the Alcoran from a child, and had abstained from strong drink ; but had never heard of experimental religion, or that a marraboo had ever known his sins forgiven him in this life. I asked him if he knew any thing of original sin. He replied, that he knew all men were polluted by Adam's fall ; and that, on account of his depravity and disobedience, he was driven from God's presence. I then, in hope of showing him the necessity of a Saviour, asked him by what means he expected a reconciliation to be effected between God and man, and the latter made fit to be re-admitted into the Divine presence. He replied, that they expect all their actual sins to be freely pardoned when they believe Mohammed ; and from the pollution of the original offence, they look to be delivered by external washing with water, which, as oft as they pray, they apply to such parts of the body as they think were most active or instrumental in the transgression. Thus they wash the legs and feet which bore the offenders to the tree, the eyes which saw the forbidden fruit, the hands and arms which gathered it, the nose which smelt it, and the mouth which ate it ; and lest Adam and Eve should have had occasion to stoop to get under the tree, they wash the knees. I asked him, if he thought the heart had nothing to do in it. He replied, that the heart certainly desired it ; but, having no way of washing that part, they rested content with doing what is in their power.

I am not certain whether what I have said to him has had any good effect or not; but time will determine: and I have great reason to believe that it has not been altogether in vain in other respects. Our conversations have generally taken place in the evening in my house, when two Jaloof youths were present, who are learning to read, and who can neither talk nor understand English. As I have frequently talked to the marraboo in Jaloof, through the medium of the interpreter, they have had the advantage of hearing our dialogue, and I have often observed them very attentive. One of them came to me privately, a few days ago, and begged me to teach him how he must pray to God. I think they are both under serious impressions, and they are on trial for admission into the society.*

Thus did this excellent missionary continue to labour during the whole of this rainy season, with scarce any interruption. It may with truth be said, he was "instant in season, out of season," teaching and preaching both in-doors and out, visiting the sick and the dying, and holding long conversations with the deluded followers of the false prophet. "To the weak became he as weak, that he might gain the weak: he was made all things to all men, that he might by all means save some." (1 Cor. ix. 22.) Nor did he labour in vain, as the preceding extracts show. The "Jollof young man," who followed him home, and gave him a detailed account of his conversion, and whom he employed as his interpreter, some time after became a local preacher, and, eventually, an assistant missionary.

Mr. Morgan having strongly solicited an additional missionary for St. Mary's, that he might proceed to the new settlement at Macarthy's Island, which presented a promising opening for a new mission, the Missionary Committee towards the close of the year appointed Mr. Hawkins to the Gambia; who was solemnly ordained, and set apart for this important work, at the Wesleyan chapel, Deptford, on the 10th of February, 1824. Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins left London on the 3d of March, to embark at Gravesend; but they did not arrive in Africa till about the middle of the following month. Mr. Morgan, under date of April 14th, writes: "This morning arrived the brig 'Asoph,' having on board brother and sister Hawkins. This to me is a cause of much thankfulness, as I was beginning to despair of going up the river this year." The next day Mr. Morgan was engaged in seeking a suitable house for his new friends, but could find none; so, after a few days' hospitable entertainment at Mr. C. Grant's, they took up their abode in the "hired house" which Mr. Morgan had occupied, until the mission-house, which was in course of erection, should be finished. Mr. Hawkins was the first married missionary

* "Missionary Notices," vol. iv. pp. 247—249, 261.

appointed to this station. He immediately entered upon his work: Mrs. Hawkins soon raised a female school, and felt a pleasure in imparting to these "black lambs" the usual branches of an elementary education.

On the 22d of this month, Mr. Morgan embarked on board the brig "Asoph" for Macarthy's Island, and arrived there on the 28th, nothing particular having occurred on the passage, except the excessive heat. On leaving St. Mary's, the thermometer stood at 80°; but after one or two days' sail, from eleven A.M. to five P.M., it was never below 91° in the cabin, and on the deck, under an awning, it was 118°.

The following extracts from Mr. Morgan's journal will exhibit the difficulties and toils connected with the formation of a new mission, in an uncivilized and barbarous country, like the interior of Africa:—

April 29th.—This morning I went ashore, and took up my residence in an empty hut, the property of Mr. Grant, who is trading here, and is brother to our excellent friend at St. Mary's.

May 1st.—I desire to be unfeignedly thankful to Almighty God that I have health in the most unfavourable circumstances; being, with two school-boys, and my baggage, huddled up in a small circular hut, which can scarcely be called a shed, and so surrounded by huts as to be inaccessible to the breeze.

2d, Sunday.—This morning I held service in a small house near the Barracks. The soldiers, about thirteen, who are stationed in the Barracks, under the command of a sergeant, were marched to the place. Several discharged soldiers, who are settled on the island, (all black,) attended with the ship's company in which I came, two traders and some natives, so that I had a tolerably good congregation for a commencement. I preached again in the evening. The heat through the day was almost intolerable. This morning, before the sun rose, the thermometer stood at 80°; at two P.M., 110°; in the sun, 125°; near the ground, 128°.

3d.—This morning I preached again to the soldiers; my congregation small, as it was in the evening; but yet I see among the old soldiers recently discharged a degree of attention which I did not expect; for, when enrolled at St. Mary's, they never attended divine service except when compelled, which was once on the sabbath. Now they voluntarily attend twice. On the first sabbath, several of them were working about their houses. I spoke to them of the evil of violating the Lord's day, and they desisted.

10th.—This afternoon the king of Caltabah visited the island; he told us that he was now about to take a decisive step in the war. His troops were encamped opposite the fort on the mainland. He came to beg rum, tobacco, gunpowder, or any thing and every thing he could get from Mr. Grant. I conversed with him a considerable time on my intention to settle on the island, and asked if he had any sons whom he wished to have instructed: he said he had two, and would give them to me if I came among them. In the evening he commenced his march against Kimmingtang, who is waiting his approach on high ground at Cullareen. The king's people have long been kept waiting for a day which they superstitiously hope may prove favourable to them: and it seems that the marraboos of the king of Caltabah and those of his allies are at variance in their divinations, and both are inclined to respect their own oracles. The king's marraboos say, that if they

march, it will be fatal to them. But the king of Wooley's marraboos declare that by marching they will insure success: this has also occasioned a delay, and I believe they proceeded on this day rather from necessity than choice, as they had consumed all their rice and corn, and appeared half-starved.

13th.—This morning the king's warriors returned, having advanced far enough to get a sight of the enemy. Their courage then failed them, and they returned: the king of Wooley's people went home, and by the way were routed by a detachment of Kinnmingtang's army, whom they immediately offered to join; but he refused their service.

16th.—This morning and evening I held service again: the congregation as usual.

The heat to-day has been almost intolerable: at nine A.M. thermometer 96°, at two P.M. 106°. I was almost led to fear that I should not be able to live here; but while men actuated by the love of gold expose themselves to such inclemencies, I trust that the love of souls will not be less influential on me.

17th.—This afternoon the heat is very oppressive. Thermometer, in the afternoon, 110° in the house; in the sun, 140°. I had a slight attack of fever.*

On the 20th, the first tornado for the year commenced, which "raised the dust in such clouds," says Mr. Morgan, "that it almost suffocated us before the rain came on." The following morning, he writes: "Through the Lord's mercy, I am better, but rather weak. I expect no fever till to-morrow, as the fever of this country is generally intermittent." The next day he held a long conversation with some marraboos from the east, and with the chief of Yannimaroo; and "the heat being intolerable in my hut," he writes, "for want of the breeze, I went with my four school-boys under the shade of a tree, to teach them; but a fresh breeze blowing over the land, brought such a current of heat, that I returned to my cabin again."

The rains had commenced before he had done much in the way of erecting a suitable residence; and being ill with fever, and having no medical aid at hand, a favourable opportunity, too, presenting itself of proceeding to St. Mary's, where he was desirous of spending some time with Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Morgan was kindly taken on board Mr. Chown's cutter, and sailed with him for St. Mary's, at the latter end of this month. "The first tornado at St. Mary's took place on the same day that he reached there." The mission premises at that station were now nearly completed; and on the 8th of June Mr. Morgan writes: "This evening I preached in our new house, that is, in the under part of the new house, into which we are about to remove. The congregation was comparatively large." The following evening was the missionary prayer-meeting; and the brethren were pleased and profited by hearing some of the members of the society engage in prayer. "They

* "Missionary Notices," vol. iv. pp. 357, 358.

evidently prayed both with the heart and the understanding." Three members had been added to the female class during Mr. Morgan's absence.

On the 15th of the same month, Mr. Morgan says :—"This morning I went to Cape-Town with Mr. Thompson, one of the Quakers, to receive some instruction in ploughing, he having a plough there at work. He kindly gave me such instructions as, I trust, will enable me to introduce the same excellent system of cultivation further in the interior."*

The mission-house, a good substantial stone building, about forty feet by twenty in the clear, with shingled roof, being now finished, Mr. Morgan writes :—

We are now got into our new house, in which we are tolerably comfortable, both as it respects an habitation and a place for worship. We have both under the same roof; the under-part being a very convenient and sufficiently commodious place for our meetings and the school. Respecting our prospects here, I have the happiness to inform you, that the hopes I have often expressed of seeing successful days in St. Mary's I am still encouraged to indulge. Several of the natives, I trust, are not far from the kingdom of heaven. Our school still affords us encouragement, and now proceeds with increased energy. Sister Hawkins has also a school of twenty black girls.†

* About this time a philanthropic attempt was made to benefit the Negro race, principally by the Society of Friends, in which the late Mrs. Kilham took a prominent part. Early in 1822, Mr. W. Singleton was sent out on a visit to Africa, by the Committee of a Society "for Promoting African Instruction." He visited Sierra-Leone and the Gambia; and at the latter place, accompanied by Mr. Morgan and two or three other Europeans, he paid a visit to the king of Combo, and some other places on the river. The object of this Society, in addition to school-instruction, was to couple with that a correct knowledge of agriculture; and some attention was paid to the native languages. Mrs. Kilham had taken under her care two Africans, whom she met in London; and during the following year the same Committee sent out other "Friends." "The little company of settlers, consisting of Hannah Kilham, Richard Smith, John Thompson, and his sister Ann Thompson, and the two natives, embarked at Gravesend, on board the 'James,' bound for St. Mary's, in the Gambia, on the 26th of tenth month, 1823." On the 8th of December, this little band arrived safely at St. Mary's; and shortly after they proceeded to Baccow, or Cape-Town, the proposed place of their settlement. But in this case, as in many others, the great barrier to success was the climate. The two females were the only persons who lived to return to England; John Thompson having died on his passage home, and Richard Smith on the Coast. Mr. Smith was visited during his illness by Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hawkins; and the former was with him when he expired, on July 30th, 1824.

Mrs. Kilham continued to visit the Coast of Africa for several years after this, and her "labours were not in vain in the Lord;" but she died at sea, while on her passage from Liberia to Sierra-Leone, on the 31st of March, 1832; and "her grave is the boundless deep." (See "Memoirs of Hannah Kilham," pp. 170, 474.)

† "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for 1824," p. 43.

Mr. Hawkins about the same time wrote :—

I have reason to bless God that I ever came to St. Mary's. I am engaged in the work in which my heart delights, and it is most encouraging to see so many attend our services, since we opened the new preaching-place, which is under the house in which we live. My work is to meet the class on the Sunday mornings at nine o'clock, preach at half-past ten, attend the prayer-meetings at three, and preach at six in the evening; again on Tuesdays at seven in the evening, on Wednesdays at the same hour, and also on Fridays; which makes five sermons in the week; in addition to which, I attend the day-school, in which there are upwards of thirty boys. Mrs. Hawkins meets the women's class at nine on Sunday morning; and she has a girls' school, in which she has about twenty children, who are taught to read and sew. Thus we endeavour to make ourselves useful; but the ignorance and sin which abound on the island are great; and the natives are in a most deplorable state, sunk into the lowest depths of iniquity.*

Soon after this, both Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins were attacked with fever; and, it being their first season, they "were near death, from which they recovered very slowly." Mr. Morgan was therefore in his proper place at St. Mary's, rendering all the assistance he possibly could to his colleague and his wife in their affliction, and attending to the duties of the mission as far as his own constitution, which had received a shock, would permit. The mission family at St. Mary's were, however, though much afflicted, happily preserved in life during the year, and "kindly for each other cared."

But the year did not close at Sierra-Leone, before the society were called to lament the loss of another valuable labourer, in the death of Mr. Harte, who died on the 27th of December, 1824, after nine days' illness.

HENRY T. HARTE, it will perhaps be recollected, arrived at Sierra-Leone with Mr. Piggott, on the 19th of March, 1824, where he was received as an angel of God by the afflicted societies, who had been deprived by death of both their former pastors. He laboured most cordially and zealously with Mr. Piggott, and the rains had passed without materially affecting his health; he not having, it would appear, an attack of what is called "the country-fever," until the 18th of December. Medical aid was promptly resorted to, and the members of the society were particularly kind and attentive during his illness. Mr. Piggott, who communicated the intelligence of his death to the Missionary Committee, speaking of the affection of the people for their afflicted pastor, says: "I am persuaded, if prayers, or any thing they could do, would have prevailed with

* "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for 1824," p. 43.

God to spare his life, that he would have been with us now." But neither medical skill, nor the prayers of the people, could save him. After two or three days, there was hope of his recovery: "the fever had left him, and he began to take bark, and ate a little light food:" but a relapse followed this temporary improvement, with double violence, and he soon became delirious, and so continued for near two days. Early on the morning of the day of his death, he prayed with the friends that sat up with him, and said to one of them, "Thank God, my salvation is at hand! Now, Lord, I am ready to come!" He then grew much weaker; and about twenty minutes past two in the afternoon, without either sigh or groan, his happy spirit took its flight from this vale of tears to the place "where the inhabitants shall no more say, I am sick;" "leaving me," adds Mr. Piggott, "and a great number of friends, to lament his loss." Mr. Harte was pre-eminently a man of prayer and praise. He evinced great deadness to the world, and much heavenly-mindedness. He was a devoted young man, and an excellent missionary; and preferred Sierra-Leone to any other station; where, after nine months' and eight days' residence, he "died in the Lord," in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He was buried the day following, in the same grave as Mr. Warren, the first Wesleyan missionary who fell in this honourable field of labour. "An immense multitude" attended the funeral; and as it was with Stephen, so it was here: "Devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."

Mr. Piggott, who communicated the substance of the preceding particulars, deeply felt the loss of his faithful colleague; and, finding the funeral service "too much for his feelings," he was kindly assisted by the Rev. G. R. Nylander, one of the Church missionaries. Turning from the mournful subject, he requested an interest in the prayers of the Committee, that the painful visitation might be sanctified, and earnestly requested that, as soon as possible, additional help might be sent out to him, though he could not expect it till the close of the next rains. He then adds:—

I thank God, with respect to myself, I am as well as can be expected, considering the multiplicity of my engagements, and the painful loss I have sustained. I should be inclined to despair; but when I consider that the friends in England are praying for poor Africa, that wide field which is already white unto the harvest, but where indeed the labourers are few, I take courage, and go forward; especially when I consider that I have not already laboured in vain, nor spent my strength for nought, which will appear evident from the following statement.

On our arrival, we found a society of eighty-one members; but this quarter we have one hundred, making an increase of nineteen. Our congregations are very encouraging, especially at Free-Town, where we have several Europeans also for our constant hearers; and I have not the least doubt, had we the chapel finished, we should have several more. We preach at West-End, Congou-Town, and Portuguese-Town as usual. At the latter place we are suffering for want of room, the chapel not being finished. At Free-Town we have a Sunday-school of about one hundred and forty children. A few small presents for the male children, to encourage them, would be very acceptable. At Congou-Town we have opened a Sunday-school.*

On the 12th of April, Mr. Piggott again wrote from Sierra-Leone as follows: "The Lord has been very gracious to us in Africa during the past quarter, notwithstanding my lonely situation since the death of my dear brother Harte, and the consequent increase of my labour and care. He has fulfilled His promise in granting me strength proportioned to my day. O that I could more fully rely upon the word of His grace, and wait with patience the fulfilment of all His promises! In the last quarter the Lord has added to our little flock about nine persons, principally new converts, who promise to be ornaments to their profession. Their convictions apparently were deep, and their experience is sound. Our congregations at each place are somewhat encouraging, which enkindles in my mind the hope of seeing better days." Thus did the great Head of the church fulfil his promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end." Though he buried his workmen, he still carried on his work; and while the missionary on this station was thankful for past and present success, he was confiding in the promises of his almighty and omnipresent Saviour, and still "hoping to see better days." Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, whom we left at the Gambia, in a debilitated state, had by this time recovered; but it was not so with Mr. Morgan. He had now been in Africa upwards of four years; and during the first and last season he had suffered severely from the influence of the climate in repeated attacks of fever, and from his exposure to the excessive heat of the sun by day, and the heavy dews by night, in travelling up and down the river, together with the want of a suitable residence, proper food, and medicine. His naturally good constitution was fast giving way, and, instead of proceeding again to Macarthy's Island, he was obliged to return to England. He sailed from St. Mary's for his native country on the 27th of March, 1825, leaving as the fruit of his labours, in conjunction with those of his brethren, "a small church of

* "Missionary Notices," vol. iv. p. 438.

natives, about thirty in number, one of whom had begun to preach the gospel."

By a mind unenlightened by God's Holy Spirit, these results would probably be considered a small return for upwards of four years' mental and physical labour and toil, by several missionaries, with the consumption of a considerable sum of money, the loss of health, and even of life; one, if not two, European missionaries having been sacrificed, in the formation of this "small church of natives." But, by those who reflect upon the value of the soul, the price given for its redemption, its capabilities of enjoying endless bliss, and of enduring everlasting woe, a different conclusion would be arrived at. And when it is considered that those thirty persons, who were formed into a Christian church, were not mere nominal members, but that the greater part of them had experienced a real change of heart, and were "new creatures in Christ Jesus;" that, though few in number, they were of various nations and dialects; that they had been raised from the deepest ignorance, depravity, and superstition, to a state of Christian communion with each other, and of holy intercourse and fellowship with God; and that "one" out of the "thirty had begun to preach the gospel;" who does not see that the "return" was not "small," but that the fruit was, literally as well as spiritually, at the very least, not less than "thirty-fold?" It was a sufficient recompence for the past, and it furnished a guarantee and pledge for the future. "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." (Isai. lv. 10, 11.)

Mr. Morgan arrived safe in England, whence, after a short residence for recruiting his health, he intended to return to Africa; but, a considerable time having elapsed before he fully recovered, the Committee thought it not right to send him again, and he was appointed to an English circuit; and he has since that period been usefully employed in the ministry at home.

There being now but one missionary at the Gambia, Macarthy's Island remained for some time before it was again visited by any Wesleyan missionary. Meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins were actively and usefully employed at St. Mary's. The school continued to prosper, there being thirty-eight boys,

besides the girls. The class was divided, and the time of meeting altered from the Sunday morning to the week evenings; Mr. Hawkins meeting the men, and Mrs. Hawkins the women. The members were reported as advancing in their Christian course, the Sunday-morning prayer-meeting was well attended, and here six of the young men engaged in prayer. The congregations were improving in cleanliness, in order, and in number, the chapel being quite full, particularly when the service was in Jollof. In speaking of themselves, Mr. Hawkins, under date of May 17th, 1825, writes: "In my last I stated that we enjoyed tolerably good health, which I am happy to say is the case at the present; and I trust the Lord will grant us a continuance of the same blessing through the approaching unhealthy season. I understand the rains are set in at Sierra-Leone, and that some heavy tornadoes have been felt there; but at Bathurst we have not yet had much rain. It appears to be the general opinion, that this is likely to be a bad season here; but, if it should please the Lord to afflict us again, I trust He will grant us patience and resignation to His will. We beg an interest in your prayers, that God may spare our lives, and make us more useful. We trust we can say that we are growing in grace, are happy in our work, and blest with the smile and approbation of God." No death occurred this year at either of the stations; and in February, 1826, Mr. Piggott communicated some particulars of a visit which he had paid to the Bullam shore, opposite to Sierra-Leone, and gave an interesting account of an interview which he had with the venerable old king, who was upwards of one hundred and nine years of age. This African chief had been to England twenty years previously, and now expressed a strong desire to have a mission with a school established in his kingdom. The Timmance country also was opened to receive missionaries.

Mr. Piggott at Sierra-Leone and Mr. Hawkins at the Gambia having completed their term of service, which, it will be recollected, owing to the great mortality, was reduced to two years on the coast,—the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, anxious to preserve as much as possible the lives of their valuable agents, sent out three brethren during this year; namely, Messrs. Dawson, Courties, and May. Mr. Dawson was a married man, and was intended to succeed Mr. Hawkins at the Gambia: but as there was no vessel at that time going to the Gambia, and there being one just leaving for Sierra-Leone, Mr. and Mrs. Dawson embarked on board the "*Princess Charlotte*," on the 4th of April, 1826, and arrived safe at Sierra-

Leone on Friday, May 26th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, intending to proceed to the Gambia by one of the first monthly packets, which at that time regularly sailed between the two settlements. But they had not been there long before Mr. Dawson was seized with the country fever, and was for some time dangerously ill. He was not recovered when Mrs. Dawson was attacked with every symptom of the same disease. Though medical aid was promptly rendered, it was without success; and on "Tuesday, August 1st, twenty minutes before five in the morning, without either struggle or groan, she breathed her last." A short account of this excellent woman appeared in the "Obituary" department of the "Wesleyan Magazine" for June of the following year.

MRS. DAWSON was a woman of deep personal piety, having "for some time loved the Lord her God with all her heart, and soul, and mind, and strength." Though her residence in Sierra-Leone was short, it was sufficient to convince those who knew her, that she was an "Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile;" and she bid fair to be a bright luminary in that part of the Heathen world. But "God moves in a mysterious way:" her sun went down at noon-day; but there was light in "the valley of the shadow of death." She did not regret going to Africa, but exclaimed, "The best of all is, God is with me!" "She was willing to live, if the Lord thought good; nor less willing to die." The latter was chosen by her heavenly Father; and she died in the full triumph of faith, on the morning of August 1st, in the twenty-seventh year of her age, after a residence in the colony of only two months and five days.

After the loss of his excellent wife Mr. Dawson remained for some time with Mr. Piggott, assisting him in the Sierra-Leone mission; and in a joint letter from these brethren written about this time, the society there was said to be in a state of great peace and unity, and at one of the chapels prayer-meetings were held every morning at five o'clock. A few followers of the false prophet had renounced Mohammedanism, had embraced Christianity, joined the society, and become consistent, humble, and sincere Christians.

At the Gambia, the cause was gradually, though not rapidly, advancing, the school was promising, and among the adults "a few had been brought to God in truth."

From the very commencement of these missions the members of the society had been taught that it was a duty and a privi-

lege to contribute towards their support; and this they cheerfully did as far as their poverty would permit. In addition to what was raised in the societies in the way of class and ticket money, annual subscriptions were solicited by the missionaries from the European residents, or others who were favourably disposed to the missions. This plan had been adopted for four years, with pleasing success, as the annual Report will show; and though the Gambia had the precedence in this good work, the example was speedily followed at Sierra-Leone. During the year the annual subscriptions at Sierra-Leone were £8, and at St. Mary's they amounted to £20. 4s.

On the 20th of October the brethren Courties and May embarked at Gravesend on board the "Cato," bound for Sierra-Leone; but, owing to contrary winds, they did not get clear of the English Channel until the 2d of November; on the 10th they passed the Madeira islands, and on the 28th "dropped anchor in Free-Town harbour." Mr. May had suffered severely from sea-sickness most of the voyage; and Mr. Courties, on the day they made the land, was attacked with a violent headache, accompanied with vomiting, which excited some alarm lest it should prove to be the "country fever;" but such was not the case, and he was so far recovered as to be able to go on shore a few hours after they came to an anchor. On arriving at Sierra-Leone, they found Mr. Piggott recovering from a severe attack of fever, which was the first he had experienced. Mr. Dawson at this time was tolerably well; and they were both cheered and encouraged by the presence and timely arrival of these new brethren, to whom they gave a cordial welcome.* Their reception by the native converts, though more simple in the manner of expressing it, was not less affectionate and encouraging. One of the brethren, in writing to a friend in England, under date of December 17th, 1826, and referring to this, says, "The simplicity and affectionate manner of their receiving us was very striking indeed. Some said, 'Tank God, new massas go for come! God bring em over de great water safely:

* Since writing the above, I have received a letter from the Rev. W. Piggott, from which it appears, that the "Cato" came into the harbour of Sierra-Leone early that morning, unknown to the missionary on the spot; and Mr. May, accompanied by a friend, had found his way to the mission-house. Mr. Dawson, being the first to hear the news, hastened to Mr. Piggott's bed-room door, and awoke him, by knocking and shouting, "A missionary! A missionary is come!" "My door was soon open," writes Mr. Piggott; "when Mr. McCormack introduced Mr. May, who said he had left Mr. Courties on board, he being rather poorly. After breakfast Messrs. Dawson and May took boat to fetch Mr. Courties."

dat very good.' One of our friends belonging to Portuguese-Town told me, that his heart was 'too glad,' that is, very glad, at our safe arrival; and then, in all his native simplicity, asked how my 'friend do?' that is, all my relations and Christian friends. When I told him that they were all well when I left, he replied, 'Dat good, dat very good; my heart too much glad.'" The same missionary observes: "I often wish that I possessed the gift of tongues: then I should be able to address them in their own language, and tell them of the wonderful works of God."

This harmless wish to possess "the gift of tongues" has, no doubt, been as innocently indulged in by many a missionary in modern times, especially in those countries where, on his first arrival, he finds himself as helpless as a man sent to the quarry without a hammer, or to the forest without an axe; for there he is speechless until he has acquired a knowledge of the language. And the acquisition of this in most cases requiring at least twelve months, this is no small trial of faith and patience; for though his heart is burning with love to the perishing souls around him, he must remain the greater part of this time entirely useless, not being able to hold one intelligible conversation with the natives, on the subject of their everlasting welfare. But the inhabitants in the British settlements on the Western Coast of Africa being generally of the same class of people as those in the West Indies, who soon acquire a kind of jargon which they call English,* and which, strange as it may sound to an English ear, is soon understood; the missionary in Western Africa is not so circumstanced as some of the brethren in the East Indies, and other parts of the Pagan world; for he may at once commence his ministry among them; and though this murdering of the queen's English cannot be commended in the pulpit, yet in common conversation on matters of business, as also in some of the society meetings, it may be tolerated, at least for some time, for the sake of benefiting those newly-imported liberated Africans, whose knowledge of the English language is necessarily so imperfect, that this Negro *patois* is the only means of holding communication with them.†

* "The frequency of Europeans on the coast has introduced among the natives a kind of *lingua Franca* sufficient for the purposes of trade; though it is not uncommon to meet with individuals among them who can speak English, French, Dutch, or Portuguese with tolerable fluency."—DR. WINTERBOTTOM.

† The following extract from the work of a fair authoress on Sierra-Leone, recently published, will illustrate this:—

"Not long after coming to this country, we happened to get some green peas,

On the day of Pentecost, "there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," that is, of every nation where any Jews were scattered at this time throughout the world: "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians:" and yet all these heard the apostles speak "the wonderful works of God" in their own language, "the tongue whercin they were born," and which the apostles never understood before. (Acts ii.) But numerous as were those different nations and languages, the colony of Sierra-Leone presents a greater diversity of "nations and tongues and people;" for, besides the English, French, Portuguese, and other European languages, there are many African languages spoken, by natives of various nations contiguous to the settlement, who have freely emigrated thither from that locality, and from different parts of the coast; of many distinct tribes, of variegated costumes and manners; such as the Jollof, Mandingo, Foulah, Timmanee, Serrawoolli, Kroomen, and others, besides the great mass of re-captured Negroes, brought thither from different parts of the interior of the continent, and who have nearly as many dialects as there are days in the month or weeks in the year; so that, for each one of these to hear in his own tongue "the wonderful works of God," would require *another* Pentecost, equal, if not superior, to that which took place at Jerusalem in the days of the apostles. But this is not to be expected, nor is it necessary; for though the smallest

which I gave out to the cook to have plainly boiled for dinner. Fancy my surprise, when dinner-time came, to find the anticipated dish metamorphosed into a very thin *soupe-maigre*, and sent up in a tureen! We were much amused at the man's mistake, and I found it rather difficult to make him comprehend that we did not like *soup* made without meat or stock of any kind. He was a new-comer, and, having evidently not understood my directions, thought it better to follow his own approved fashion, than condescend to say, '*No been savey what missis say.*'

"I remember my wise reflections on hearing a European lady talk 'country fashion' to a black servant one day very shortly after my arrival, and my mental resolve that *I* would never profane my mother tongue by adopting so extraordinary a mode of speech. Nay, I was even so uncharitable in my ignorance as to think it slightly bordered on affectation, patronizing and using this most inelegant and unintelligible language; and was quite as ridiculous as if an Englishwoman were to deem it incumbent upon her, when visiting Scotland or Ireland, to learn to speak in the broad dialect and harsh accent of either of those countries. But necessity has gradually taught me to think very differently, and I now give my household orders with perfect fluency, in a *patois* that would certainly puzzle both a linguist and grammarian."—"Letters from Sierra-Leone, by a Lady," p. 111.

class of voluntary residents at Sierra-Leone are Europeans, principally from Great Britain, the English language is becoming increasingly prevalent; and though, from the continued importation of liberated Africans, the miserable jargon called "English" will not speedily die away, yet, from the intercourse the natives have with the English, and others who have been educated in England, and especially from the numerous day-schools which are in operation in different parts of the peninsula, our own pure mother tongue is now, and will be, the great instrument of communicating instruction to the tens of thousands in the colony of Sierra-Leone, and ultimately to "the regions beyond."

But though "the gift of tongues" is not absolutely needed in prosecuting missionary labour, in this or in any other part of the Heathen world, the gift of the Holy Ghost is needed; and this is earnestly sought by every missionary, and is graciously vouchsafed in answer to fervent and believing prayer. Though not sent in that abundant and miraculous manner in which it was communicated on the day of Pentecost, thank God, on all our mission-stations in Western Africa it has been vouchsafed; many a baptismal and heavenly flame of holy fire has descended upon the congregations in that torrid zone, and many a gracious and teeming shower of spiritual rain has come down in that tropical clime on those hallowed assemblies; and the moral soil, the fallow ground of man's hard heart, has been broken, softened, and watered, the seed has been deposited, and, being again watered by the Holy Spirit, it has sprung up and produced fruit, "in some thirty, some sixty, and in some an hundred fold."

But, to return from this short digression, to the thread of the narrative of these missions: A few months after the arrival of Messrs. Courties and May at Sierra-Leone, Mr. Piggott returned to England, and Mr. Dawson proceeded to his proper appointment at the Gambia, to succeed Mr. Hawkins. These two brethren had more than filled their term of service; but Mr. Piggott having passed two years at Sierra-Leone without having the fever, though he "sensibly felt the kindness of the Committee in offering to remove him to another station," he at the same time said, "I am happy in this land of darkness, especially since the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Dawson, and an assurance that I have an interest in your prayers. I do not, therefore, ask a removal to another station. No. I know of no one that I could make choice of in preference to this; but I ask for help." In the same communication, (June 7th,

1826,) he thought it might be necessary, after some time longer, to return to his native country to recruit his strength; for though he had his health, he felt much debilitated. We have, in a preceding page, stated that at the close of the rains of that year he had a severe attack of fever, which was the first he had during his residence in the colony; and as his health and strength had now failed him, and the station was re-inforced with two missionaries, his way was open to return to England, which he did by way of the Gambia, having accompanied Mr. Dawson to that station, which place they reached on the 12th of February of the following year; and on Monday, May 7th, he left the Gambia with Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins for England, and after a quick passage they arrived in safety at Portsmouth, on the 7th of June. At the Conference of 1827, Mr. Piggott was appointed to Bury St. Edmund's, and his ministry since that period has been confined to England. Mr. Hawkins, at the preceding Conference, had been appointed to Antigua; but Mr. Dawson being detained at Sierra-Leone by ill health, and subsequently by the sickness and death of his wife, Mr. Hawkins nobly stood his ground another year at the Gambia, and did not leave till Mr. Dawson arrived; soon after which he, with his excellent wife, safely arrived with Mr. Piggott in England. Mr. Hawkins at the same Conference received an appointment to the Waltham-Abbey circuit; but before the Methodistical year closed, he sailed for Antigua, and has ever since that period been labouring as a Wesleyan missionary in the West Indies.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GAMBIA AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1827—1830.)

STATE of the Mission at both Stations—Extract of Letters—Appointment of Messrs. Munro and Peck to Sierra-Leone, and Mr. Marshall to St. Mary's—Their Departure—Remarks—Their Arrival and Reception—Death of Mr. May—Letter from Mr. Peck—Sketch of Mr. May's Life—Mr. and Mrs. Marshall's Arrival at the Gambia—Extracts—Capture of Slave-Vessels—Illness of Mr. Courties—Sails for England in a very weak State—Dies at Sea—Character of Mr. Courties—Letter from Mr. Marshall at the Gambia—And from Messrs. Munro and Peck at Sierra-Leone—The Perusal of such Letters truly refreshing—In the Midst of Life we are in Death—Messrs. Munro and Peck both cut down as Flowers of the Field—Letter from Messrs. Betts and Davey of the Church Missionary Society, announcing the Deaths of Messrs. Munro and Peck—Sketches of their Characters—The Impression produced among the Friends of Missions in England on hearing of this great Amount of Mortality—The dying Fears, Hope, and Faith of Mr. Peck on the Subject of this Mission—The previous Statement of the Committee, that they had never wanted a Man when needed, still substantially correct—Mr. Keightley embarks for this Mission—Arrival at Sierra-Leone—Extract from his first Letter—Mr. and Mrs. Marshall at the Gambia—State of this Mission—Death of Mr. Marshall—Sketch—Death of Mrs. Marshall two Days after she arrived in Bristol—Sketch of her Character—The Orphan Boy and black Nurse—Reflections.

DURING the year 1827, the brethren were preserved in tolerable health, and the work of God was gradually progressing at both the stations. In a private letter addressed to a friend near Manchester by Mr. May, dated Free-Town, Sierra-Leone, March 5th, 1827, which is now before me, he says: "I feel thankful in being able to inform you that both myself and colleague are at present quite well, and feel happy in our ministerial work. I meet a class in Portuguese-Town on Sunday morning at six o'clock, consisting of twenty members, all black people; I think, the most loving people that ever I met with. We have in the colony ten classes, comprising about ninety-five members. I had a profitable season in holding a love-feast at Congo-Town on February 18th: I felt both pleased and surprised at their artless experience. Our house is close to the sea-side, which, I believe, makes it a little more healthy than it otherwise would be; for the climate, upon the whole, is very unhealthy, and many Europeans have died of the fever since

my arrival in the colony." At the Gambia the missionary writes: "Our congregations are large, particularly on sabbath mornings, when I preach in English. The principal part of the merchants regularly attend, and also their domestics. Our school affords great encouragement, increasing in numbers every week; and the boys are very attentive. The merchants look upon our school as one of the greatest blessings bestowed upon St. Mary's; and I have no doubt but it will tend to render the scholars useful in various ways." Thus wrote Mr. Hawkins from Bathurst, before he left the Gambia.

Mr. Dawson, in a letter from St. Mary's, dated Bathurst, December 31st, 1827, says: "In reporting this station, I feel happy in stating that some good has been done the last quarter: to God be all the praise! Some of the members are making themselves useful to their fellow-men; they are exhorting them to 'flee from the wrath to come.' This has been a means of increasing my evening congregation; and I hope our number in society will abundantly augment." The number of communicants at this time at the Gambia was forty-three, and the school was still increasing; and Mr. Dawson added: "We will not 'despise the day of small things.' The oak must first be an acorn; and there may be some gospel messengers in this school, although in embryo."

The work of God was still extending its influence at Sierra-Leone, especially among the re-captured Negroes, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter from Messrs. Courties and May, dated Sierra-Leone, January 8th, 1828:—

It affords us pleasure to be able to inform you that a gradual revival of religion appears to be going on amongst us. Our labours are blessed to the conversion of some, and the awakening of others.

At our quarterly renewal of tickets, we added eighteen new members; most of whom have not only discovered their need of salvation, but have also experienced that God is good, and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy to all them that call upon Him.

We also admitted upon trial twenty-seven persons, who wish to cast in their lot amongst us. Several of these were members when Mr. Baker laboured on this station, but, for some cause or other, went back into the world; from whence, as poor prodigals, they now wish again to return.

Our love-feasts have of late been truly pleasing and profitable; for, notwithstanding the manner in which the recaptured Negroes relate their experience in broken accents, it is very easy to understand them, and to perceive the correspondence there is between their relations and the word of God.

Thank God, there is the shout of a King in our camp; and to this King of saints we gladly give the glory of all the good that is done.

New members are added; backsliders are returning to be healed; and many who have been in society, some for two, others for three, years, but had not expe-

rienced the clear knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins, have been stirred up to seek this privilege, and some of them have found the invaluable blessing.

The last night of the year we observed as a watch-night. The congregation, although at such a late hour, was both large and attentive. O that the year upon which we have now entered may be marked with abundant blessings upon our Zion! *

The year upon which these brethren had now entered *was* "marked with abundant blessings upon their Zion;" but there was also in connexion with that, towards its close, and soon afterwards, some painful afflictions and bereavements, as will be seen in due course. In the mean time the missionaries were happy in God, and helpers of each other's joy. They had in company visited the Bullam shore, and were anxious to commence a mission there, only they were afraid of the expense; but they found full employment in the colony: the "gradual revival" referred to in the preceding letter continued; the number of members at the Christmas quarter-day had increased from ninety-five to one hundred and fourteen, with twenty-seven on trial; and at one of the love-feasts not less than fifty spoke of what God had done for their souls.

On the 30th of June, the brethren Courties and May again wrote to the Committee:—

With respect to the work on this station, it has been, and still continues to be, attended with a slow but gradual revival. Our numbers continue to increase, and the members, in general, are regular in their attendance at the classes, and the other means of grace; and of some of them, we believe, it may be said, that they are growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Our number of members this quarter is one hundred and forty-six, making an increase of seventeen members, besides ten on trial.

The preaching-house which we have recently fitted up at Soldiers'-Town, is well attended, and appears likely to be very useful. It is occupied for preaching twice on the sabbath, and on Thursday evening; every morning in the week for a prayer-meeting; and also on Monday evening for the same purpose.

In all our chapels prayer-meetings are held between five and six o'clock in the morning, and on one evening in the week; which, with preaching twice on the sabbath, and one evening in the week, keeps them all well occupied.

But we do not rest here; we are not content with seeing our members regular in their attendance upon the outward ordinances, or means of grace. We urge them not to rest in these, but earnestly to seek, in the use of them, that true experimental religion, the love of God and man, which alone can constitute them happy here, and prepare them for the happiness of the saints in eternity; and of many of them we do not hesitate to say, that they are in the actual possession of this true religion. May the Lord help them to hold fast whereunto they have attained, and improve therein yet more and more, till taken to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven! †

* "Missionary Notices," vol. v. pp. 459, 460.

† Ibid. vol. vi. p. 7.

There were at this time upwards of eighty scholars in the day-schools, a few of whom were beginning to read the New Testament ; and some of the parents cheerfully contributed towards the education of their children one penny per week for each.

In the Annual Missionary Report for 1828, Messrs. Munro and Peck were appointed to Sierra-Leone, and Mr. Richard Marshall to the Gambia. The announcement of these appointments is accompanied with a note, as follows : "Messrs. Courties, May, and Dawson are returning home, having completed their engagements on those stations, and will receive appointments from the President of the Conference." These excellent men, therefore, with Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, left London early in October of the same year, to proceed to their respective appointments ; and in announcing their departure, the Committee remark : "In noticing the sailing of these brethren for stations generally considered to be unfavourable to the health of Europeans, we cannot but record, with unfeigned gratitude to God, the special protection which has been vouchsafed to our brethren who have been sent to those stations during the past five years ; so that, though they have not all been wholly without attacks of fever incident to the climate, their lives, with but one exception, have been preserved through, and even beyond, the time prescribed for their service there ; and they are returned, or returning, with hopes of long usefulness in other parts of the work." The Committee proceed : "We are happy to state, that though we never send any missionary to these places who does not *voluntarily* engage himself in the work, and notwithstanding the hazard which is supposed to be attached to a residence there, we have never yet been without men, when wanted, to encounter all the perils of the climate, for the sake of those who need their spiritual assistance." The Committee further add : "We earnestly recommend our valued brethren and sister to the prayers of our friends, for their protection by sea and land, and for the prosperity of the work of God by their means." There can be no doubt that this recommendation was responded to, and that many prayers were devoutly offered up for this little band of missionaries, and that those prayers were graciously answered, so far as that journeying mercies, both "by sea and land," were vouchsafed to them, they having arrived in safety at their destination ; and Mr. Dawson at the Gambia was permitted to return to England, and "received an appointment" to an English circuit. But it was not so with the other two brethren at Sierra-Leone : they both fell victims to the climate just as their term of service,

though short, had expired; and the reader will scarcely be prepared for the still further painful announcement, that the two missionaries now on their way to succeed their brethren at Sierra-Leone, both sank into an early and untimely grave, leaving the station without a missionary, and the sheep without a shepherd! Nor does the mournful tale end here; for to these must be added Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, who also both died. Thus were the whole six numbered with the dead in the short space of two years! But much as we may sympathize and feel at this great amount of mortality, and the severe loss occasioned thereby to the mission, and the grief it gave to friends at home, we cannot stop to philosophize upon the subject. Divine Providence is

“A vast unfathomable sea
Where all our thoughts are drown’d.”

But the day of explanation will come, when the Great Supreme

“Will throw full daylight on earth’s darkest scene,
And justify the ways of God to man.”

Till then it becomes us to submit, and to labour on. We shall therefore proceed to give some account of the labours of these self-denying missionaries, and to place upon record their peaceful, happy, and triumphant deaths, in the order in which they occurred.

On Thursday, the 9th of October, 1828, “at eight o’clock in the morning” the brethren Munro and Peck “left the happy shores of England,” and embarked at Gravesend on board the “Ocean.” “At nine the ship was in motion, and at one o’clock Mr. Munro began to be sea-sick.” They anchored once or twice in the Downs, and on the 14th lost sight of land. On the 17th they were in “the Bay of Biscay, with a brisk wind;” and Mr. Munro, who had been sea-sick from the first day of their embarking, was now “very sick indeed.” Mr. Peck, though not sick, “felt very giddy.” He says, “I heard much of the roughness of this Bay, and to be sure it is rough enough; the ship rolls and pitches so much that we can scarcely walk about.” On the 27th, they were both quite well, and at “half-past three in the afternoon came in sight of Madcira.” On the 2d of November, Mr. Peck read prayers and preached on deck, Mr. Munro being again sick. Two days after this, they were “off Cape Verd.” The next day Mr. Peck writes: “Wednesday, 5th. The warmest 5th of November I ever knew. We passed the Gambia at a hundred miles’ distance.” Shortly

after this they were becalmed for several days. On the 14th they were anxiously looking out for land, as they knew they were not far from Sierra-Leone. The next day, writes Mr. Peck, "I rose at half-past five, and found that the Sierra-Leone mountains and a considerable length of coast were in sight. This is the first sight of land we have had of Africa; and I felt much affected on the consideration of this as the scene of my future labours. O how can I perform the duties which will now devolve upon me? O for help from heaven, without which I can do nothing! Still I trust that, by the grace of God, I shall be enabled so to act, that in me and by me God may be glorified." They were then at anchor ten or twelve miles from Free-Town. At one they got under weigh, and moved slowly towards the harbour. At six o'clock "a pilot came on board." The brethren immediately entered into conversation with him, and, to their surprise and grief, found that Mr. May had died about six weeks previously. This was painful news; but, though they were anxious to get on shore, the vessel was obliged to anchor at eleven o'clock at night about four miles off. A small vessel with two hundred and eighteen slaves on board was taken into the harbour that evening.

Sunday, 16th. "Early this morning they left the ship in the pilot's boat, and with no small joy set their feet on the shores of Africa about half-past eight o'clock." On reaching the mission-house they found Mr. Courties tolerably well. Mr. Munro preached in the morning, and Mr. Peck in the evening. The latter, speaking of this, and of their reception, says: "I shall never forget my feelings when I stood up for the first time before a black and coloured congregation. The news of our arrival soon spread, and we had large numbers of visiters, all coloured people, to see and welcome us. Mr. Courties asked two of them to pray with us, which they did; and the simplicity and earnestness with which they prayed would have affected hearts harder than ours. We could not understand all they said; but what we could understand was to me most delightful: 'O Lord Jesus, bless all we two new ministers! Dou did save Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fire; and dou have saved dem trou de big water: bless dem, Lord; save dere lives; Lord, make dem useful: bless dere daddies and mammies, dere brother and sisses, and all dere friends dem left behind! Bless all de big Society dat send them! De big Society pray for Africa: now, Lord, Africa pray for dem! Lord, bless we; make we heart soft; make we love Jesus more; keep we from sin; keep we from stealing, from bad language; make we love to pray!

Bless Kroo-Town, Congo-Town, Portuguese-Town, Soldiers'-Town, Grassfield! Lord, bless we ministers, bless we leaders, bless we exhorters; make we all love Jesus more, make we all have more faith, and fill all we souls wid God! Amen!"

The very act of copying this simple, but beautiful and comprehensive, prayer, has warmed the writer's heart; for he has been carried in imagination to the very spot where, oftentimes, he has listened with thrilling delight to prayers of a similar kind, from the same class of people. "God bless de good people in England!" "Amen!" would shout a hundred voices. "And Lord spare we minister's life!" Another chorus of "Amen, Jesus! Amen, amen, amen!" And surely this simple and unadorned manner of expressing themselves, this "Negro *patois*," would be as acceptable to "high Heaven that heard" those broken accents, coming, as they did, from the heart, as the prayer of the most accomplished scholar. We know it is so; for "God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." (Acts x. 34, 35.)

On the following Sunday, November 23d, the brethren were fully employed. Mr. Peck "went to Portuguese-Town to meet his class" early in the morning; at "ten he preached in the Maroon chapel, Free-Town; at two, went to the love-feast; a good time:" and he adds, "O how I should like my English friends to hear them speak! The tears run down their sable cheeks while they tell of the love of Christ. Fifty-seven spoke. At night I preached at Soldiers'-Town."

Shortly after this, Mr. Peck wrote to his friends at Loughborough; and as this letter contains several points of great interest bearing on the mission, and the missionary spirit of the writer, I have great pleasure in transcribing the whole of it, though it be long. It is as follows:—

Wesleyan Mission-House, Free-Town, Sierra-Leone, December 8th, 1828.

To all my dear friends, "grace, mercy, and peace."

Having, by the blessing of God, arrived in health and safety at the scene of my future labours, I proceed to state a few particulars, for the information of those who feel interested in my welfare.....

On the morning of Saturday, November 15th, we came in sight of Sierra-Leone; and on the following morning, Sunday, November 16th, at half-past eight o'clock, we, with grateful hearts, set our feet on the shores of Africa. The Lord be praised for all his mercies bestowed on us while on the bosom of the ocean! We were much affected on hearing from the pilot, before we landed, of the death of Mr. May. It was a sudden and a trying stroke to us, to hear that he had been, on the whole, in good health, and was called to his eternal home while actually engaged in preparations for his return to England. However, he has left a glorious testimony

behind: he died triumphantly, and is doubtless joining the blood-washed throng, in singing the praises of redeeming love in the heaven of eternal repose. Who would shrink from such a death in such a cause? I am much pleased with the appearance of the country: it has a peculiar, and to me a delightful, appearance. The new and beautiful prospects, with the charming and curious notes of numerous birds, together with the new and interesting situation in which I was placed, produced on my mind indescribable feelings: they were a mixture of joy, gratitude, and love; of fear, lest I should unfaithfully perform the important duties on which I was about to enter; and of dependence on Him who alone can give His people strength. With these feelings, I landed on the interesting shores of injured Africa. I suppose, on the spot where I landed, there formerly stood a slave-factory. On our way to the mission-house, a friend met and recognised us, and conducted us to our future home. The news of our arrival was soon circulated, and numbers of the members very soon came to see us. In the course of the day I suppose we had one hundred and forty people to see and welcome us. The joy and gratitude they expressed on account of our safe arrival was a source of most delightful feelings to me: many of them wept as soon as they saw us; and almost every individual said, "Tank God, tank God." It was indeed pleasing and encouraging to witness their affection, gratitude, and sympathy, and to hear their simple yet truly Christian-like expressions; such as these, "We heart bin sorry too much," (referring to Mr. May's death,) "but now God send we two new ministers to-day; him no let de big water be too much sauce to swallow 'em up; we fit to be tankful; tank God, tank God." They then inquired what friends we had left in England; and, when they learned this, I heard them talking to one another, and saying, "'Em leff 'em daddy, leff 'em mammy, leff 'em brodder and sisses, leff 'em class and all friends;" and then they would utter a deep sigh or groan, seem for a while lost in astonishment, and end with, "Tank God."

The settlers (a party of nonconformist Methodists, who oppose us in every possible way) had been tormenting the poor people by saying, "Your white ministers all die; the Society in England will send you no more; you had better join us." When we came, brother Courties said to some, "What will the settlers say now?" They said, "O, 'em hearts 'll burn too much;" (that is, they will be very angry or vexed;) "tank God, him will send we ministers plenty, plenty." Now, is it possible that this insinuation will ever be the fact? for it is urged in England as well as Africa. Is it possible that missionary zeal should so far decline, that this station should ever want a man? I hope not, I believe not: I would not hesitate to give more than my own poor life for this colony. Mr. Wilberforce calls it "the morning-star of Africa," and so I conceive it is. It is as the dawn of a bright and glorious gospel-day to this vast, this injured continent. It is as a bright rising sun, from which will emanate rays of salvation in every direction. Bear us up by faith and prayer. We see extensive openings, which have not yet been entered: we intend, if our lives and health be spared, to try to send the gospel in directions in which it has not hitherto been known. May the Lord help and bless us! If any inquire whether I do not repent leaving home, tell them that though I cannot cease to love most affectionately my dear Loughborough friends, yet I do not, in the least degree, lament having left them to come to this place. I am convinced it is the will of God concerning me; and I cannot repine, even though circumstances were unpleasant: how much less when every thing is better than I expected! We have many comforts and privileges which I did not expect to find in Africa. Our house is pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, which is seven miles broad; we have a full view of the open sea on one side, and of the mountains on the other; we get

plenty of good, sweet provisions, as yams, rice, beef, and mutton; (these are better than I expected, though, of course, not equal to English;) very good large oranges, eight a penny; beautiful pine-apples for nothing, or, if we had to buy them, one penny each; good cucumbers, radishes, and lettuce in abundance: for all these things I am thankful; but "the best of all is, God is with us." In my own soul I am happy; God is with me, Christ is precious, my cup often overflows with gratitude and love: I have these gracious visits, and delightful feelings, more frequently than ever. The Lord be praised for his benefits! But, better than all, the work revives; souls are saved; the gates of hell begin to tremble; and though iniquity does abound, yet the Lord is mightily working. To him be glory and dominion for ever and ever! There is every prospect of a revival of the work: a spirit of prayer and expectation is very widely diffused through the members. It appears now only to want a few decisive steps and strong exertions on our part, with the assistance of faith and prayer from our friends, and great and glorious effects will result. By the help and blessing of our heavenly Father, we are determined to use our utmost endeavours; and I say again to my friends, "Bear us up by faith and prayer, and the powers of hell shall be compelled to fly, like chaff before the wind." In God alone we trust: to him be all the glory. I believe you do not forget us at the missionary prayer-meeting. Last week, just at the time of the missionary prayer-meetings at Greenwich and Loughborough, brother Munro was preaching, and a man found peace, and praised God so stoutly, that brother Munro was obliged to desist. At the same time, another man was in deep distress, and rolled about the floor, so as to upset four or five of the forms. Their gestures and actions while under convictions are surprising; but I must defer a particular account of these things to a future communication. I was preaching last night at Soldiers'-Town, and there were five persons in deep distress. We have been here just three weeks, and in that time about twelve persons have found peace; or, to use their own expressions on such occasions, have opened glory to God.

I must conclude this by a few particulars, which I think will be interesting to all who love the cause of missions. We have six chapels,—three stone ones, and three of wood and long grass; about one hundred and sixty members, black and coloured; fourteen leaders; seventeen classes. The leaders attend literally to Mr. Wesley's rule, to see their members weekly. If a member is absent, they always go to see what is the cause; and it is astonishing with what assiduity they seek after fresh members. At every chapel they hold a prayer-meeting every morning at five o'clock. We have six local preachers. I heard one of them preach from, "Ye must be born again;" and a very decent sermon he made, too. He very earnestly enforced the necessity of regeneration, and said, "It does not say, 'Ye should be born again,' nor, 'You'd better be born again,' nor, 'You may be born again;' but, 'Ye must;' that is, 'If ye don't, ye must go to hell.'" My labour is,—on Sunday morning, at six o'clock, I meet my class two miles from home; at ten I preach, sometimes at the chapel in town, and sometimes two miles off; at two go to the Sunday-school; (we are the only teachers for about fifty children;) and at six, preach again. On Monday I meet the children who are learning to sing; on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings I preach, and on Saturday afternoon meet the leaders. Brother Munro's labours are very similar, only he does not go out to meet a class on Sunday morning: he meets one on Monday afternoon. We have also two day-schools to keep in order by occasional visits: indeed, the whole management of them belongs to us, as we are ordered to receive £30 a year from the Society of Friends, for the support of these schools.

We have this day received a letter from the Gambia, stating that Mr. and Mrs.

Marshall have arrived in safety. May their lives be spared, and their labours successful! To every one of my dear Loughborough friends I give my most affectionate regard. May all your kindness to your unworthy fellow-traveller to a better country be returned to your own souls! May every spiritual blessing be richly imparted to you! May the Spirit of God be poured out upon you, and the work of God revive throughout the whole society! and when I hear of your affairs, may it be that you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel! Believe me to remain,

Yours, in the strongest bonds of Christian affection,

WILLIAM ROWLAND PECK.*

The interesting facts detailed in this letter speak for themselves, and need no comment from me, except the lamented death of Mr. May, which is there again referred to, and which is entitled to further notice; and this may be the proper time and place for the brief sketch of his life. From private papers and unpublished letters with which I have been kindly furnished, as well as from other sources, I am able to record the following particulars respecting this excellent man:—

JOHN MAY was born in the year 1799, and was educated and brought up at the Foundling Hospital, London. At the age of fourteen he was bound an apprentice to Mr. Thomas Andrew, calico-printer at Harpur-Hey, near Manchester; and at the age of twenty, he went to reside with a Wesleyan family at Blackley, in the Manchester First Circuit. Here he was brought under the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodists; and the first sermon which he heard was from the Rev. James B. Holroyd, on the ascension of Christ. This produced an impression which led to a consciousness of his guilt and depravity, and which showed him the necessity of a change of heart. He sought this for some time with deep penitence and prayer; and one evening, as he was returning from a prayer-meeting, he resolved in his own mind, that if there was such a blessing to be obtained, he would have it before he retired to rest. He wrestled and prayed till after midnight; he then rose from his knees almost exhausted, and, opening the New Testament, began to read John xvii.; and, while reading the third verse, "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," he felt the guilt of sin removed, and "the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him." Before retiring to rest, he prayed that, if the work was real, he might have the same joyous feelings when he awoke in the morning, and be directed to some portion of scrip-

* "Memoirs of the late Rev. Rowland Peck," pp. 86-93.

ture which would confirm it. Accordingly, the first thing in the morning, he opened his Bible, and it was at Isaiah xii.; and that memorable verse, which has increased the joy and gladdened the heart of many a believing penitent, presented itself before him: "And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord, I will praise thee: though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me." This did indeed confirm him; for he felt that, "being justified by faith, he had peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ;" and therefore could and did say, "O Lord, I will praise thee!" Having tasted that the Lord is gracious, he was concerned for the spiritual welfare of others. He took an active part in the Sunday-school at Blackley, attended the prayer-meetings, and visited the sick in their abodes of wretchedness, frequently relieving them as far as his circumstances would permit; and in this labour of love, instances were known in which he had caused the heart of the widow and the fatherless to rejoice. But while punctually attentive to all the outward means of grace, and to those acts of Christian benevolence, he did not neglect the more private duties of religion, such as reading the scriptures, meditation, and private prayer. For this purpose, it was his custom to rise at four or five o'clock in the morning; and in the evening, God's book was his "companion still." His piety was deep and unaffected, and his zeal ardent and constant.

In the year 1822 he laboured under a severe bodily affliction, a cancer on his tongue, which had been of some years' standing; but this he bore with great patience and resignation to the Divine will: and soon after his recovery, he devoted himself afresh to the cause of God, in attending the prayer-meetings, and in exhorting the poor in the villages around him to "repent and be converted." In 1824 he was admitted as a local preacher; and his labours were very acceptable and useful, "especially in his own neighbourhood, where he preached frequently, both on week-nights and on Sunday mornings, to crowded congregations." In 1826 he was recommended as a candidate for the missionary work, by the Rev. George Marsden; and soon after the Conference, in company with Mr. Courties, he sailed for Sierra-Leone. His arrival and reception, with the commencement of his labours, and several communications in conjunction with his colleague, are already before the reader in this chapter; and some of them have been before the public for many years. One of the first things which Mr. May did, after his arrival at Sierra-Leone, finding that the colony was so sickly, was "to set his house in order." This he had done in a

spiritual point of view, long before he embarked in the mission work, and now he thought it prudent to attend to the secular part of it. Accordingly, in a private letter to a friend at Blackley, having referred to several Europeans who had died since his arrival, within a few months, he says, "I think it quite necessary to make some temporal arrangements, as well as spiritual provision, in case I, among the rest, should be cut off by death; and as I am a fatherless child, and have no friends in England so dear to me as those at Blackley, and, amongst these, none more so than yourself, I have made arrangements with my colleague, after he has secured to the Missionary Committee a certain amount with which he is acquainted,* to transmit the remainder of my money, books, &c., to you; and should it be that my body be laid in Africa, I should like you to consider the books which may in such case be transmitted to you as your own, being a testimony of my brotherly affection towards you; and also to devote towards the removal of the debt on your chapel, any money which may be transmitted to you, as a token of the regard which I feel towards the welfare of the Methodist Society at Blackley,—the place where I got my first good and found my first love."

This arrangement would have been carried into effect, but, unfortunately, as will be seen hereafter, what little amount of property Mr. May had at his death was afterwards lost at sea. In a subsequent letter, addressed to the same friend at the beginning of 1828, Mr. May speaks of the pleasure which it afforded him to hear that the work of God was prospering at Blackley, a place which "lay near his heart." And then, speaking of himself, he says, "Thank God, I have found that which I long desired, and sometimes thought I felt, but did not possess. I mean the perfect love of God, sanctification, a clean heart, or, as it is termed in your letter, 'purity.'" In the same communication, he expressed his thankfulness for the preservation of his life thus far, and for "the abundant blessings upon Zion."

* The "certain amount" was most probably this:—Most of the young men have accounts against them with the Committee; besides which, every missionary, till his probation is over, is considered as owing the Committee a proportion of his outfit of books and clothing. In case of death, the effects are generally sold, from which a certain amount is deducted, to be paid to the Committee. In other cases, the effects are sent to England; but even then a certain amount is due to the Committee, varying according to the term of service. In this case, £40 was the required sum to be returned for the outfit of books and clothes, and the remainder would be given up to his friends.

About the middle of the year, he was actively employed in the work of the mission ; and, in a letter to the secretaries, says, "Our numbers continue to increase ; and of some of them we believe it may be said, that they are growing in grace." The rains had now set in ; and towards the close, this humble, zealous, and useful servant of his Divine Master was called to his reward. He died at Sierra-Leone, on the 4th of October, 1828, a few weeks prior to his intended embarkation for his native country. The particulars of his sickness and death we are unable to furnish ; but we are told that "he died triumphantly," and "left a glorious testimony behind," that death to him was eternal gain.

Thus lived and thus died John May, a special subject of the particular providence of God. In him was literally fulfilled the promise, "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." (Psalm xxvii. 10.) Cast upon the wide world by his unnatural parents, when but an infant of a few days old, "the Lord did take him up," and

"To all his weak complaints and cries
His mercy lent an ear."

Though "fatherless" and friendless, yet, "when in the slippery paths of youth," he was soundly converted to God, soon after began to show unto men the way of salvation, was ordained as a Wesleyan missionary, and in the "burning clime and tainted air" of Western Africa he lived and preached the gospel for nearly two years ; and then his heavenly Father said, "It is enough : come up hither ;" and he entered into the joy of his Lord in the twenty-ninth year of his age. Of John May we can say with truth, "He was a faithful man, and feared God above many."

Messrs. Munro and Peck were now harmoniously and zealously engaged in their work, their labours being very similar. On the 14th of December, being the sabbath, the latter of them writes :—"God has graciously preserved my life and health another week in this colony. I went at six in the morning to meet two classes at Portuguese-Town ; thirty-five members present out of thirty-six. I heard brother Munro preach in the morning ; afternoon, I preached at West-End, and met three classes ; at night, preached at the Maroon chapel. One woman found peace, and loudly praised God, while we were singing the last hymn." The day following, Mr. Peck writes : "Rather unwell in body to-day, but my mind sweetly composed. I thank

my God I die daily, and live above the fear of death; I feel truly resigned to the will of my heavenly Father. Not knowing how soon my change will come, I begin this day to make my will."

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall had an agreeable passage, and arrived safe at the Gambia on the 18th of November, two days after Messrs. Munro and Peck reached Sierra-Leone. On the day of landing, Mr. Marshall writes in his private journal: "With gratitude to God, I record his goodness in bringing us in health and safety to the scene of my future labours. We were five weeks and one day on the voyage, during which we received comforts we never expected on board a ship. I preached four times to the passengers, and as many of the sailors as could attend; and held family worship daily. I have great reason to be thankful to God for what he has done for my own soul on the voyage. I had many baptisms from on high. While entering the harbour, I was led to reflect, 'How many Europeans have been called to the eternal world! Perhaps I may never leave this place. My wife or myself may have severe affliction of body or mind!' I thought, 'I have not come here to do my own will, but the will of my heavenly Father. In health or sickness, in life or death, let me have his favour, and all will be well.'"

Thus did these excellent men at both stations enter upon their works of faith and labour of love; and God was with them, and confirmed the word preached with signs following. This will appear from the subjoined spirited and encouraging communication from Messrs. Munro and Peck, dated Free-Town, January 13th, 1829:—

We rejoice in being enabled to state that our health continues unimpaired, and that we are as strong to labour as when we left England. For this care and protection of our heavenly Father we believe the Committee will unite with us in offering sincere and ardent praise. We feel perfectly at home among the people; and our work, though arduous, is pleasant and profitable to our own souls, while our gracious God condescends to acknowledge and to bless our unworthy labours, in the awakening and conversion of others. Already we have been abundantly encouraged, and constrained to bless the guiding Providence which has cast our lot in this pleasant land, where the fields are already white to harvest, and where he that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life eternal. We have indeed seen the truth of that saying of holy writ, "One soweth and another reapeth;" for our dear brethren have gone forth, breaking up the fallow ground, bearing precious seed, and watering it with prayers and tears; and some even with their dying breath have rejoiced in hope; and now the fruit is apparent: though the labourers are removed or laid aside by affliction, the work of the Lord still goes forward; and many precious souls are gathered into the fold of Christ, and find pasture in his church.

We have at present six places of worship; three of which are stone chapels, and three are grass-houses. In Free-Town we have the Maroon chapel, which is always well attended, and sometimes crowded. Of the Maroons, three are leaders,

and twenty-five members; the others are re-captured Negroes; and make altogether, in Free-Town, four classes with thirty-five members, besides several on trial. A very considerable movement has lately taken place among the Maroons; six or eight have been awakened and converted, and in the presence of large congregations have declared what God has done for their souls, glorifying his holy name, and calling upon others to seek and serve him. This has produced the happiest effects, and many are beginning to inquire the way to Zion. At Portuguese-Town, the chapel will contain about one hundred and fifty persons, and is well attended. Our members here are all re-captured Negroes. There are two classes, thirty-four members; making an increase of seven during the last quarter. They are a zealous, praying, and loving society, forward to every good word and work. We have here a day-school under a native schoolmaster, who is a member of the society. About forty boys and twenty girls are instructed here, and have already made considerable progress. In the African villages, the season of Christmas is kept with dancing, intoxication, and almost every species of noise and disorder; but in Portuguese-Town nothing of the kind was to be seen; all was quiet, save where the songs of Zion were heard; for, at a love-feast held there on Christmas-day, six souls were enabled to praise God with joyful voices. On the same day, twenty-one adults, who had for some time met in class in the various villages, and had given satisfactory proof of their sincerity, were baptized. At Congo-Town we have a chapel capable of containing nearly two hundred persons. We have here three leaders and thirty-five members, making an increase of six during the quarter, besides five who are on trial. We have here also a day-school, kept by one of our members, in which forty-four boys and twenty-three girls receive instruction. At West-End we have a grass-house which will contain about eighty persons. There are three leaders and twenty-four members, making an increase this quarter of five, besides four on trial. The congregations fill the place, and great good is likely to result from our labours here. At Grassfield we have a house situated in the midst of a populous village. We have here three classes and forty-three members, being an increase of nine during the last quarter, besides four on trial. Several young men of great promise have been raised up in this place, who are likely to prove a blessing to the cause. At Soldier-Town we have a grass-house. Here the work of the Lord is in great prosperity. We have one leader, (a superannuated soldier, lately belonging to the Royal African corps,) who, about two years ago, began a class here. He has now twenty-two members, and six on trial. The chapel will contain about eighty persons. We preach here on sabbath and Thursday evenings; and there are generally more persons present than the place will contain. Thus in all our societies the work of the Lord is in progress. We have a delightful prospect before us. We already behold the drops before the shower, and are expecting a large effusion of the Holy Spirit in answer to the united prayers of our Christian friends in every part of the world. Our people are a praying people. Every morning at five o'clock a prayer-meeting is held in each of our six chapels, and their praises ring through the towns before the break of day. The work of God must prosper among such a people, and we are persuaded that it will. We labour not only in hope, but our eyes already see Zion in prosperity. Still, though thankful for what has been accomplished in this colony, we are not, cannot be satisfied till the gospel of the blessed God is made known to all the tribes of this vast continent,—yea, till the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of God.*

Two days after this letter was written, a brig under Spanish colours was taken into Sierra-Leone, with four hundred and

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vi. pp. 138, 139.

fifty slaves on board. One of the missionaries wrote: "She has fourteen guns, and, when attacked, made a vigorous resistance. The English vessel had but one gun; but with that she silenced her opponent, and gained possession of her; yet not until the captain of the slaver and nine men, besides twenty-four slaves, were killed." On the morning of the 6th of the month no less than five of these rakish craft, which had been captured by our brave countrymen, were taken into the harbour of Sierra-Leone, having on board more than a thousand slaves. In one of the vessels were "two hundred and fifty children, many of them not more than four or five years old, and few of them above ten or eleven." Three of these slavers had Brazilian colours, one Portuguese, and one French.

Mr. Courties had been waiting for some time for a passage to England; for, though tolerably well on the arrival of the brethren, he was much debilitated, and soon after had another, and then another, attack of fever. He was removed to a different part of the colony for a change of situation; but he continued very ill. On the 31st of this month Messrs. Munro and Peck were engaged in preparing his boxes, &c., as, from his excessive weakness, he was incapable of either doing it himself, or giving any directions. The day following, February 1st, Mr. Courties embarked on board the "Potten," bound for England. He was so weak as to be obliged to be carried to the boat, and was utterly incapable of using the slightest exertion. The brethren felt much at seeing their friend and brother embark in such a weak state of body; but the colonial doctor was of opinion that the sea air would effect a great improvement in a few days; and Mr. Peck writes: "We leave him in the hands of his great and gracious Master. May he be restored and preserved; be blessed, and made a blessing! I accompanied him to the ship, put him to bed, and left him at eight o'clock; perhaps to meet him no more till we meet in another world." Such indeed was the issue; for this excellent missionary, who had embarked in a state of great weakness, died on board in a few days. The vessel was afterwards wrecked; but the crew and the other passengers were saved. With Isaiah we may therefore say, "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself;" and with the Psalmist, "Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known."

JOHN COURTIES was a plain, pious, and excellent man, much devoted to God and to his work. He was made very useful as a local preacher, both in Falmouth and in Spitalfields circuit;

and on his arrival in Africa, he was deeply affected at the moral degradation of the sable sons of Ham, and longed for their conversion to Christ. In a letter addressed to a friend, soon after his arrival, he says: "On our landing, O what a scene burst upon my astonished view! Men, women, and children nearly naked; houses and furniture different from any thing I had ever seen before. But what affected me most was, their spiritual and eternal interest. O, my dear brother, it may indeed be said of this colony, 'Darkness hath covered the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people.' Ten missionaries could find plenty of employment here, instead of two..... Could you but see and consider the wretchedness of what is called 'the re-captured Negroes,' I am sure your heart would bleed for them.....A few days ago I bathed with tears the graves of the brethren Warren, Gillison, Lane, Huddleston, and Harte, all at different times employed in the same work, and occupying the same house, as my dear brother May and I now do."

Mr. Courties possessed talents of a respectable order, his knowledge of the Methodist doctrines was correct, and his zeal for the salvation of men was ardent and constant. His "dear brother May," in a private letter now before me, speaking of him, says, "Brother Courties I find an agreeable colleague; truly pious, and very faithful in warning sinners." God owned the efforts of his servant, both in the conversion of souls and in building up believers; and after labouring with great fidelity and success for upwards of two years in Sierra-Leone, whilst on his way to England he was called to his eternal home. He died at sea on the 4th of February, 1829, and his body was committed to the deep. Though no friend was near to bathe his grave with tears, yet there "his flesh shall rest in hope," until "the sea shall give up the dead;" and then the body of John Courties shall "be fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself."*

* The vessel, as we have already stated, was afterwards wrecked, and Mr. May's effects were lost, as were also those of Mr. Courties, and indeed every thing else, except the ship-letters and a few small parcels. The following letter addressed to the friend to whom Mr. May had bequeathed his books, &c., will explain this. It was written by the late Rev. John James, who was at that time one of the missionary secretaries:—

"LONDON, *July 1st*, 1829, 77, HATTON-GARDEN.

"SIR,—According to my promise, I now write to inform you, that Mr. Courties, of Sierra-Leone, died three days after his embarkation for this country; and six days after his death the vessel and all she contained went to the bottom of the

The brethren on the Coast did not hear of the lamented death of Mr. Courties till some months after; and were in the mean time devoting their energies to the glorious cause, in which they had embarked their little all. Mr. Marshall, at the Gambia, under date of February 13th, 1829, writes:—

With respect to the cause of God in the souls of the people, we have reason to be thankful for what he is doing. The society, especially the male part, appear to be truly pious; and our class-meetings are well attended. In the discharge of private and family duties, they are truly exemplary. I am not aware that any who are heads of families neglect family prayer, and, when able, the reading of God's word. When I contemplate the difficulty under which they labour in receiving religious instruction in a language of which they are comparatively ignorant, and, on the other hand, the work wrought in them, I can only account for it thus: "The good that is done in the earth, the Lord doeth it." The public ordinances are well attended; some are inquiring the way to Zion; and we have, since our arrival, received nine or ten on trial. Some of these are truly converted to God; and among them I am happy to number our schoolmaster, who is decidedly pious, and is now endeavouring to impart to the children what he himself has received. In consequence of this, we have been obliged to divide our Bathurst class, and Mrs. Marshall has taken charge of the females.

In order to the permanent establishment of this mission, and the extensive spread of the gospel by it, two things appear important: the raising up of suitable native preachers, not subject to loss of health, like Europeans; and the translation of the scriptures, and other pious books, into their own language. These desirable ends the Lord appears to be bringing about. In our small society we have six persons, who have begun to call their fellow-sinners to repentance in their native tongue; and with the assistance of some natives I have translated the first part of the Conference Catechism into Jollof.*

On the 2d of March, the following joint letter from Messrs. Munro and Peck, at Sierra-Leone, was sent to the Missionary Committee:—

We are still, by the good providence of God, preserved in perfect health, and are favoured with such a sense of the Divine Presence and blessing, both in our public and private duties, as enables us to go on our way rejoicing. We feel an increasing conviction of the inefficiency of all human efforts, separate from Divine influence; and of the absolute necessity of humble dependence on the Giver of every good and perfect gift, without whose help and blessing even Paul may plant and Apollos water in vain. Our gracious God has not sent us a warfare at our own charge, nor left us to labour in this part of His vineyard without some token of His presence, and some manifestation of His power, to make even our feeble labours effectual in the awakening and conversion of the souls of men. Our toils have been

deep, the crew and passengers only just escaping with their lives. Whatever, therefore, of the late Mr. May's property was committed to Mr. Courties is for ever lost. This dispensation of Providence is enveloped in great mystery: we deeply lament it, but feel it is our duty to submit.

"I am yours truly,

"JOHN JAMES."

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vi. p. 139.

rendered pleasant, and our absence from the land of our nativity, and from friends whom we love, has been almost forgotten, when our souls have been drawn out in prayer, that this wilderness might become as Eden, and this desert as the garden of the Lord; and when, in answer to prayer, we have seen the plants of the Lord's right-hand planting springing up, and bearing fruit to His honour and glory;—when we have seen Ethiopia stretching out her hands unto God;—when we have heard the cry, “What must I do to be saved?” and the joyful song, “O Lord, I will praise thee: for though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortedst me;”—when we have seen multitudes flocking to the house of the Lord, and eagerly listening to the word of life;—when people of various nations have been led to renounce all the refuges of lies in which they have trusted, to cast their *greegrees* and idols to the moles and to the bats, and rely on Christ alone for salvation. The details of this glorious work are interesting. They would take up more of your time than could be conveniently spared. However, we beg leave to mention two or three particulars. In Portuguese-Town, which is inhabited exclusively by re-captured Africans, are several Mohammedans, one of whom has long been accounted their principal man, and the leader of their devotions in their assemblies. According to their phrase, “Him sabby book too (very) much.” Possessing an inquiring mind, he often conversed with some of our leaders, who are his countrymen; and arguments for and against the religion of Mahomed were frequently adduced. It was urged by our leaders, “Momadoo, (Mahomed,) he only steal some worde fro Mosee, and some worde fro Jesu Christee, and put 'em in a book. And he no stand fast and die for de truth all the same as Jesu Christee; but when 'em want to kill him, him run away to Mecca. Momadoo no be Saviour, him no can take away you sin; him no can make you feel peace in your heart; but suppose you believe in Christee, him be great Saviour, him can do all dis for you.” His faith in the false prophet has been gradually shaken, he has lately begun to desire instruction, and has been repeatedly visited by our friends, who have conversed and prayed with him in simplicity and sincerity. They told him of what themselves felt of the inward power and joy of their religion, and argued that a religion which makes a man's heart feel first the greatest depth of sorrow, and then the highest enjoyment arising from a sure confidence of the mercy of God, must be from God, and consequently true. His mind has been gradually opened; he expressed a desire to meet in class, and is now earnestly seeking an assurance of pardon, and walking in all humility and patience before his former companions, who are very inveterate against him, and declare that his head is spoiled, and that he will soon go into the bush (that is, that he is deranged).*

It is truly refreshing to peruse such beautiful, well-written, and interesting communications as these, containing as they do facts of such vast importance, exhibiting the progress of the mission, and the Divine adaptation of the gospel to meet the moral wants of the various Pagan and degraded tribes of Western Africa. We read in these epistles, not only of accessions to the church in the way of numerical strength, but of real conversions from sin to God. The cry extorted, “What must I do to be saved?” is followed with the joyful song, “O Lord, I will praise thee!” And this takes place not with one or two indi-

* “Missionary Notices,” vol. vi. pp. 102, 110.

viduals, but people of various nations are led to renounce all the refuges of lies in which they had trusted, to cast their *greegrees* and idols to the moles and to the bats, and to rely on Christ alone for salvation. Among these was the principal or leading man of the Mohammedan creed, who, though superior in point of intelligence to the poor re-captured Negro, was fairly beaten in argument by these illiterate creatures, who had proved that Christ was infinitely better than Mohammed, in that he had imparted to them a sweet sense of sins forgiven, and that this "great Saviour, him can do all dis for you." Such a telling fact, coming from these simple people, and accompanied by the Holy Spirit of God, was enough to shake the faith of this man in the false prophet, which it gradually did, and he was led earnestly to seek for an assurance of pardon. And the genuineness of these conversions was seen not only by the new converts eagerly listening to the public ministry of the word of life, but by their exemplary discharge of private and family duties; none who were heads of families neglecting family prayer, and, when able, in connexion therewith, the reading of God's word. Nor was this all; for in the small society at the Gambia six persons had begun in their native tongue to call their fellow-sinners to repentance; and at Sierra-Leone the same number were regularly employed as local preachers.

Thus did Jehovah carry on his work, through the instrumentality of his servants. But, alas! "in the midst of life" and usefulness "we are in death." This has often been the case on some of our mission-stations; but in none more so than in Western Africa. And we have again to dwell upon the mournful subject of mortality. The latter of the preceding letters, it is believed, was the last official communication which the writers made to England; for the hands which wrote it, in a few months after this, "forgot their cunning;" and these two promising young men were both cut down as flowers of the field, and numbered with the dead, their noble spirits and precious souls being received into the paradise of God.

The particulars of their sickness and death were communicated to London by two of the brethren of the Church Missionary Society, who had very kindly visited them in their illness, and witnessed their last moments. The letter, immediately on its arrival, was published in the Wesleyan "Missionary Notices," and was prefaced with the following observations by the general secretaries of our missions:—

We have just received the distressing intelligence that our valuable missionaries, Messrs. Munro and Peck, have fallen a sacrifice to the dreadful epidemic fever,

which has for some time been raging with fatal violence in this colony. In their last hours they received the most kind and brotherly attention from the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, to whom we feel greatly indebted for this exemplification of that true Christian charity which, on various occasions, has eminently distinguished the missionary character in every part of the widely-extended stations of missionary occupation.

The great loss thus occasioned to the Society and congregations by the decease of their laborious and beloved pastors, will, we trust, be regarded by other devoted young men, of true missionary zeal, voluntarily offering themselves as the self-denying and fearless successors of those who have fallen in the great and sacred work of ministering the word of salvation to the poor benighted Africans.

The following extract of a letter from the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society will afford evidence, that our dear brethren found that peace in death which they had preached to others :—

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Messrs. Betts and Davey, Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, dated Free-Town, July 22d, 1829.

It is with feelings more easily conceived than described, that we are called upon to address you under the mournful circumstances which we are about to narrate.

You probably are aware that an epidemic fever has for a considerable time raged in Free-Town, by which a large number, both of Europeans and of natives, have been cut off. It will grieve your minds, we are sure, as it has done ours, to know that your Society has been deprived of the valuable services of your representatives in this colony.

We suppose you have heard that the late Rev. W. R. Peck had the usual fever of this colony, early in the month of May last, from which he recovered, and was enabled again to resume his labours for a short time. We have now to communicate that he was seized with the epidemic fever about the 27th of June, and that he continued to suffer under it until the afternoon of the 3d of July, when his happy spirit took its flight to the mansions of bliss. He was visited, during his illness, by both of us, and evinced a calm resignation to the will of his heavenly Father in the approach of death, though it was evident he keenly felt for the cause in which he was embarked, and for the prosperity of your mission in this colony, in particular. Of him it may truly be said, that he was a devoted and a zealous missionary.

The Rev. W. Munro had enjoyed almost uninterrupted health from the time of his arrival, up to the time when he was attacked by that disease which terminated fatally. He had been incessant in his attentions to his afflicted brother Peck, up to the time of his decease; at which period it was conceived better for him to remove from his residence to that of one of those who now address you, (the Rev. W. K. Betts,) that he might there enjoy that rest of body, and composure of mind, which he so much needed. With this advice he complied; but the same evening the symptoms of fever appeared. Medical aid was immediately called in, and promptly rendered by Dr. Boyle, the colonial surgeon, whose unwearied attentions to both your servants, during their illness, deserve the highest commendations. While we regret, however, that his skill in this case, as in the other, proved ineffectual, it is a consolation to our minds, and will, no doubt, be an alleviation to your sorrow, to know that our departed brother Munro appeared to have his soul firmly stayed on the merits of the Redeemer; and though he at times experienced aberration of mind, yet he never betrayed any fear of death, or doubt of his interest

in the Saviour. He was removed from a suffering, to (we doubt not) a glorified, state, on the morning of the 8th instant. His end was peace, and his works shall follow him.*

An interesting Memoir of Mr. Peck, the first of these brethren who died, was written and published by his father, in 1830, which has reached a third edition: and I have great pleasure in recommending this little work to the friends of missions generally, especially to young people,—being persuaded it would fan the flame of missionary zeal, and thus help forward the good cause. But, notwithstanding an account of the character, life, and death of this amiable and excellent young man have been before the public for some years, from which we have already quoted, he is entitled to some further notice in this place.

WILLIAM ROWLAND PECK was born at Loughborough, on the 29th of December, 1805; and was baptized by Dr. Coke, on February 28th, 1806. In his eighteenth year he was savingly converted to God, and became a zealous and laborious teacher in the sabbath-school, and made himself useful in a variety of ways. Soon after this, he began to keep a journal of his Christian experience; from which it appears that he first became impressed with the importance of the missionary enterprise by reading Campbell's Travels in South Africa. In his nineteenth year he attended a missionary meeting at Leicester; and he writes: "The condition of the Heathen world often fills my soul with longing desires to be with them: my soul is on fire for their salvation." During the same year, the missionary meeting at Loughborough was an interesting one. Mr. Peck called it "a high day;" and further added: "Such times as these fill me with zeal for the conversion of sinners. O my soul yearns over them! O that I might now go and tell them, 'Jesus died!' O how I long to be traversing the dreary plains of Africa! Danger seems only to animate me. The more I hear of the dangers and difficulties of a missionary life in Africa, the more anxious am I to go." In his twentieth year he began to preach; and though he went to the house with much fear and trembling, the Lord was with him, and he "had much liberty." Though naturally diffident and modest, yet, by paying considerable attention to the composition of his sermons, and by fervent and believing prayer casting himself upon the fidelity of God, "Lo, I am with you," he generally realized the

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vi. p. 153.

Divine presence and aid in addressing a public assembly. He soon became a very acceptable and useful local preacher. Having offered himself as a candidate for the missionary work, he passed the usual examinations with credit in his own circuit, in the district-meeting, and before the Missionary Committee in London. About this time he wrote in his journal his views of the missionary work, and his replies to the objections which some had made as to the motives by which he was influenced. With regard to the latter he says :—

I believe that I am influenced by no improper motive. For,

1. If I consulted ease, I could enjoy it at home ; and do not, cannot, expect it there.

2. If I sought or desired fame, I am conscious that I could obtain it at home, in a way much more agreeable to human nature.

3. If my views were mercenary, I have a good prospect for life at home, which I must relinquish, if I engage in this work.

Some persons have attributed unworthy motives, and urged objections ; as,

1. " It is only a youthful feeling, which will soon die away." To which I answer, Whether it will soon die away, I cannot tell ; I only know that it now burns, and with constantly increasing vigour ; and I am persuaded it will never die, while there is a spark of the life and love of God in my soul.

2. It has been attributed to a love of travelling, and a desire to see foreign lands. I answer, I do not recollect that I ever felt a love and desire of this kind, unconnected with a love for souls, and a desire to proclaim Christ crucified, the only hope of a ruined world.

3. It has been said, I have entered on it thoughtlessly, and have not counted the cost. I answer, I have not entered on this important step thoughtlessly : of this I am confident. With respect to the latter, I answer, I have counted the cost thus : the loss of ease and pleasure, and of my worldly prospects ; the loss of the delightful Christian privileges I now enjoy, and of all the enjoyments of civilized life ; and, more than all, the loss of dear relatives and friends and companions. I say, I have counted on the loss of those who are dear to me as my own life ; and this connected with a persuasion that I shall never more behold their faces in the flesh, but a hope that I shall one day meet them again on the blissful plains of everlasting felicity..... I have counted not only on the loss of these things, but, in exchange, I expect toils and labour, pain and hardships, of various kinds, and from various sources, and a possibility of persecution and violent death. Thus I have counted ; and on these things I cannot look with indifference. I do not, cannot, review them, even at a distance, with the feelings of a Stoic : the bare idea of some of these circumstances makes my heart to melt, and my eyes overflow ; but " the love of Christ constraineth me."

Such were the views and feelings of this young missionary on embarking in this glorious cause ; and " dangers only seemed to animate him." Early on Tuesday morning, September 9th, 1828, " he, without shedding a tear, quitted his father's house for ever." He was accompanied by some of his relations to Leicester, where he took coach for London. After his departure

a scrap of paper was found in the room which he had just quitted, with the following lines :—

“The sultry climes of Africa I’ll choose;
There will I toil, and sinners’ bonds unloose;
There will I live, and draw my latest breath,
And in my Jesu’s service meet a stingless death.”

But though Mr. Peck left his father’s house “without shedding a tear,” this did not arise from indifference, or want of feeling; for, in counting the cost, he had reckoned “on the loss of those who are dear to me as my own life;” and to himself, as well as to the few who witnessed it, the moment of his departure, when he took coach at Leicester, “was one of bitter and tearful anguish.” Divine grace alone sustained him in this hour, and enabled him to make, freely and voluntarily, this painful sacrifice. Besides, long before this, he had written in his journal as follows:—“Three days since, a good, well-meaning, but certainly injudicious, person, by some means, heard of my intention to go out on the foreign service, and came direct to our house, and told my dear mother, in a most abrupt manner, the whole affair. This was certainly ill-judged. I had asked and received proper advice in that particular, and he ought first to have mentioned it to me. The consequence is, my mother is much distressed, and will now, through his injudicious conduct, suffer much and unnecessarily for a considerable time. She has not yet mentioned it to me; but I hourly expect and dread it. O my God, give me strength to be resolute, and give her grace to bear it!”

The particulars of what passed between the mother and the son on this trying occasion, are worthy of being placed upon record. The mother “kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart,” for several months, before she could summon courage to speak to her son upon the subject. At length, seeing the way was opening, and the time of his departure was drawing nigh, with a heart almost broken with anguish at the loss of such a son, though in so good a cause, she said, “Rowland, if you go to Western Africa, you will be the death of me.” What did the much-loved son say in reply? Why, though he loved his mother, and had “dreaded this hour,” yet God had answered his prayer, and “gave him strength to be resolute;” and, looking at his mother, with tearful and filial affection, he said, “Mother, if you do not consent to my going to Western Africa, you will be the death of *me*.” In a short time after this, and after much prayer, the mother resigned him to the work, “saying, she saw it was of the Lord, and she would not

resist His will." His dear parents were both present at his ordination in London, or rather Greenwich, where he again stated, "I am not only willing to go to Africa, but I long to go." * His biographer writes: "I will not revert to the final parting: grace was given when grace was needed." The son's prayer, that he might have "strength to be resolute, and his mother grace to bear it," was graciously and fully answered; for when the painful tidings of his death reached Loughborough, the mother was even more resigned than the father was; and in a few years afterwards she died, and "her end was most peaceful and happy."

We have already accompanied, in imagination at least, this promising young missionary to Africa. We have seen him land at Sierra-Leone, witnessed his hearty reception by the people, heard him preach "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," listened to his joyous expressions of gratitude to God for thus permitting him to labour in the work on which his heart was fixed. We have read his interesting communications, beheld the work of the Lord revive through his instrumentality; and now we must see him die; and in death we shall see "the ruling principle,"—his great love to the work in which his soul delighted. The Church missionaries, who communicated some account of his death, stated that, "during his illness, he evinced a calm resignation to the will of his heavenly Father in the approach of death, though it was evident he keenly felt for the cause in which he was embarked, and for the prosperity of the missions." And one of them subsequently communicated some further particulars, from which it appears that his death was more than peaceful,—it was triumphant.

"His dying hour brought glory to his God."

* In a letter recently received from his father at Loughborough, this longing desire is exhibited in a strong light. Having some doubt or fear in his mind, that he should not pass the examining Committee in London, he had said to some personal friends, "If the Committee will not accept me, I will ask my father for my worldly portion, and go to Africa at my own expense: if my father refuse me, I will beg my way to the sea-shore, and work my passage over." "This," adds Mr. Peck, "was doubtless extravagant; but it shows the earnest desire of his heart to preach to the poor Africans the unsearchable riches of Christ." In the same letter Mr. Peck mentions, that, in his son's Will, his last words were, "My earnest desire is, that my dear friends will always stand by the holy missionary cause; and especially that they will never cease to pity poor Africa." The last three words were placed as a motto on the tablet put up to his memory in the Wesleyan chapel, Loughborough; and the father adds, "And they often quicken me in speaking and giving and labouring in the cause."

He was sensible to the last day, except occasionally, when for a little time he wandered and was delirious. He never expressed any thing like regret at having come to Africa. The day before he died, he said, "Nothing grieves me so much as the thought that my death will cause the hands of our friends in England to hang down. My parents, too, will feel it much." Towards the closing scene, when he could not speak, and those about him thought his voice would be no more heard, he broke forth into an attempt to sing,—

"Happy, if with my latest breath
I may but gasp His name," &c.,

and lifted up his dying hands to heaven, in token of joy and victory. He expired July 3d, 1829, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He was a little-bodied man, but possessed a missionary soul of no common order.

WILLIAM MUNRO was converted to God when very young. He resided at Greenwich, in the Deptford circuit, where his labours as a local preacher were both useful and acceptable. His call to the ministry was clear and satisfactory; but he felt it his duty to preach the gospel to the Heathen, and, preferring the post of danger to any other, he requested to be sent to Sierra-Leone. He and Mr. Peck were solemnly ordained to the missionary work in the Wesleyan chapel, Greenwich, on Wednesday evening, September 17th, 1828; and, soon after, they sailed together in the ship "Ocean," Captain Major, bound for the shores of Africa. He was a young man of good understanding, deep piety, amiable manners, and great diligence. His ministerial gifts were very promising; and, had he lived, he would soon have become a most able minister of the New Testament. He and his colleague, being possessed of genial and kindred spirits, soon formed a warm attachment for each other, which continued to the last. He was incessant in his attentions to his afflicted brother Peck, and in his journal daily marked the progress of that disease which removed him to a better world. During the height of the fever, he "rubbed his forehead, bathed it with vinegar, and kissed him." On the morning of the day on which Mr. Peck died, Mr. Munro wrote in his journal, "My dear brother has passed a restless night, but without much pain. Dr. Boyle has just left; says he is in the last stage. O my God, have mercy! O, what shall I say to this? Spare him yet a little longer! But why do I repine? Thou wilt do all things well."

Up to this time Mr. Munro had enjoyed almost uninterrupted health, and had laboured faithfully and successfully in the cause of God; but he deeply felt the loss of his colleague; and though removed to the residence of one of the missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society, that he might enjoy that rest of body and composure of mind which he so much needed, he was seized with the same fever, that very evening, which had deprived him of his faithful friend and brother; and in five short days his valuable life was terminated. He died, having his soul firmly stayed on the merits of the Redeemer, July 8th, 1829.

The premature death of this excellent, affectionate, pious, and intelligent young man and devoted missionary, was deeply lamented both at home and abroad. He was buried by the side of his companion and friend Mr. Peck, Mr. May being laid on the opposite side. "A large African plum-tree grows over the graves, and the dear missionaries rest under its shade."

The sudden removal by death of these two excellent and pious young men,—who were so admirably qualified for the work in which they had engaged,*—coming as it did so soon after the lamented deaths of their predecessors, Messrs. May and Courties, produced in the minds of the friends of missions in England an unusual degree of sympathy, and deep feeling of regret at the great loss of life occasioned in carrying on these interesting missions. Some, indeed, who were well-wishers and liberal contributors to the cause, went so far as to question the propriety of sending European missionaries to so sickly and deathly a place. But not one of those who had sickened and died there, ever expressed the smallest regret at the sacrifice they had made, and several had written to the effect, that, "while men actuated by a love of gold expose themselves to such a climate, surely the love of souls ought not to be less influential on us." The subject of the preceding brief sketch had said to his suffering colleague, only two days before he died, "Suppose the Lord should take us both away before we return to England, what a glorious meeting we should have in heaven!" "O yes," he said, "it will be a glorious meeting indeed; we shall often talk of

* Without intending the slightest disparagement to any of their predecessors, it may with truth be said that Messrs. Munro and Peck were greatly beloved by the people of their charge; and it is a fact that, though their sojourn in the colony was so short, during that time some of the seceders or nonconformist Methodists returned to the bosom of the society, and remained there till they themselves were removed by death to a better world.

Sierra-Leone ; but the poor people at home would be much distressed. However, God will do all things well ; all will be right." By the "people at home" being "much distressed," Mr. Peck did not simply mean his own relations and friends, but the friends of missions generally, as is evident from what he said the day before his death. Besides, he had previously touched upon this subject, in the letter addressed to his friends at Loughborough, which is found in a preceding part of this chapter. Some of the nonconformist Methodists had said to some of the members of our own society, "Your white ministers all die : the society in England will send you no more : you had better join us ;" and Mr. Peck in his letter asks, "Now, is it possible that this insinuation will ever be the fact ? for it is urged in England as well as in Africa. Is it possible that missionary zeal should so far decline, that this station should ever want a man ? I hope not, I believe not : I would not hesitate to give more than my own poor life for this colony."

The fears expressed by this dying youth, that the announcement of both their deaths would occasion much distress at home, were well grounded ; but it did not operate to such an extent as to lead to the abandonment of the mission ; and he was quite correct in hoping and believing, that that station would never want a man to fill up the ranks of those who had fallen. An encouraging affirmation, the reader will recollect, had been made by the Missionary Secretaries, on the departure of Messrs. Munro and Peck to succeed Messrs. Courties and May, who were at that time shortly expected in England. The Committee had said, "We are happy to state, that, though we never send any missionary to these places who does not *voluntarily* engage himself in the work, and notwithstanding the hazard which is supposed to be attached to a residence there, we have never yet been without men, when wanted, to encounter all the perils of the climate, for the sake of those who need their spiritual instruction." This statement, it should be remembered, was made about twelve months before, during which period four missionaries had fallen victims to the pestilential atmosphere of Africa ; so that it was now no longer a supposed hazard to embark in this mission, but the men who went there must go with their lives in their hands ; willing to live or to die, as their Divine Master thought fit. The Committee were still substantially correct ; for, when the time of need came, then came the promised help. Christian heroism and devoted zeal furnished a supply ;* and

* A supply of one, though two were really needed ; but only one suitable person having offered at that time, only one was sent.

Divine Providence had so ordered it, that a personal friend of Mr. Peek was now ready and willing to succeed him at this very station; and John Keightley, of Loughborough, sailed in the month of December of the same year for Sierra-Leone.

Mr. Keightley, after a very pleasant voyage, arrived at Sierra-Leone on the 27th of January, 1830; and on the 23d of the following month communicated some interesting particulars respecting the state of the mission. Though the societies had been deprived of their pastors for about six months, "all the places of worship had been kept open, and divine service regularly performed in all of them since the death of the missionaries." He had, on the preceding sabbath, administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to about two hundred persons at the Maroon chapel; and he added, "O that the friends and supporters of missions had seen these devout worshippers commemorate the Lord's death! It would have gladdened their hearts, and have constrained them to say, 'Blessed are the eyes that see what we see!'"

During the year 1829 the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Marshall at the Gambia had been mercifully preserved through the rainy season, though they had suffered severely from repeated attacks of fever; and at its close, being much debilitated, they went to reside for a short time at the Government convalescent-house at Cape St. Mary's. This house is built on an elevated rock on the shore of the Atlantic, and is about half a mile from the mouth of the Gambia: the air is, therefore, comparatively cool and refreshing, and they both derived some advantage from their new situation. This, however, was but temporary, and they subsequently took a short sea-voyage, and went to Goree, where Mr. Marshall preached with encouraging prospects of success. On the 23d of January, 1830, Mr. Marshall returned to St. Mary's, fully restored to health; and he writes: "Mrs. Marshall and myself are both able to attend to our regular work; she to her little school, and I to preaching, &c."

The amount of annual subscriptions to the mission-fund, at the Gambia, was that year £53. At Sierra-Leone I find no return, which was probably owing to the deaths of the missionaries. The numbers in the society were,—Sierra-Leone, two hundred and fifty-seven; St. Mary's, forty-five. Interesting communications from Mr. Marshall were published in the "Missionary Notices" for March and July, 1830. The latter of these is dated February 26th, 1830, in which he gives some account of two natives of the Jollof tribe, who were very acceptable local preachers, and whom he wished to employ as assistant mission-

aries, which they subsequently became. But before instructions to that effect were received from the General Committee, Mr. Marshall was called away by death, and the station was left for some time without a missionary.

RICHARD MARSHALL was a native of West-Thirston, Northumberland, and was born December 28th, 1804. He was favoured with pious parents, and very early became a subject of religious impressions. His convictions of sin were afterwards more deep and powerful; and, in his nineteenth year, his godly sorrow was turned into spiritual joy, and he could say, "Jesus loved me, and gave himself for me." From that time he "enjoyed sweet communion with the Lord." This great change took place at Newcastle, at which time he was residing with an elder brother. From his conversion until his death, Mr. Marshall invariably manifested his love to God, by a burning zeal for the salvation of man. Possessing an excellent gift in addressing the throne of grace, he was soon noticed by his brethren, who pressed him to give a word of exhortation, which, after some hesitation, he did. Soon after this he began to preach; and those who heard him were fully convinced that God designed him to be useful as a public teacher. He was employed for some time as a hired local preacher in some of the destitute parts of his native county, Wark being the place of his abode. He went to most of the villages within fifteen miles of that place, and established regular preaching at twelve or fourteen of them, which he visited once a fortnight. To fulfil his appointments he had frequently to walk thirty miles, on roads which were almost impassable, and preach three times on the sabbath, with but poor accommodations at the end of the day. But in the midst of these toils he literally rejoiced. In some of the places he formed small societies, several being awakened under his ministry; and, after labouring here ten months, he left nearly fifty persons in religious fellowship.

From the first, he had considered himself as especially called to labour in the mission-field; and though his family felt reluctant to part with him, and were opposed to his going to Western Africa, he was constrained to offer himself to the Missionary Committee for any part of the Heathen world, not excepting even Western Africa. He was accordingly appointed, in the autumn of 1828, to labour at St. Mary's, on the River Gambia. On taking leave of his friends at Newcastle, Mr. Marshall writes: "This evening I was called to that which I have long dreaded, the parting with all that is dear on earth. But how

true is the word of the Lord, 'As thy days, so shall thy strength be!' While I was taking leave of my parents, brethren, sisters, friends, I felt power to commit them all to my heavenly Father, in good hope of meeting them at his right hand at last." After remaining in London a short time, he, with Mrs. Marshall, embarked on board the "Redman," bound for the Gambia.

His views and feelings on his arrival we have previously recorded. He was eminently qualified for the work to which he was appointed, being intelligent, prudent, and laborious: nor was he less pious: he not only possessed the gift of prayer, but lived in the spirit of prayer and devotedness to God. He continued to labour, often in great bodily weakness, till the middle of the second rainy season, when, after five days' illness, he was taken to his eternal reward. He died August 19th, 1830, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and after a residence in Africa of twenty-one months and one day.*

At the time of his death, Mrs. Marshall was confined with the same fever, together with their infant son. At the urgent recommendation of her medical attendant, she embraced the only opportunity which offered for sailing to England, and left the Gambia two days after her dear husband's decease, accompanied by a faithful Negro servant-girl, named Sally. She arrived at Bristol on the 1st of October, in a state of great bodily weakness, and much mental suffering. Nothing in the course of the day appeared to indicate immediate danger; but, during the evening, she was seized with strong convulsions, and the next morning was delivered of a dead child. The convulsions continued, without intermission, until the evening, when her sufferings terminated in death, and her spirit joined its mate in the skies, to be parted no more.

Mrs. MARSHALL's maiden name was Liddell. She was a native of Newcastle, and was united in matrimony to Mr. Marshall a short time before they sailed for Western Africa. A few days after they reached London, Mrs. Marshall's mother, whom they had left at Newcastle in the enjoyment of good health, sickened, and "died in the Lord." As might be expected, this proved a severe shock to Mrs. Marshall; but she

* An interesting memoir of this excellent missionary, with some account of Mrs. Marshall, was published in the Wesleyan Magazine for 1833. It was written by the Rev. J. E. Coulson; and I am indebted to that interesting piece of biography for some of the facts embodied in the preceding and following sketches of their characters.

found the grace of God all-sufficient, and was enabled to bow with submission to his righteous will. Mrs. Marshall had frequently spoken in the most joyous manner of the opportunities she should have in Africa of instructing the Heathen females and children in that religion which is profitable for the life that now is, and for that which is to come. Immediately on their arrival at the Gambia, she took charge of the female class at Bathurst, and was no less useful among the female children in the day-school, to whom she paid the closest attention, with very satisfactory results. In reference to the mission, she had a spirit equal to that of her husband, and was well qualified to soothe, and encourage, and stimulate him in the toils of his station. But, alas ! her own health and spirits sank beneath the weight of personal and domestic affliction ; and the loss of her beloved husband, at a time when she was herself suffering from the same disease, together with the peculiarity of her situation, greatly tended to increase her affliction ; and she died at the house of Mr. Shewring, in Bristol, on the 2d of October, 1830, about forty-eight hours after she landed on the shores of her native country, leaving her little orphan son Richard and his African nurse as “strangers in a strange land.”

It has been well said by Mr. Marshall's biographer, “Events such as these are truly affecting, and stagger human reason. Here was a pair every way qualified, apparently, for the work in which they were engaged ; labouring with acceptance and usefulness ; determined to spend all their days and strength to the glory of God. But, suddenly, they are cut off with a stroke, and the world is bereft of their labours for ever. We will not repine. Already have they gained a glorious distinction. Their names are recorded on high, their memories shall be enshrined in many bosoms : and the ultimate benefit of their labours in Africa no one can calculate.”

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GAMBIA AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1830—1833.)

A REVIEW of the six Deaths recorded in the preceding Chapter—Mr. Keightley now the only Wesleyan Missionary in Western Africa—Extract from his Letter—Mr. Moister appointed to the Gambia—Touching Incident—Mr. Moister's Arrival and Reception at St. Mary's—The first Sabbath—Mr. Moister visits Macarthy's Island—The Conversion of a Mohammedan at Sierra-Leone—Mr. Ritchie—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Moister at the Gambia—Termination of the Barra War—Mr. Moister's second Voyage up the River—Takes with him a native Teacher—Commencement of the Macarthy's Island Mission—Mr. Keightley's Return to England—The Appointment of Mr. Maer to Sierra-Leone—Extracts of Letters from both Stations—Mr. Ritchie's Return to Europe—Mr. Clarke appointed—Mr. Moister's third Visit to Macarthy's Island—Pleasing Prospect of that Mission.

IN the preceding chapter we have given some account of the short but useful lives, and of the peaceful and triumphant deaths, of no less than six valuable European agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society; that is, five missionaries, and the wife of one of those who fell in this field. All these had died within the brief space of two years; but, though dead, they are not lost:—no,

“In a milder clime they dwell—
Region of eternal day;”

and though twenty years have elapsed since these moral heroes “fought the good fight, and finished their course,” they are not forgotten; their names are not only “recorded on high,” but their memories have been embalmed in the affectionate remembrance of scores in Africa, as well as of many surviving relations and friends in England. On “the resurrection morn” we shall meet again; and then no fathers or mothers will ever regret having given their sons or daughters to such a glorious cause; and *then* what now appears to us dark and mysterious will be clear as the noon-day; for

“God is his own Interpreter,
And he will make it plain.”

Mr. Keightley was now the only Wesleyan missionary on the West Coast of Africa; and many prayers were devoutly offered up, that his life might be spared, and that the Almighty would

continue to raise up and send forth more labourers into these fields that were already white to the harvest. We cannot but record the goodness of God, not only in the preservation of the life of his servant, but in that, during the whole of the rains of that year, he had enjoyed comparative health. This will be seen from the following extract of a letter from Mr. Keightley himself, addressed to the Missionary secretaries, and dated Free-Town, Sierra-Leone, November 4th, 1830:—"Your letters have laid me under the greatest obligations. Accept my thanks for your sympathies and prayers. I feel thankful to God that the sickly season is past. I have been indisposed several times, but have not been prevented from attending to my regular duties more than three or four days; and at present I am quite well. We have removed to a good house, in one of the most healthy situations in Free-Town. During the last six months we have been blessed with many seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord; and while we have had occasion to mourn over some, we have had occasion to rejoice on account of others." Mr. Keightley also speaks of an improvement in the children of the school, and of his gratification with the zealous conduct of the class-leaders; but laments the want of a colleague, and hopes one would soon arrive. This reasonable and just request was complied with as soon as was practicable; but as the Gambia was without a missionary, the attention of the Committee was naturally directed to that station first; and, towards the close of the year, Mr. Moister was appointed as Mr. Marshall's successor at St. Mary's. The circumstances which led to this very suitable appointment are interesting. The melancholy death of Mrs. Marshall, so soon after she landed in Bristol, having been a widow only about six weeks, when she was called by a mysterious Providence to leave her fatherless child and his African nurse "as strangers in a strange land," and to join her husband in the skies, will be fresh in the recollection of the reader. Immediately after Mrs. Marshall's decease, the female attendant proceeded with the infant son to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Mr. Andrew Marshall, brother of the deceased missionary. But on the way thither, the servant was directed to call at the Mission-House in London, which she accordingly did; and Mr. Moister has himself touchingly described this in his "Missionary Incidents for juvenile Readers," published in the "Wesleyan Juvenile Offering for April, 1849:" "It was on a cold morning in the month of October, 1830, that a Negro girl presented herself at the door of the old Mission-House in Hatton-Garden, Loudon, carrying in her arms a poor,

sickly-looking white child. This little infant was the orphan son of the late Rev. Richard Marshall, who died at St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, in Western Africa, after five days' illness, in the month of August, the same year." After describing the death of Mrs. Marshall, which we have already stated, and that "Nancy* was faithful to her precious charge, and carefully conveyed little Richard to London, as stated above," Mr. Moister proceeds: "At the time of this affecting occurrence, I had been in London for several weeks, in company with many other young men, and we were all awaiting our designation to the foreign work. We all felt much interested in the little missionary orphan boy, and were delighted to observe the mutual attachment which existed between him and his nurse. Nancy seemed very fond of little Richard; and while she carefully folded him in her sable arms, and bedewed him with her tears, she would tell of her country, and of her master and mistress, in a manner the most affecting. It was known that a missionary would be required immediately to succeed the late Mr. Marshall, at the Gambia station in Western Africa; and, after making it a matter of sincere prayer to Almighty God, and consulting with my friends, I felt it upon my heart to say, with the prophet, 'Here am I, send me;' and I was at once appointed to Africa."

Since writing this I have received a letter from a member of the late Mr. Marshall's family at Newcastle, from which it appears, that as soon as the mournful tidings reached them, Mr. Andrew Marshall immediately wrote, expressing his wish to take the child and adopt him as his own. And as a female servant had accompanied one of the preachers' families from Newcastle to London, and was at that time about returning, she took charge of the African nurse and child, and they arrived safe at Newcastle. The writer of this letter mentions some particulars corroborative of Mr. Moister's statement: "Sally, the nurse, stayed with us nine weeks. We all felt deeply interested in her, and parted with her very reluctantly. When she first came, she seemed suspicious of every one, and could not bear Richard out of her sight: her affection for him was astonishing. After a week or two, she seemed convinced that we were real friends, and began by degrees to tell us of her country, which she called Ebou; that she had one little brother; that her mother died, and her father sold her to a black slave-dealer, with all the horrors of being driven through the coun-

* Her name was Sally.

try, put on board of ship, their capture by one of His Majesty's ships, &c. Frequently she would sigh deeply, and exclaim, 'Poor Sally no fader, no moder, no country! Ricket (Richard) got good kind fader and moder, and plenty sister and friend: me no afraid to leave poor little Ricket now.' It was truly affecting to hear her thus soliloquize, while she pressed her poor little emaciated charge to her sable bosom, and bedewed him with her tears. Even at this distance of time, I cannot refer to it without tears; and it may perhaps furnish an illustration of the character of that interesting, but deeply-injured, race."*

But to return: Mr. Moister, having been united in marriage to one who was willing to share with him in the toils of missionary life, embarked, with Mrs. Moister, at London-Bridge, on board a steam-boat for Gravesend, on the 12th of February, 1831; and soon after they went on board the brig "Amelia;" and, being favoured with a safe and pleasant passage, they arrived at St. Mary's on the 10th of March. They were received with devout gratitude by the society and congregation, who had been kept united since the death of Mr. Marshall. Many of the natives who were connected with the mission, having heard that a missionary and his wife were on board the vessel just arrived from England, hastened to the beach, to give them a cordial welcome; and such was the anxiety and gratitude of these poor people, that several of them plunged into the water to meet the boat as it approached the land, and triumphantly carried their welcome visitors on shore in their arms. This was done to express joy at their arrival, as well as to save them from being wet with the surge, which was dashing with violence against the sandy beach. On landing Mr. and Mrs. Moister were met by a large concourse of people, many of whom had received the gospel at the hands of former missionaries; and Mr. Moister adds: "They wept for joy. They kissed our hands again and again, and, bedewing them with tears, exclaimed, 'Tank God, tank God! Mr. Marshall die, but God send us nuder minister.'" Mr. Moister at once commenced his labours, with pleasing prospects of success. He speaks of the first sabbath spent in Africa as a day never to be

* The author may add, that he perfectly recollects the affecting particulars described by Mr. Moister, being himself at that time "one of the young men at the Mission-House in Hatton-Garden;" and, as will be seen presently, he succeeded Mr. Moister at the Gambia, where he again saw and recognised the faithful and affectionate African nurse; and having known her and her excellent husband some years, he afterwards had the melancholy pleasure of witnessing her peaceful and happy death.

forgotten. "At morning dawn the native prayer-meeting was held, and many thanks were offered to Almighty God for our safe arrival. In the forenoon I read prayers, and opened my commission by preaching from that delightful text, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' (1 Tim. i. 15.) The people heard with marked attention, and the whole appearance of the congregation was truly pleasing. It was an interesting proof that the labours of my revered predecessors had not been in vain, though some of them had been called hence at an early period after their arrival. The Negroes who had been brought to a knowledge of the truth, both male and female, together with their children, appeared in the house of God neatly clothed, and in their general aspect they presented a striking contrast to their sable brethren who still remained in Hea-then darkness. They sang the praises of God delightfully. Another service in the evening, conducted partly in the language of the natives, and partly in English, closed this blessed day."

Mr. Moister had not been long in Africa before he paid a visit to Macarthy's Island, which, owing to the sickness of the missionaries, and want of help, had not been visited by any European missionary since Mr. Morgan left the Gambia. But Mr. Moister being now in excellent health and spirits, and, moreover, some valuable local helps having been raised up on the station at St. Mary's, two of whom, namely, Pierre Sallah and John Cupidon, were employed as native assistant missionaries, he was enabled to leave the station for some time in their charge, whilst he, in the genuine spirit of a missionary, endeavoured to introduce the gospel into "the regions beyond." Having regulated the affairs of the society, renewed the quarterly-tickets, administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and given directions to the native teachers how to proceed during his absence, he embarked on board a small merchant sloop on the 14th of May, bound for the upper river. On the evening of the 19th they came in sight of Macarthy's Island. "Its appearance," writes Mr. Moister, "was beautiful, the sun was setting behind the opposite hills, and the natives were retiring from cultivating their farms, &c. After coming to anchor, we went on shore, and had a comfortable night's rest in a native hut." The next day Mr. Moister met with Lieutenant W. Shaw, the commandant, the only white man on the island, who kindly invited him to his hut, to share with him in all his little comforts; with which he gladly complied, and during his

stay was treated by the commandant with every mark of Christian respect. The 22d was the sabbath; and "when the hour of divine service arrived, the bugle was sounded, the sergeant marched the troops in beautiful order to the appointed place, most of the inhabitants of the town gathered together, and I read prayers, and then preached from Isaiah iii. 10, 11. Many of the hearers appeared affected, and I hope that a lasting impression was made upon several minds. In the evening we assembled together again, when we experienced a similar blessing."

The object of this visit being so far accomplished, after a stay of two weeks Mr. Moister prepared to return to his station at St. Mary's; and on taking his departure many of the natives flocked to the river-side, and begged him to come again, or to send them a teacher, when he promised to do his utmost for their welfare. After a pleasant run down the river, he arrived safe at St. Mary's on the 10th of June.

Mr. Keightley, at Sierra-Leone, continued to prosecute his work in the enjoyment of tolerable health; nor did he labour in vain, as will appear from the following extract of a letter, dated July 13th: "A Mohammedan at Portuguese-Town has been, we hope, truly converted to God. About eleven months ago, I was requested to baptize this Mohammedan's child; his wife being a member of our society, I consented. While addressing the parents, before the child was baptized, the father began to tremble, and it was evident he felt the power of God. I have watched this man from the above period, with peculiar anxiety, and have always been pleased with him at the different times when he came for instruction. At first he seemed surprised that he felt so much, and said, 'Me pray to Momed past seven years, and me see noting, me feel noting; me pray to Jesus Christ, my heart feel.' His anxiety to be really converted always pleased me. After seeking the Lord with a broken and contrite heart for several months, he has found 'peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.' I doubt not this man is a true convert: there is every evidence we could expect or desire."*

Mr. Ritchie had arrived at Sierra-Leone some time previous

* The Sierra-Leone "Watchman" states: "This man maintained his Christian character unblemished, and was appointed to the office of class-leader in 1838; and in 1839, being a fisherman, he was out at sea one day, and the boat was upset by a strong gust of wind, and he and another were drowned; but when struggling with the waves, and seeing there was no hope of his being saved, he said to his comrades, who for the most part were Christian men, 'I am going to glory.'"

to the date of this letter;* and thus far the rainy season had been healthy, and both the missionaries were quite well. Under date of October 3d, Mr. Keightley again wrote to the committee, when he reported that his colleague had been visited with an attack of the country fever, which confined him to his bed for a week, and prevented him from attending to his regular duties for about a month. Dr. Fergusson, acting colonial surgeon, and Mr. Graham, of the Church mission, were very attentive to Mr. Ritchie during his sickness, and they both generously refused to receive any remuneration for their professional and successful treatment. The work of God was prospering, and the appearances were very encouraging.

At the Gambia Mr. and Mrs. Moister also had been graciously preserved through the rains, though not without repeated attacks of fever; but on the 25th of October Mr. Moister addressed a letter to the general secretaries, in which he mentions with gratitude to God their full restoration to health, and that they were now looking forward with pleasing expectation for some months of more healthy and salubrious weather. The following extract from this letter will show the state of the mission, as also the disturbed condition of the adjoining country, which necessarily retarded, for a time, the great work in which he was engaged:—

We have lately had many things to experience which have tended to retard the progress of the work of God on this station; one of the most important of which is, war with the neighbouring native tribes, the Mandingoes. They have long used various projects to accomplish the entire destruction of this settlement; and if their designs had not been frustrated, such is their number and strength, that we must all have become the victims of their cruelty. At the commencement of this war, they made a bold attack upon the people residing at a small fort on the other side of the river, adjoining the kingdom of Barra. Military force was soon carried over from St. Mary's, and a sharp engagement for a short time ensued; but the strength of the enemy, and the inconvenience arising from the standing corn and grass, &c., induced our troops to retire till their number was increased and a more favourable season presented itself. In that engagement about ten men were slain who went to fight in defence of this place, one of whom was the captain of an English vessel. Because he was a white man, they cut off his head, raised it upon a pole as a monument of their achievements, and burned his body to ashes. Since that time vessels of war and a military force have been called in from Senegal and Sierra-Leone. It is supposed that many hundreds of the Mandingoes have already been slain, and a decisive engagement is soon to take place. And though we have nothing to do with wars and tumults, yet it affects us so far as it puts the people amongst whom we labour into a state of consternation and dismay. Many of our members have to take up arms in defence of the place as a militia. But still we

* The precise time of Mr. Ritchie's sailing for Africa, or his arrival there, I have not been able to ascertain.

have reason to rejoice, in the midst of all our tribulation, that there does not appear to be any declension in the personal piety of the professors of religion. We experience the presence of the Lord when we meet together in his sanctuary.

You will perceive from the account which I send, that our society is still increasing, and that the number of members is sixty-one, being an increase of upwards of twenty since our arrival. We have formed one new class, and hope soon to be under the necessity of forming a second.

We are anxious for these tumults to cease, that we may have an opportunity of extending our labours. We are not without hopes that much good will be effected in this part of the missionary field. May the Lord hasten the glorious period, when the darkest habitations of cruelty shall be visited by the light of his gospel; when the empire of Satan shall be destroyed, and the savage tribes on the banks of the Gambia be induced to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more.*

Two serious engagements took place after this, in which many lives were lost on both sides: the English, however, succeeded in re-taking the small fort at Barra-Point, the warlike natives were subdued by the force of British arms, and peace was at length restored. Soon after the ratification of peace between the kingdom of Barra and the British colony, Mr. Moister began to prepare for his second voyage up the river. On this occasion he took with him one of the native teachers, with books, slates, &c., for the commencement of a school in connexion with the permanent establishment of the mission. They left St. Mary's on the 8th of March, 1832, and arrived at Macarthy's Island on the morning of the 16th, when they were cordially welcomed by the natives, who flocked around them, to testify their joy at their arrival. Mr. Moister immediately purchased a piece of land in a suitable situation, and a small place of worship was speedily erected. It was a humble sanctuary, built of cane wattled-work, and thatched with grass, with small apartments at the end for the native teacher and his wife. But, humble as it was, when they collected the people together for Divine worship, they realized the presence and blessing of the great Head of the church. Having thus prepared a place, collected some of the children, commenced the school, introduced Mr. Cupidon as their teacher, and commended him and his work to God, Mr. Moister returned to St. Mary's, which place he reached on the 24th of the same month. He received a communication from Mr. Cupidon shortly after, in which he stated, that he had preached several times, that the congregations were good, and the people seemed affected with the word preached.

Mr. Keightley, at Sierra-Leone, having completed his term

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vii. pp. 78, 79.

of service, about this time returned to England. He arrived at Plymouth in May, 1832, after a somewhat dangerous passage. Having remained in England for some time, he was appointed to the West Indies, where he laboured for several years; and since the year 1843, he has been engaged in the ministry at home.

At the Conference of 1832, Mr. Edward Maer was appointed to Sierra-Leone, and was cordially welcomed by Mr. Ritchie and the society there.

The following extracts from the letters of Mr. Moister at the Gambia, and Mr. Ritchie at Sierra-Leone, will show the state of the work of God at both stations at the close of this year.

Mr. Moister's communication is dated, "St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, December 31st, 1832 :"—

At the close of another year, I wish to lay before you a few remarks illustrative of the general state of the work of God on the Gambia stations.

At St. Mary's, during the past year, we have been graciously visited by the great Head of the church. Though we have had deep affliction to pass through, the Lord has been with us; and we have found the religion which we teach to others, to comfort our minds, and support us under every trial and difficulty to which we have been exposed. The cause of God has likewise been making gradual progress; the moral state of the people amongst whom we labour is evidently much improved; the house of God is generally crowded to excess; and there is a spirit of religious inquiry amongst the people, which, to me, indicates the approach of a glorious harvest. During the year we have added about twenty-four new members to society, many of whom, I trust, have experienced a true change of heart; and all appear determined, by the grace of God, to save their souls. Some of the members have been called away by death, and in their latest moments expressed themselves as having "all trouble removed from their hearts," by the love of God shed abroad therein. The school sustained considerable loss from the unhealthiness of the last rainy season; some of the boys have died, and others have not been able to attend on account of sickness; but now, thank God, it is beginning to resume its usual appearance. The general sickness has abated, and the number of scholars is increasing.

At our new station, on Macarthy's Island, brother Cupidon, our assistant-missionary, continues to labour with considerable success in preaching the gospel to his fellow-countrymen. About fifteen members have been received into the society, and about the same number of boys and girls are daily instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion, and in the rudiments of reading and needlework. However trivial these circumstances may appear in the eyes of some, to us, who daily witness the superstitious habits of degraded Africans, they are encouraging. And when we consider that, during the two years that we have been labouring at the Gambia, the number in society has been more than doubled, notwithstanding all the hinderances resulting from war, sickness, and death, we feel truly grateful to the God of missions, who hath thus blessed our feeble labours. May we manifest our gratitude by zeal in His cause, and renewed devotedness to His service!

I feel great pleasure in informing you of the diligence and improvement of the

two native young men under my care. Brother Sallah, who continues to assist me in the school and other missionary work at St. Mary's, is going on well. He is making considerable progress in arithmetic, as well as in other necessary studies: he is every day improving in his knowledge of the English language, and the great truths of Christianity. In reading, he has gone through Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament," and several volumes of the Works; besides a number of other books, and the holy scriptures, which we daily read together. He is very attentive, and in every respect gives me a satisfaction and pleasure which I cannot express in too high terms. The same remarks will apply to brother Cupidon, as far as my knowledge of him extends; but as he has been labouring for some time at our new station at Macarthy's Island, I have not had much opportunity of superintending his studies; but, from our constant correspondence, I have every reason to augur well.*

Mr. Ritchie's letter is dated, "Sierra-Leone, January 3d, 1833," and is as follows:—

During the last quarter we have witnessed many signal manifestations of the divine goodness in the conversion of sinners. A good work is still going on chiefly among the Maroons and liberated Africans; of the former, since Christmas, 1831, about forty, most of them young people, profess to have found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and at present appear to be earnest in working out their salvation. Since the above time, I have not had to dismiss one Maroon from the society. We have prayer-meetings in all our chapels at five o'clock every morning; but some of the penitents have been found there at midnight, and continued there until mid-day, wrestling with God in prayer. This has not been the case merely with the ignorant; a few of the most intelligent and respectable coloured people in the colony have been brought in the same way to enjoy the glorious liberty of the sons of God. You will see that we have an increase of 103 members during the last year; we leave on trial 63; our funds increase in proportion. In society, 419.

The Africans have a high opinion both of the good intentions of the missionaries, and the discipline which they enforce. We have repeated applications from different parts of the colony, and the poor people are very importunate with us to come and afford them spiritual instruction. We earnestly entreat you to send forth more labourers into this field; it is, indeed, essential to the well-being of the present society that another missionary should be sent to assist brother Maer, previous to my return; for, however much he may be disposed to labour, as I have done, it would be unsafe to do so during the rainy season: we pray you to take this into consideration.

The schools at Portuguese-Town and Congou-Town are in a prosperous state; the children are making progress in useful learning; about thirty of them can read in the New Testament.†

A few months after this, Mr. Ritchie, having completed his term of service, returned home; when, after a short residence in England, he was appointed to the West Indies, where he has been labouring ever since. Mr. Isaac Clarke, towards the close

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vii. pp. 308, 309.

† "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for 1833," pp. 57, 58.

of the year, was sent out to the assistance of Mr. Maer. In the month of February of this year, (1833,) Mr. Moister paid a third visit to Macarthy's Island, in the upper Gambia, and was delighted with the amount of good already effected by the simple teaching of a converted native. On this occasion several of the natives, who had renounced their Heathen practices, and who had been prepared by a course of religious instruction, presented themselves for baptism. Several of the Negro children, also, had learned to read easy lessons in the New-Testament scriptures; and the work had so far prospered, under the Divine blessing, that a small Christian church was now formed, and an interesting school established. Mr. Moister returned to St. Mary's, in a feeble state of health, but cheered and encouraged by what he had seen and heard and felt.*

* Since the preceding chapter was written, the author has been favoured with a copy of an interesting little work, by the Rev. William Moister, his predecessor at the Gambia. It is entitled, "Memorials of Missionary Labours in Western Africa and the West Indies." Mr. Moister informs me, that he was not aware of my intended publication; nor had I the slightest idea of his. But the reader of both volumes will see, that though the works are somewhat dissimilar, yet, on several important subjects connected with the Gambia, and the Gambia missions, the same facts have been stated by both of us; so that "in the mouth of two witnesses," perfectly unknown to each other, have these statements and facts been "established."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GAMBIA AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1833—1835.)

THE Writer takes Part in these Missions—This was an eventful Year in the great Mortality amongst the Ministers at Home—Two of the General Secretaries cut off in the Prime of Life—The Author's Appointment to St. Mary's—Arrival there with Mr. and Mrs. Dove, who were appointed to Macarthy's Island—Dr. Lindoe and the Southampton Committee—Plan of an Institution for benefiting the Foulah Tribe—Extract from the General Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society—Copy of the first Annual Report of the Southampton Committee—The Extension of the Mission at Sierra-Leone—Revival of Religion at St. Mary's, Macarthy's Island, and Sierra-Leone—Extract from the Annual Report—Extract of a Letter from Mr. Dove at Macarthy's Island—Prosperous State of the Mission at St. Mary's—The Necessity for a new Chapel—Letters—The Author appointed Acting Colonial and Garrison Chaplain—Extracts from his private Journal—Letter from Mr. Dove—Extracts of Letters from the Author—Permission to erect a new Chapel—More Help needed—Death of Mr. Clarke at Sierra-Leone—The Appointment of Mr. Crosby—The Foundation-Stone of the new Chapel laid at St. Mary's—Extracts from the Author's Journal—An Attack on the Mission—Defended by an European—Christmas-Day and Watchnight—Triumphant Death of a Member of the Society—Funeral Sermon—Another heavy Day's Work—Souls converted—Substance of a Letter to the Committee—A Penitent "smiting upon his Breast"—Marriage of liberated Africans—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson—Trip to Cape de Verde—The Portuguese—Return to St. Mary's—Extracts from Journal—Personal and domestic Affliction—Opening of the new Chapel—Farewell Sermon—The Author sails for England.

WE have now arrived at the period when the writer was called to take part in these interesting missions ; and without troubling the reader with any unnecessary details on the subject of his own call to this important work, with "the parting scene," or the particulars of "the voyage," he may perhaps be permitted to make a remark or two.

The Methodist year, from the Conference of 1832 to 1833, was one of the most eventful in the history of Methodism ; not so much on the ground of the mortality abroad, as of that at home. No death, in fact, had occurred in Western Africa since August, 1830 ; and during the year 1832 only three brethren in the whole of the mission-field had been called to their reward. But whilst the missionaries, with these exceptions,

"Through burning climes had pass'd unhurt,"

it was otherwise with many of the Lord's servants at home. Previous to and during the sittings of the Liverpool Conference,

as well as subsequently, the cholera made dreadful ravages amongst almost all classes of society: several of the Wesleyan ministers were its victims; and during that year no less than thirty-three of our esteemed and beloved brethren were called to lay down their charge together with their life. This unprecedented number of deaths included some of the best and most distinguished ministers in our beloved Connexion: two of them, being connected with the Mission-House, deserve a passing notice in this place.

The Rev. John James died suddenly, on the 6th of November, 1832; and that "bright luminary of the church and of his circle," the Rev. Richard Watson, "set in death, to rise in eternal glory, January 8th, 1833." Thus were two of the general secretaries cut off in the prime of life, and in the midst of their usefulness, in about two months. The Rev. John Beecham was, therefore, the only resident secretary up to the following Conference, when Dr. Bunting was appointed as the senior secretary, in the place of Mr. Watson; which honourable and responsible situation he has filled ever since.*

It has already been intimated, that the writer was one of the young men examined by the Missionary Committee in the old Mission-House, towards the close of 1830. On that occasion the Rev. Messrs. Bunting and Watson were both present, with several other venerable ministers, who have also, since that period, been gathered to their fathers. The writer distinctly recollects the position Mr. Watson occupied in that meeting, and the deep interest he took in the examination of each candidate. Some few months after this, the writer was called into the home-work; and was thus engaged in the early part of 1833, when he received a letter from Dr. Beecham, in answer to one he had written as to the probability of there being any opening in the West Indies during the spring or summer of that year; for, though not without some fruit of his labours at home, his heart was abroad, and he longed to set his feet on

* This was not the first time Dr. Bunting had sustained this office. It will be recollected that, in a preceding chapter, we have stated, he was one of the general secretaries in 1818, and was at that period the senior secretary; which honourable post he held for several years, when the late lamented and illustrious Mr. Watson was one of his colleagues. He also took a prominent part at the first public meeting, in the town of Leeds, in 1813, at the formation of the Methodist Missionary Society for the Leeds district; and it may be safely affirmed, that no man, dead or living, has contributed so much to extend and consolidate the Wesleyan missions, in every part of the globe, as the present venerable and senior secretary, Dr. Bunting.

mission soil. The contents of that letter stated, that, owing to the position of the great question of Negro emancipation, there was no probability of sending out any additional men to the West Indies till that important subject was settled; but that they were wanting a man for another place. "We were on the point of sending out Mr. Dove," writes Mr. Beecham, "to succeed Mr. Moister at St. Mary's on the Gambia, Western Africa; but, having now determined to commence another mission on the Gambia, about three hundred miles higher up, for the benefit of the Foulahs, Mr. Dove will go thither; and we therefore shall have to send another to the old station of St. Mary's." After stating, that Mr. Dove would sail about the middle of March, and that, if I "felt free to go," I might sail with him, Mr. Beecham closes the letter by saying, "After prayer and consideration on the subject, let me have your answer. Perhaps in a few days you will be able to determine. May God direct you aright!"

This letter was dated "Hatton-Garden, February 11th, 1833," and was received on the 12th; and the ejaculatory prayer with which it closed was ever and anon most fervently offered up, as I travelled by coach the same day from Evesham to Birmingham, and from thence to Smethwick, in the West Bromwich circuit, to consult with my friends upon the subject. Most anxious was I that "God might direct me aright." I had, previous to this, had a predilection for the West Indies; but having offered myself unreservedly for any part of the mission field, I could not but view this as the call of God; and therefore, in a few days, and after much prayer and consideration, I wrote to say that "I felt quite free to go." In this, as in many other respects, I believe God *did* direct my path. Having been united in marriage on the 4th of March, 1833, we left Smethwick on the 6th for London; on the 15th Mr. Dove and myself were solemnly ordained in the Wesleyan chapel, Walworth; and on the 1st of April, at half-past nine in the morning, we went on board the brig "Jack" at Gravesend, and weighed anchor. Some of our dear friends who had "accompanied us to the ship," sailed with us a short distance down the river, then hailed a boat, and we parted. That delightful promise was our stay and support: "*Lo, I am with you* always, even unto the end." Our brig being almost new, and a capital sailing vessel, we made rapid progress, frequently going at seven, eight, nine, and nine and a half knots an hour; and, after an agreeable passage of only three weeks and one day, we landed at Bathurst, St. Mary's, on Tuesday, the 23d of April, 1833.

From Mr. and Mrs. Moister and the society we met with a cordial reception, and the next day were introduced to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and most of the principal merchants in the colony. Mr. Moister was pleasingly surprised at the arrival of a missionary for Macarthy's Island, in which he had taken so lively an interest, and from which he had but recently returned, charmed with the result of the labours of the native teacher, who had been there about twelve months. The origin and cause of this appointment will be seen hereafter.

The writer, having been sent to succeed Mr. Moister at St. Mary's, immediately entered upon his work; and his predecessor, being in a debilitated state of health, began to prepare for his return to England. He left the Gambia in the brig "Columbine," towards the end of June, followed by the prayers and best wishes of the people; and at the Conference of 1833 was appointed to the Ipswich circuit; soon after which he was sent to the West Indies, where he laboured up to 1848. Having been two years engaged in the ministry at home, at the Conference of 1850 he was appointed to the honourable and important situation of "GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT of the Missions in the Cape of Good Hope District, in place of the Rev. Thomas L. Hodgson, who was disabled by severe affliction," which soon afterwards terminated in death.

Mr. Dove embraced an early opportunity of paying a visit to Macarthy's Island; but as the rains were rapidly approaching, and there was no suitable residence there, Mrs. Dove remained at St. Mary's till he returned, which was on the 3d of July. He spent the rainy season partly with me at St. Mary's, and partly at Goree; and at the close proceeded with Mrs. Dove to take up his abode at Macarthy's Island, accompanied by the native teacher, Pierre Sallah.

There was a peculiarity about this mission which, perhaps, requires a little explanation. The reader will recollect that, in Mr. Beecham's letter to me, it was stated that Mr. Dove was appointed to Macarthy's Island station, "for the benefit of the Foulahs." The following are the circumstances which led to this arrangement. The Rev. John Morgan, in his first voyage up the Gambia, on reaching Cantalicunda, became acquainted with the "pastoral Foulahs," whom we have already described as having no lands of their own, and, moreover, as being much oppressed by the Mandingoes. From these and other causes he became peculiarly interested in their welfare. Being stationed at Southampton in the year 1831, he formed an acquaintance with Dr. Lindoe of that town, a pious and benevolent member

of the Established Church, who had long felt great interest in the same tribe, from what he had previously heard and read of them. The result was, a small but influential society was formed, of ministers and laymen, both of the Church of England and from among the dissenters, for the purpose of ameliorating their temporal and spiritual condition. The following "Plan," printed at Southampton in January, 1833, which contains the names of the gentlemen forming the committee, will give the reader a tolerable idea of the object contemplated in this mission :—

PLAN OF AN INSTITUTION FOR BENEFITING THE FOULAH TRIBE, AND, THROUGH THEIR INSTRUMENTALITY, THE INTERIOR OF WESTERN AFRICA.

SEVERAL friends of the African race, whose minds have long been deeply affected with the knowledge of the wretched circumstances of that benighted and unhappy people, from a sense of the obligations under which all are laid by their Christian privileges, and also from a recollection of the many injuries to which the African tribes have been subjected from British avarice, are impressed with a conviction of duty to promote, by every possible means, the protection and welfare of this people; conscious, that the only effectual way to erase from their minds impressions of the past injustice and cruelty of our countrymen, is to establish amongst them the Christian religion, with the consequent blessings of civilization and commerce.

The comparative fruitlessness of the benevolent efforts hitherto made to stop the horrible traffic in human beings, which is still depopulating the coasts of Africa to an appalling extent, has been observed with grief; a committee has been, therefore, formed for the accomplishment of the great objects above-mentioned; and they are happy in being now able to recommend to all who sympathize with them, a plan especially calculated to benefit the interesting tribe of the Foulahs, in which every Christian may cordially unite. The object is, to obtain a tract of land in the interior of the country, and to procure the protection of the British Government, so that the settlement may be a place of refuge for the oppressed, in which the Foulahs may, by their own industry, live beyond the reach of their oppressors, and enjoy the instructions of Christian teachers, whom it is proposed to send amongst them, to preach the gospel and establish schools.

The plan was projected by a missionary when in Africa, with especial reference to the Foulah tribe, whom he strongly recommends to the attention of the Christian philanthropist, as having, among the other tribes, the first claims for commiseration, being the most hopeful subjects to receive benefit, and the most likely to communicate it to others. The following are some of the most interesting particulars in reference to this people :—

1. Of all the inhabitants of Western Africa, the Foulahs are the most oppressed: they have no land of their own; and, living by the sufferance of others, exorbitant demands are exacted from the fruits of their industry, as a remuneration for the soil.

2. Being a defenceless people, and unaccustomed to war, they are frequently the victims of the powerful, who make an easy prey both of their persons and property; but, though they are obliged by their oppressors to contribute more to supply the slave-market than any others, they are not known to have any dealings in that abominable traffic.

3. They are distinguished from all the other tribes by their industrious habits.

4. They are generally free from Mohammedan superstition, which, wherever it prevails, has proved a strong barrier to the progress of Christian instruction.

5. They highly esteem Europeans, on account of a tradition among them, that their tribe has descended from a white man; the truth of which, the European form of their features, and the lightness of their complexion, preserved by intermarrying only among themselves, tend to confirm.

From a knowledge of the distressed circumstances of the Foulahs, and from conversation with some of them on this subject, it is believed that many of them would gladly avail themselves of the plan proposed, as the following reply of a head-man of one of their towns to the missionary who proposed it, confirms: "We feel it hard to believe," said he, "that the white people have so much care for us, *though we belong to them*; but, if it should be done, we should soon be the richest people in the world, except the Whites."

When Mr. Morgan, the Wesleyan missionary just referred to, was in Western Africa, he was offered six hundred acres of land on Macarthy's Island, expressly for the above purpose; and the committee cannot but hope, that the same grant may now be made by Government; which being in the immediate neighbourhood of the land proposed to be purchased of the natives, the settlement will thus be happily placed under the protection of the British Government. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, having several native teachers, already prepared and engaged in the same work, on the same territory, that Society is thought to be the most suitable to undertake the part of religious instruction. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has engaged to send out a missionary and his wife, and to place two native teachers under his superintendence on Macarthy's Island; and to build on it a house and school-rooms: provided that the committee can raise £350 per annum, for five years, and £150 for building the house and school-rooms. It is calculated that the proposed establishment would be able to support itself after that time; and that during this period it would send forth many native teachers; thus conveying the knowledge of the Saviour to the Heathen tribes of Africa,—"*the greatest blessing we have received, the most precious boon we can bestow.*" And, surely, we have good reason to hope for success, since Britain was once as ignorant and as barbarous as Africa. The change which has taken place has been produced by Christianity, which was brought to our shores by men equally devoid of miraculous powers with ourselves. How weighty, then, are our obligations to communicate the good we have so mercifully received!

Such is a general outline of the proposed plan, which, as it comprehends various objects, the committee submits, with full confidence, to the consideration of the friends of Africa among all Christian denominations; earnestly hoping that the cause will receive that assistance from the religious public to which they believe it is entitled. Mr. John Morgan, late missionary in Western Africa, has kindly engaged to collect for this important object.

Southampton, January 19th, 1833.

Distinct funds will be kept for the general purposes of the institution; also for schools, the mission, and the purchase of land.

Subscriptions and donations received at Messrs. Barnetts, Hoare, and Co., 62, Lombard-street, London; Messrs. Maddisons, Bankers, Southampton; and by every member of the committee.

The subscribers' names, with a statement of accounts and facts relative to the institution, will appear in an Annual Report.

The *whole sum* will be applied to the object, as all expenses of collecting, printing, &c., will be defrayed by a member of the committee; and at the expira-

tion of the five years, the balance will be expended for the benefit of the Foulah tribe, or placed in the hands of trustees.

Committee.—Rev. William Bettridge, Rev. James Crabb, Rev. W. D. Goy, Mr. John Morgan, late missionary in Western Africa, Rev. B. H. Draper, Thomas Maskew, Esq., James Sharp, Esq., Mr. G. Laishley, Robert Lindoe, M.D.

Secretaries.—Robert Lindoe, M.D., Rev. B. H. Draper.

Dr. Lindoe liberally subscribed £110 per annum for five years; and by means of printing and circulating a great number of prospectuses of the undertaking, a highly respectable list of subscribers and contributions was obtained.

In the Annual Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for that year, are the following remarks on this subject:—

The committee have the pleasure to announce the intended enlargement of their mission to Macarthy's Island. The peaceful and industrious habits of the Foulahs, a numerous scattered people of Western Africa, their exemption to a great extent from the influence of Mohammedanism, and their favourable regard of Europeans, marked them out as fit objects of the missionary zeal of Dr. Coke; and a number of benevolent persons have now become so far interested in their welfare, as to engage to raise, for five years, an annual sum sufficient to meet the whole expense of a mission to this people. They have already generously advanced £350 for the first year, with £150 additional, to be expended in building premises; and, in promotion of this Christian enterprise, His Majesty's Government has most liberally granted six hundred acres of land in Macarthy's Island, which is to be the head of the mission. Mr. Dove has been appointed to the important service. The two native assistants, John Cupidon and Pierre Sallah, are placed under his direction: and the brethren are to itinerate among the Foulah towns within their reach on each bank of the Gambia, preaching the gospel, and establishing schools, wherever opportunity offers. The Committee commend the undertaking to the prayers of the friends of missions, that God may make it the means of the extensive diffusion of the blessings of Christianity throughout that part of Western Africa.*

It will be readily inferred, from the preceding statement, that the missionary, and the two assistants, sent to this station with especial reference to the Foulahs, though supported by the Southampton Committee, were nevertheless altogether under the direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, and to them all official communications were made. Mr. Dove immediately commenced the erection of suitable mission-premises, in which he was assisted by liberal contributions from most of the Europeans at St. Mary's, and other respectable persons in the colony, as well as by a further grant from the friends at Southampton. An interesting letter from Mr. Dove, detailing the particulars of his first voyage up the Gambia, and visit to Macarthy's Island, with the pleasing prospect of success, was published in the "Missionary Notices" for October of the same

* "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for 1832-33," pp. 58, 59.

year; and on the 1st of January, 1834, the Southampton Committee published their first Annual Report, of which the following is a copy:—

THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE INSTITUTION FOR
BENEFITING THE FOULAH TRIBE, AND, THROUGH THEM, WESTERN AFRICA.

The committee, deeply impressed with the vast importance of their plan, present their Report to the public, with an earnest hope for their continued patronage.

The committee desire to press the question on the friends of this charity, which includes in it the eternal welfare of millions of our race,—Whether a committee might not be formed in London with which the Associations in the country might communicate? They cannot but feel, that the liberal grant of His Majesty's Government of six hundred acres of land on Macarthy's Island, gives at once weight and importance to this new missionary station: and they feel much anxiety for its improvement, by effectual cultivation, as well as for ability to rent a large tract of ground, for the civilization of the Foulahs, to send agriculturists, &c.; and also to circulate the holy scriptures where they have been as yet unknown.

According to agreement, the sums of £350 and £150 were immediately advanced to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Mr. and Mrs. Dove, the first missionaries, arrived at St. Mary's, April 23d, 1833. In addition to the sums already specified, £150 has been remitted, that the mission-premises may be substantially built; this, with the liberal offer of £70, by some gentlemen at St. Mary's, is thought will be sufficient for that work. Two pious natives are already on the spot, who are engaged in teaching, &c.

As Macarthy's Island is situated about three hundred miles from St. Mary's, on the noble river Gambia, it will probably become a considerable place of trade, and of great importance as a central mission-station; and there is little doubt but that other societies will assist in the work of civilizing and evangelizing that degraded country.

The committee have received many letters from persons of high estimation, expressive of the great interest they feel in the success of this plan. C. Grant, Esq., of St. Mary's, Gambia, has been nineteen years on the coast of Africa, and has travelled into the interior; and, from his character and opportunity for observation, his opinion of the plan must be considered of no small value. In a letter received from that gentleman, he expresses his readiness to co-operate in the plan; stating the fact, that some hundreds of liberated Africans have been located on the river Gambia; and many more are expected. And he adds, "There are no propositions for the improvement of Africa, which have yet come under my notice, that I could so readily support, or with such confidence of ultimate success."

The Rev. J. Horton, curate of St. George's, Borough, formerly chaplain to the forces in the Gambia, writes:—"After living ten years on the coast of Africa, I beg to state, that I have never seen or heard of a plan, so likely to succeed, under the Divine blessing, in promoting the Christian religion in Africa, as that to which your prospectus has reference."

The Society of Friends have ever proved their concern for the welfare of Africa: some years since, they formed a committee to carry into execution a plan for "African Instruction;" particularly under the care of H. Kilham and William Singleton. The committee look forward with hope for their support in the present undertaking. Mrs. Fry, a character well known and justly valued, gives her sentiments in the following words:—"I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing the interest I take in the mission to the Foulah tribe, and how earnestly I desire that such a blessing may attend the labours of those that are sent amongst them,

that they may be the means of spreading the 'glad tidings' of the gospel into injured and benighted Africa. It appears to me, that there are several objects of the mission in which the Society of Friends can most freely unite; and considering that at present they have not any regular missionary stations of their own, supported by the Friends in England, I trust that they will feel it a duty, according to ability, liberally to support this undertaking in the expenses attending translating the holy scriptures, distributing copies of them, educating the children, and in obtaining suitable implements for cultivating the land, and building the needful houses, school-rooms, &c. I quite hope and desire, as soon as I properly can, to give my mite to this interesting object: which I trust all Christians of every denomination will think it right to promote in such a way as they may think best."

Mr. T. Clarkson observes, in a letter written under the painful circumstance of approaching blindness:—"The spot is, I know, favourable for the undertaking; and the Foulahs are the very people you describe. Your plan should, I think, be a little more explicitly detailed; I see, however, enough of it myself, to know that it is worthy of attention and encouragement."

It may be observed, that the plan must have time to unfold itself, as, indeed, it shall please Providence to open the way. The committee conclude, by commending the cause of Africa to the providence of God; and by reminding the reader that Britain received the Bible by the hands of foreigners. They close with the words of one of their earliest friends:—"May the blessing of the great Head of the church rest on this attempt to communicate His 'saving health' to regions over which the prince of darkness has hitherto exercised an uncontrolled dominion."

Southampton, January 1st, 1834.

Committee.—Rev. William Bettridge, Rev. James Crabb, Rev. W. D. Goy, Mr. John Morgan, late missionary in Western Africa, Rev. B. H. Draper, James Sharp, Esq., Mr. G. Laishley, Mr. Bienvenu, Robert Lindoe, M.D.

Secretaries.—Robert Lindoe, M.D., Rev. B. H. Draper.

Subscriptions and donations received at Messrs. Barnetts, Hoare, and Co., 62, Lombard-Street, London; Messrs. Maddisons, Bankers, Southampton; and by every member of the committee.

The *whole sum* will be applied to the object, as all expenses of collecting, printing, &c., will be defrayed by a member of the committee; and at the expiration of the five years, the balance will be expended for the benefit of the Foulah tribe, or placed in the hands of trustees.

Receipts and Payments, for the year 1833.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions for five years	256	18	0	Cash to the Wesleyan Missionary Society	350	0	0
Donations and Collections ...	453	2	0	Ditto, for building mission-premises and school-room.	150	0	0
				Ditto. Ditto.	150	0	0
				Balance due by the Treasurer, December 31st, 1833	60	0	0
	710	0	0		710	0	0

Examined, and find a balance due by the Treasurers, £60; also £60 paid in advance, for the four following years.

R. LINDOE, M.D.
B. H. DRAPER.

This Report was followed by an Appendix, containing extracts from the "Missionary Notices," and a large list of subscribers.

At Sierra-Leone the work of God, under the ministry of Messrs. Maer and Clarke, was graciously reviving: the mission was considerably extended; the populous towns of Wellington, Wilberforce, Lumley, and Murray, were now taken into the sphere of missionary labour; and the Society of Friends at this time afforded considerable pecuniary assistance in the school department.

The writer has no wish unduly to exhibit himself in a narrative of these missions; but truth and justice demand that facts should be stated; and, in doing this, he will necessarily be led occasionally to use the first personal pronoun in the statement of these facts, and in giving a faithful record of the obstacles, difficulties, progress, and prosperity of the mission; more particularly of that at the Gambia. This will sometimes be done by quotation from statements already before the public, and sometimes by extracts from unpublished letters and other documents.

On the departure of Mr. Dove from St. Mary's for Macarthy's Island in October, 1833, it will be recollected that he took with him the other native teacher, according to the arrangement made by the parent committee with the benevolent friends at Southampton. I was therefore left at St. Mary's without any local help, except one or two natives, who acted occasionally as local preachers. The mission-chapel, which also answered for a school-room, was the ground-floor of the mission-house, which was thirty-six feet by seventeen in the clear. The week-day school, with preaching, visiting, &c., furnished me with full employment; and though I and my dear wife were frequently laid aside by repeated attacks of fever, during the rains, as well as for some time after, we were cheered and encouraged by what we saw and felt of the Divine Presence and blessing. The congregation so increased, as well as the members of the society, that, towards the close of the year, an application was made to the committee in London for permission to erect a proper chapel as a place for Divine worship, which, after some unavoidable delay, was at length acceded to. In this case, we witnessed the truth of that saying of holy writ, "One soweth, and another reapeth." My dear brethren who had preceded me had gone forth, breaking up the fallow ground, bearing the precious seed, watering it with their prayers and tears, and some of them with their lives; and now the fruit of their united labours was appearing in "some thirty, some sixty,

and in some an hundred-fold." This applied not only to St. Mary's and Macarthy's Island, but also to Sierra-Leone; as the Annual Report for 1834 will show:—

MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Sierra-Leone, Messrs. Maer and Clarke, and one native assistant missionary, recently appointed.

St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, Mr. Fox.

Macarthy's Island (Foulah Mission), Mr. Dove; John Cupidon and Pierre Sallah, assistant missionaries. Four salaried school teachers.

The stations occupied by the Society on the coast of Western Africa have lost no portion of their interest or importance since the publication of the last Report. On the contrary, every one of them presents the aspect of growing stability and usefulness.

In Sierra-Leone great spiritual prosperity has been vouchsafed during the past year. The Society has increased from about four hundred to four hundred and seventy-one, besides forty-three yet on trial. Various instances of sound conversion to God are stated, among the liberated Africans, and others; and many more have been awakened from the sleep of sin, and appear to be earnestly seeking salvation. There are two hundred and sixteen children in the schools, whose attendance is good; and who generally display considerable quickness in learning, and are making a satisfactory improvement. That at Portuguese-Town is especially prosperous; and the committee have gladly sanctioned the extension of its usefulness, in the female department, by becoming responsible for an additional salary to the schoolmistress, who undertakes to instruct about thirty girls in needlework two hours in every day. Feeling it to be a delightful as well as important part of their duty, to encourage, in all their stations among the Heathen, the multiplication of such benevolent establishments, they have also directed the commencement of a new school at Wilberforce; happy thus to erect an humble, but useful, testimonial to the virtues and the services of that revered and illustrious individual, whom the world laments, in Africa, the country for which he so long cared, and in the very town which bears his name. An earnest desire has been expressed that more schools should be established in the colony; and the governor has kindly promised land for the erection of buildings, which may answer the double purpose of schools, and of places for religious worship and general instruction. The committee have it in their hearts to pay all practicable attention to this object; and cannot omit to offer their best acknowledgments to those Christian ladies connected with the Society of Friends, and others, who have already aided them in this department of their African work by very liberal contributions. The general labours of this mission, also, call for additional assistance. The town of Wellington, left for a time without spiritual help, has been again occupied by the brethren, after numerous solicitations. It has a population of three thousand; and some first-fruits have already been gathered into the Christian church. On the other side of Free-Town are, Wilberforce, Murray, Shilling, and two other places, which require ministerial and pastoral attention. To meet these calls two more missionaries are requested; and, that they may not be wholly neglected, the committee have lately authorized the employment of a converted African, well recommended, as an assistant missionary, till some more adequate provision can be made for the wants of these interesting stations. Africa herself has surely a claim, which cannot be disputed or resisted, to a large portion of that holy sympathy and active zeal which have been cheerfully bestowed on her children and their descendants, in the land of their expatriation and bondage. To her, on behalf of those who now inhabit

her long-desolated shores, England owes this compensation; and should embrace, with no reluctant heart or niggard hand, every opportunity which occurs of beginning to discharge a debt so just, and now, alas! chargeable with arrears of so long standing, and of such vast amount.

From St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, the accounts are highly encouraging. Mr. Fox states, in a letter dated January 21st, 1834, the following particulars:—

“God has been pleased to visit us with showers of gracious influence; and the fruit appears in the blessed change which has taken place in habitations where, a short time ago, dwelt nothing but wretchedness. Now, from many a happy hut, where the family altar has been but newly erected, ascends the voice of prayer and the song of praise. All our meetings are crowded to excess, even at five o'clock in the morning. Our old members are ‘alive to God,’ and are constrained to say, ‘We never saw it on this fashion.’ The chapel will not hold much more than half the regular congregation. Since my arrival I have formed five new classes. The members attend these, as well as the other means of grace, with the greatest punctuality. Our number of members now at St. Mary's is two hundred and four. [This is an increase, since the last Report was published, of more than one hundred and forty.] Some of the worst characters in the town, and one or two who were the votaries of Mohammedan delusion, have given themselves to God. They now

‘Loudly in strange Hosannas join,
And blasphemies are turn'd to praise.’

With such an increase of members, it is naturally to be expected that our finances should increase in proportion. Such is the case: the local income during the past quarter has nearly doubled that of any preceding one. We have built a small chapel at Soldiers'-Town, without any expense to the committee. I have commenced preaching at Goderich Village, quite at the extremity of the island, where a considerable number of liberated Africans are located; and also at Fort Bullen, Berwick-Town, inhabited by discharged soldiers and others, who know a little English, and are thankful for the gospel. As my visits to the other side required that I should have a boat at my own command, though several of the merchants kindly offered me the occasional use of one of theirs, a very good one, called ‘the Mission-Boat,’ has been completed by subscriptions, and by the gratuitous labour of some of our members at their hours of leisure. Our school has an addition of more than twenty boys, some of whom are making pleasing progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic. We have also an adult school on Sundays of about forty persons, who are anxious to learn the word of God.”

The station at Macarthy's Island has been finally selected, according to the intention stated in the Report of last year, as the centre and head-quarters of the new mission to the Foulahs, to many of whose towns and villages, on each bank of the river, it affords great facilities of access, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to that interesting race, and of establishing schools. Mr. Dove has received the kindest encouragement, in reference to this enterprise, from the governor, and from other persons of influence. Two native assistant missionaries are appointed to labour under his direction; and his preliminary visits to a number of Mandingo and Foulah towns were received by the people in a manner which encourages the hope that, in the mercy of God, “a great and effectual door” is about to be opened in those regions. The committee again earnestly commend this undertaking to the prayers of the Society and of the Christian public. They have been chiefly induced to embark in it by the munificence of a gentleman, whose benevolent zeal they, in this case, appreciate the more highly, because he, and his generous coadjutors in

the effort, are not connected by religious denomination with the Wesleyan body. Dr. Lindoe, of Southampton, aided by other friends in various places, to whom he has successfully made application, has contributed a donation of £150 for the establishment of the mission; and has advanced already two sums, of £350 each, for its support during the first and second years of its existence, guaranteeing a like sum annually, for each of the three succeeding years. And, learning from Mr. Dove's statements to the committee, that the expense of building suitable mission-premises at Macarthy's Island will exceed the sum before transmitted, and that raised by European residents at St. Mary's, by the amount of £150, Dr. Lindoe immediately forwarded to the Society's treasurers an order for the whole of the estimated deficiency; so that, in the accounts appended to this Report, the sum of £1,000 will be entered as derived from this source during the year lately closed. From such noble and disinterested benevolence the committee cannot withhold this public tribute of their admiration and gratitude.*

About this time, Mr. Dove wrote from Macarthy's Island as follows:—

We have truly a most delightful prospect of doing good; for here are souls, immortal souls, all athirst for the water of life. During the quarter we have had a most blessed revival. I have married thirty couples, who would no longer live in a state of concubinage; baptized ninety-two adults, and several children; and likewise admitted seventy-eight persons on trial, many of whom, I am happy to say, have experienced a knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins, and are ornaments to their profession. We have lately commenced preaching at Broco, a Foulah town, and at Jamela, a Mandingo town. My assistant brethren are zealous for the Lord of hosts; and I am fully persuaded that, as soon as the people in the interior can understand us more perfectly, we shall have an abundant harvest of immortal souls. We have only a few of the Foulahs on Macarthy's Island at present; but think, as soon as the land is measured, many of them will be glad to make a town (as it is called) on the island, which will gladden our hearts.

Thus was God with his servants at each of these stations; and the work which was begun continued, quarter after quarter, to prosper. The following communication from the author will show that this good work had been in existence, at St. Mary's, some months previous to the preceding date in the General Report, and that it continued and was still going on months after. The letter, with extracts from my journal, was dated, "St. Mary's, April 21st, 1834:—"

A few days ago, I returned from a visit to Macarthy's Island. Macarthy's Island and its immediate neighbourhood certainly present a fine field for missionary labour, and I have no doubt that much good will result from placing a missionary there.

As it regards my own station, St. Mary's, I am happy still to report good tidings. "The Lord of hosts is still with us," and our Zion is in great prosperity. During the past quarter, more than fifty have again been added to us; and almost every day I have people coming to the mission-house, begging me to allow them to meet

* "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society for 1834," pp. 50—53.

in class. To these I speak on the nature of class-meeting, and on the serious importance of becoming professors of Christianity, bidding them "count the cost." I then allow them to meet three or four times before I enter their names, and keep them two quarters on trial before I consider them as full members. To-morrow it will be twelve months since we landed here; and since that period two hundred persons have enrolled their names on our class-books, and are members of the church of Christ on earth; most of whom, I believe, bid fair to enter the church triumphant in glory. "This is indeed the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." I have had the high honour of being in a few revivals in England; I have witnessed and experienced many an outpouring of the Spirit's hallowing and saving influence, and have seen many hard hearts softened, and mourning sinners cheered. Those were indeed happy days; and I can add,

"How sweet their memory still!"

But I would not change them for those I now enjoy.

The following are extracts from my journal:—

Sunday, August 4th, 1833.—Much rain fell this morning; but we had a full chapel, and a good feeling among the people.

7th.—Last evening the lightning struck a small house very near to us; some injury was done to it, but no person was hurt. We have this evening had a most blessed meeting; the power of God was felt.

Sunday, 11th.—A very full chapel, while I was preaching on the Christian minister's embassy, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ," &c. A good congregation also in the evening; and I felt it good while speaking from, "Happy art thou, O Israel," &c.

12th.—I went to a prayer-meeting in one of the native houses. After prayer-meeting, I had a long conversation with a Mohammedan priest.

17th.—As there is a want of rain this year to produce the necessary crops, I have to-day received a request from His Excellency the governor, that our congregation should, on the morrow, "present an humble petition to Almighty God, to avert the dreaded evils of famine and scarcity, which it is to be feared this island will be visited with."

26th.—The natives caught two sharks; in one of them was the arm of a boy who was bathing on Saturday, and by this great fish was killed. The body was rescued from the shark; but before he reached the hospital, life became extinct. This evening I attended a prayer-meeting in one of the houses, and gave an exhortation; many could not obtain admittance.

28th.—The Rev. C. L. F. Haensel, Church missionary, on his way to Sierra-Leone, is with us during the stay of the vessel here. He preached to the people this evening.

Sunday, October 27th.—This morning I had another attack of fever, which prevented me from preaching.

29th.—Alas! how very soon sickness can blast our hopes, and lay our prospects in the dust! Yesterday I was much better than on Sunday; to-day I have no pulse, and can scarcely breathe.

31st.—Mr. Grant has sat up with me again all night. May God reward him! To-day I am something better.

November 4th.—My dear wife and I feel ourselves pretty well again, and have this morning afresh commenced the school. O may our health be preserved, and our lives spared, that we may be instrumental in conducting these lambs to the heavenly fold!

14th.—Many could not obtain entrance to the chapel at five o'clock this morning.

Sunday, December 8th.—I preached to a crowded congregation. During the sermon one person was made happy in the peace of God. After the sermon I baptized fifteen adults and two infants. In the afternoon I went to Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, on the opposite side of the river, and preached to a number of soldiers, discharged soldiers, and others, who, I am happy to say, feel thankful for the sound of the gospel. They begged I would come every Sunday; but this I could not promise. I told them I would visit them as often as I could. I reached St. Mary's again just in time for the evening service.

9th.—I formed three new classes.

Sunday, 15th.—To-day I have read prayers, as usual, and preached three times. I baptized twenty-three people, and met one class for the renewal of their society-tickets.

Sunday, 22d.—Preached three times, and baptized twenty-six adults.

25th, Christmas-day.—I was unwell this morning; but the Lord has helped me. We commenced the prayer-meeting at five o'clock; at half-past ten I preached; at two o'clock held our love-feast, when the chapel would not hold all the members of society. Many gave very interesting accounts of their conviction of sin, their conversion to God, and their present religious experience. In the evening opened the new chapel at Soldier-Town.

26th.—This evening the moon was totally eclipsed; which occasioned great consternation in the minds of the natives. A large number who that evening were, as usual, dancing and beating the drum, ran home affrighted.

31st.—I held a watch-night, when the four brethren preached,—two in English, and two in Jaloof. I afterwards addressed them; at the close of which, I believe, we all gave ourselves afresh to God.

January 1st, 1834.—My heart glowed with gratitude to God this day, while surveying the providential series of mercies which I have received from my heavenly Father during the past year. God has indeed been mindful of me and mine, and,

“Through hidden dangers, toils, and deaths,
Has gently clear'd our way.”

We have been sick and afflicted, tempted and tried; but never, no, never, forsaken by Him who said, “Lo, I am with you alway:” and those beautiful lines came from our lips with an application never before experienced:—

“Oft from the margin of the grave
Thou, Lord, hast lifted up my head;
Sudden, I found Thee near to save,—
The fever own'd thy touch, and fled.”

The blessed God has not only preserved us in a land of sickness and death, but has been pleased to crown our feeble efforts, in the edification of believers, and in the conversion of many sinners. My own soul, too, is very happy in God, and in that sacred work in which I am engaged; and although I very often feel my insufficiency both with regard to gifts and graces, I am encouraged, nay, determined, to

“Labour on at His command,
And offer all my works to Him.”

Sunday, 5th.—I preached three times, and baptized a number of adults.

Sunday, 12th.—I had liberty of spirit in preaching this morning, as also this

evening; after which I read and explained our Rules to the members of the society.

Sunday, 26th.—I preached three times, and baptized forty-three persons. What more shall I say about the new chapel? Need I say any more than again to state that the present one will not hold even the members of society? Consequently, it is with difficulty that I can meet the society, to address them on their various duties, or administer the appointed memorials of the Saviour's death. Surely, when I hear from you, it will be in the affirmative; saying, "You may begin to build as soon as practicable," or words to that effect. I have received a letter from the secretary of the Bible Society, and expect some Bibles soon.*

There could be no mistake about the necessity for a new and much larger chapel, when the one at that time occupied as such could not contain all who came to the morning prayer-meeting, which was held every morning at five o'clock; and when there was not sufficient room, on other occasions, to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the members of the society. I therefore renewed my application to the committee, as the first of the following letters will show; and was at length successful, as stated by the secretaries in their preface to my communications; which, though rather long, yet, bearing as they do so directly upon the whole of that mission, I insert:—

MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

To the communications from Mr. Fox, respecting the mission on the River Gambia, which were inserted in our last Number, we have now the pleasure of adding two other interesting letters, of subsequent date. In the first, Mr. Fox renews his former earnest application for leave to build a new chapel at St. Mary's, to which the committee have acceded; and concludes by some very touching and Christian observations, suggested by the approach of the annual sickly season of that climate, which, we are sure, will obtain for him the sympathy and the prayers of all our readers. The second of the letters, now printed, reports the continued prosperity of the society at St. Mary's, the completion and opening of small chapels at Soldier-Town and Melville-Town, the prospects of soon erecting a place of Christian worship and school at Berwick-Town, and the necessity of an assistant missionary, in order to supply, regularly and suitably, these new and promising stations. To the latter part of this letter, which describes the case of William Joaf, a native preacher, and a slave, and of other persons similarly circumstanced, we earnestly invite the attention of British philanthropists. The persons here mentioned as slaves are connected, we believe, with French masters, who have removed into the British settlements from the neighbouring dependencies of France, on the coast of Western Africa, and who are still strangely recognised, it seems, as owners of the human beings whom they have thus imported, together with themselves, into one of our colonies. We are aware that the removal of this anomaly may not be unattended with some practical difficulties; but they are such as ought to be surmounted, for the honour of our country's character and consistency; and we are confident that the case will receive serious consideration in the proper quarter.

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vii. pp. 528—530.

RIVER GAMBIA.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fox, dated St. Mary's,
June 30th, 1834.*

I CAN assure you that the statements which I have sent you from time to time, respecting the absolute necessity of a new chapel at St. Mary's, have not been too highly coloured. I am fully aware that your "object is to increase the number of missionaries, rather than expend money in buildings." But suffer me to ask how a missionary is to proceed with his work in a climate like this, without a commodious place of worship? The rains have again commenced; but the chapel and both piazzas are not capable of sheltering the congregation from its teeming showers, nor from the intense heat of the sun. Besides, our chapel, being under our residence, is necessarily low; and, being crowded to the extreme, it is exceedingly close and warm; so that I have been obliged to change my linen in the course of one sabbath three, four, and five times. As to the amount I can hope to raise here, I am afraid to say more than I did, that is, one hundred pounds. You are aware that our society consists of natives, who are willing to help to the utmost of their power; but that utmost is very limited.

Our health at this time is pretty good; and has been so for some time past, excepting occasional attacks of temporary indisposition. The sickly season is, however, approaching; and it is probable that we shall again have fever, but I hope not so seriously as last season. I do not feel alarmed upon the subject; because I know I am where my heavenly Father wishes me to be. Neither am I of a very nervous or low-spirited habit; but I sincerely think that if I should have another attack of fever as severe as the last, then not far from the spot where I am now writing, it will be read over my poor body, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust;" and, whoever the individual may be who shall perform that service, he may confidently read also, "In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ." Yes, that is my rock, my foundation, my hope, my only plea,—"For me the Saviour died." Through the precious blood of the atonement I hope to "scale the mount," and "so be for ever with the Lord." Yet, I trust that this will not be the case at present. Prayer, we know, is prevalent. Our heavenly Father, we know also, has an eye to pity, an ear to listen, a heart to feel, and an arm to save, those who call upon Him, both with a temporal and spiritual salvation. Dear fathers, brethren, and Christian friends, pray for us. We ask you to do so, though we know that you do it already; but continue to pray for us. Pray that our health may be preserved, and our lives spared; and that we may be the instruments of winning many souls to Christ. May the Almighty, in his infinite mercy, grant it! Amen.

From the Same, dated St. Mary's, July 24th.

WITH regard to the cause of Christ, every successive period which presents itself of addressing you, furnishes me with additional matter of an encouraging kind to communicate, and brings afresh from my exulting soul the emphatic language of the Psalmist, "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." During the past quarter, (as you will learn from my journal, which accompanies this,) the Almighty has again visited us on this station with many a refreshing shower of his hallowing and saving influence: and the result is, that sixty-one more persons have begged to be admitted into our society, and are taken on trial. The finances are, I am happy to say, increasing also in equal proportion to the number in society; and, I expect, this year will realize upwards of fifty pounds sterling. The school is, I hope, doing better of late, having received some Bibles from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a few elementary books

from our friends; but it is still very indifferently supplied. I have not as yet received any answer or books from the School-Society.

The small chapel, about which I wrote to you at Soldier-Town, soon became too small; and I have been under the pleasing necessity of enlarging it; or, rather, have pulled the old one down, and erected one more than twice the size, which is now forty feet by twenty-five. It is built with wood and cane, but is well plastered inside and out, and has a shingled roof, a neat pulpit, and is well supplied with benches. It was re-opened, or rather opened, on Thursday evening, the 12th ult., when it was well filled, and a Divine influence felt, while I preached from, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." (Psalm cxxvi. 3.) Towards meeting the expense of this new and commodious native chapel, the people have a second time come forward very liberally. Some have given labour, some money, and others materials. I find, however, I shall be under the necessity of charging the committee with about twenty-six pounds, which sum, I trust, they will cheerfully meet, for a chapel of the above dimensions, and particularly as it was erected the first time without any expense to the parent society.

I have also erected a small chapel at Melville-Town, almost at the other end of the island. We have here a small town or village of liberated Africans, to whom we have preached for a considerable time, and a small society. The chapel is erected in such a situation that the people at Goderich (where we formerly preached) can come to it, and it will not be quite so far for the preacher to walk on his return. This small place of worship is built after the same manner as the one at Soldier-Town; and here, also, the people have done what they could: though not able to give much pecuniary aid, they have assisted by giving some of their labour, by going into the bush or wood, cutting wood, and burning lime, &c., frequently saying, "This house no belong to no person; he belong to God." It was opened on Sunday afternoon, the 29th ult., when I addressed the people from, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord." (Psalm cxvii. 1.) I find, however, that, notwithstanding the people have done a considerable portion of the work gratis, I shall be under the necessity of charging to the committee equally as much for this (though a smaller chapel) as for Soldier-Town, and hope they will not think me extravagant. I can assure you I have contributed not a little to the above places, not only in a pecuniary way, but in superintending the whole myself, and have frequently been with the men from morning until evening. I did the same with respect to the heavy repairs lately done to the mission-house and premises, which, no doubt, saved a few pounds. You will perceive that the above extraordinary expenses are the occasion of my drawing upon the treasurers rather oftener than usual.

I am happy to say, that our infant cause at Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, on the opposite side of the river, promises well. We give them preaching every sabbath, and have now a small society. The people there have built a round house, in which we preach, and shall continue to do so during the rains. The governor has, however, kindly promised to go over with me, and give the society a grant of land on which to erect a small chapel, or what I may propose. I feel deeply interested about this place, and if we can erect a small native chapel, and commence a school, as there are a number of children on the spot, and a Mandingo town at a short distance, we shall very probably have a number of the Mandingo children, and by that means get a footing among that warlike, superstitious, and widely-extended race of human beings. It would, ere long, afford a proper station for an additional missionary, and thus, in the course of time, the moral soil on both banks of this immense and splendid river will be cultivated, and every tribe taught to "bow the knee to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

I have another subject of importance to bring before you, in reference to an assistant missionary being stationed here. You are aware that I have no assistant, and our society has vastly increased; we have also four preaching-places, and an increasing school, and more work, if I could attend to it. I attended wholly to the school myself till I could do it no longer; consequently I engaged an assistant teacher at the commencement of the year. This assistant teacher I wish to keep, with your permission, even if I have an assistant missionary stationed here, that I may place one of them on the other side of the river, at the close of the rains. Soldier-Town chapel would be a very good place for the residence of an assistant missionary, as it is pretty near to the mission-house, and amidst a numerous population, a good number of whom are members of society. A tolerable house (such as a respectable native has) might be erected for about seventy or eighty dollars, with what I can get done gratis; the one on the mission premises is in a very dilapidated state, besides being much too small.

You are doubtless aware that I have one local preacher here, and you will recollect that I wrote to you some time ago about three or four more who had then begun to preach. I am happy to be able to report well of them all; they seem to vie with each other, which shall make the most progress. William Juff, (or Joaf,) the local preacher, might be immediately employed as an assistant missionary, were it not that he is a slave. I have now five more who are acting as occasional preachers; but four of these are slaves also. This is another subject which I have long wished to bring before you. I had, some time ago, a conversation with the governor upon it, who very generously acknowledged, "They are not slaves, strictly speaking, while on this island; but immediately when they leave, they are, and may be taken." He (the governor) wished them to continue with their masters, but at the same time said he should feel a pleasure in doing what he could to get the freedom of any who wished it, at a moderate price. Several in the colony have purchased their own freedom, (assisted by some friend who has advanced a part of the money,) but it has taken them some years to do so; and how can it be otherwise, when at the end of every week the poor slave has to divide his wages, and one half goes to his master or mistress, and the other half to support himself and family?

William Juff is a married man, and has three or four children, but is not more than thirty years of age: he is by trade a carpenter, and is considered a very good workman; if he were free, he would do well, in a temporal point of view, but would much prefer being employed as an assistant missionary; he has been a member of society upwards of nine years, and has acted in the capacity of a local preacher upwards of five. His piety is unquestionable, and his talents as a native preacher are acceptable: and, if wholly set apart to the work, I have no doubt but he would make considerable improvement. I have already found him a great acquisition to me, as he has frequently preached and conducted the meetings when I have been sick. If he could be set free, and it meet with your approbation, he might be immediately employed as an assistant.

Two out of the other four, who are slaves, I could recommend in a short time, were it not that they are tied in the same way; how are they to get free, is a question I wish most earnestly to propose. They are in a British colony; consequently virtually they are free; but actually they are slaves. Will Government break their chains? If not, who will? They cannot themselves. The Christian public have lately given, and are still giving, us additional proofs of their unbounded liberality in reference to the West Indies; where then shall I look to find a friend for these five poor slaves?—poor as regards this world, but rich in faith; labouring under an earthly bondage, but happy in the enjoyment of a spiritual freedom.

The friends in Ireland have already given us a demonstrative proof of their love of freedom, in the redemption of Pierre Sallah; and shall England be behind the sister-country in such charitable and praiseworthy acts? If *one* cannot be found to accomplish the whole, methinks *five* can and will; so that each will have the pleasure and honour of redeeming a brother.

Should the committee find it impracticable to exert themselves on behalf of the whole five, I hope they will do what they can for the three I particularly mention, that is, William Juff, Amado Gum, and John Gum. The first, if free, might, as above stated, be immediately employed; and the other two in a short time, after being duly recommended.

St. Mary's, I am aware, is not one of the first in importance amidst the numerous and increasing stations which call for your time and attention, neither is it one of the last; it has already risen, is rising, and will rise; and I am of opinion, that the time is not far distant when it will support itself, or nearly so. An additional missionary would, of course, increase the expense of the mission, and the employment of two or three native teachers would still add to that expense; but then this will greatly facilitate the dissemination of gospel light and truth among the various and degraded tribes on each bank of this immense river.

"The harvest is indeed plenteous, but the labourers are few." We pray the Lord of the harvest, and we pray you as his agents, to "send forth more labourers into the vineyard:" and then—

"Soon the reaping-time shall come,
And angels shout the harvest-home."

As it respects the new chapel, I am expecting to hear from you every day, and hope to commence at the close of the rains.*

My work during the rains of this year was considerably increased, on account of my being appointed acting colonial and garrison chaplain, in the absence of the government chaplain, who had returned to England for the benefit of his health.†

A few extracts from my private journal may not be out of place here:—

Monday, June 30th, quarter-day.—My pen cannot describe the gratitude I feel to my heavenly Father, for his continued goodness to us. During the past quarter we have enjoyed tolerable health, much of the Divine presence in our own souls, and many a refreshing season in the house of God. During the last three months, sixty-one have been admitted on trial. Last June we had eighty-four in the society, and we have now three hundred and twenty-two; and the finances have increased in proportion. "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." Keep us, O keep us in the dust; and,

* "Missionary Notices," vol. vii. pp. 545—548.

† One-half of the salary was allowed to the chaplain during his absence, and, by a new regulation, only one-fourth to the person officiating for him; but, of course, the mission derived the benefit of this, and not the missionary.

“When we reach yon blissful station,
Then we'll give thee nobler praise!”

Sunday, July 6th.—I met a class for tickets at six A.M.; at ten, read prayers and preached; immediately after, performed duty at the church.* In the afternoon I sailed across the river to Berwick-Town, and after preaching met the class, and returned home in time for the evening service. One soul was made happy in God at the prayer-meeting.

9th.—I had liberty while preaching from Luke xviii. 13: “God be merciful to me a sinner!” and afterwards married one couple.

15th.—I rose at four A.M.; at five commenced the prayer-meeting, when we had a refreshing season.

August 12th.—The sickly season has now set in, and many are ill with fever. I have to-day visited several.

13th.—A vessel arrived from Macarthy's Island late last evening, with the painful news of the death of Lieutenant Nichols, the commandant, who died on the passage to St. Mary's, being ill when he embarked.

14th.—I had a long conversation with a Mohammedan priest, who, amongst other questions, wanted to know who was the mother of Moses.

15th.—This morning I buried a European. In the evening there was a gracious influence at the prayer-meeting. Though a little unwell, my soul felt it good to be there.

23d.—I received letters from the brethren at Sierra-Leone. Several Europeans have died there this season, among whom is the governor. Others are very ill; and the brethren Maer and Clarke not well.

Sunday, 24th.—I rose this morning very unwell. At half-past seven I went to the barracks, and read prayers to the soldiers; at ten I did the same in the mission chapel; and afterwards preached, and had a most precious time whilst doing so, from Gen. xlv. 3: “And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph. Doth my father yet live?” How mysterious are the ways of Providence! But O how wise and benevolent in the end!

“Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And scan his work in vain:
God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain.”

At half-past eleven I performed duty at the church, and at six

* That is, in the court-house,—there being no church erected.

p.m. in our own chapel. I was still very poorly; but my local preacher was worse; so that I was compelled to preach. And, "As thy day, so shall thy strength be," was literally verified in my case. The blessed God felt for my weakness, and came to my help; and there was a mighty influence whilst I was giving out that beautiful hymn:—

"Give me the faith which can remove
And sink the mountain to a plain," &c.;

and during the whole of the service many could say, "Master, it is good for us to be here." Though the rain came down in torrents, many could not find room in our little sanctuary. The island is now nearly covered with water.

30th.—I went to Barra-Point, in company with His Excellency the governor, to see the king of Barra, in reference to a rumour that Kemmingtan, in the upper river, is meditating an attack on Macarthy's Island.

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Dove will furnish the reader with the probable origin and cause of this rumour, as well as some information respecting the progress of that mission. Mr. Dove's letter is dated, "Macarthy's Island, August 25th, 1834:—"—

I feel unfeignedly thankful to the God of all grace, mercy, and love, that I am again permitted to address you from this land of sickness and death; for, since my last communication, I have been called to pass through deep waters of affliction, arising from a severe attack of the fever, which at this season of the year is so prevalent in this part of Western Africa. I however experienced the Saviour's presence, and found the consolations of religion to be neither few nor small; and with the Psalmist can I say, "It is good that I have been afflicted."

"Oft from the margin of the grave
Thou, Lord, hast lifted up my head;
Sudden, I found thee near to save,
The fever own'd thy touch, and fled."

Through the infinite mercy of our heavenly Father, I am now fully restored, and feel happy in the great and glorious work in which I am employed. At the present moment, I seem to enter into the very spirit of the sentiment, expressed by the great apostle; namely, "Unto me who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles" (the sable sons and daughters of Ham) "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

At the last quarterly visitation of the classes, I was highly gratified to witness the simple and artless manner in which our members in general expressed themselves. Some very distinctly and satisfactorily stated how God had pardoned all their sins, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, and made them happy in his love; and others seemed resolutely determined not to rest satisfied, till they "found Him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write." May the Lord fulfil their desires, and strengthen their resolutions, for his mercy's sake! Thanks be to the Lord, we have not been suffered either to run or to labour in vain. With inex-

pressible pleasure I have to report that the number of members at Macarthy's Island is one hundred and two, and six are on trial. May they all "war a good warfare!" We think that the time is now come to form a class at one of the Foulah towns. I purpose very soon (God being my helper) gathering those into the fold, who are sincere in their inquiries after truth, and who express a desire to flee from the wrath to come. Our school at the Foulah town, (Broco,) though in its infancy, is going on well; the children are making progress in their learning. This very circumstance has impressed upon the minds of the Foulahs the importance and excellency of our mission. Indeed, some of the old men wish they could be children again, that they might learn to read the book of God.

I have a Foulah for an interpreter, who has a tolerable knowledge of English. For this instance of the goodness and providence of God, I here record my devout thanks; for were I to search all the towns on the banks of the Gambia, I believe that I should not find another Foulah capable of interpreting.

The brethren Cupidon and Sallah preach once in the week, in the Jolloff language, to their own country people. We have a pious and intelligent young man from among the liberated Africans, belonging to the Accow tribe, who has a class of his own people, or tribe, to whom he speaks in the Accow language. We have regular service in the two Foulah towns at Broco, every Lord's day; but we are sometimes put to some inconvenience for the want of places of worship, especially as the rains are now set in. Large tabba trees have hitherto served as a covert from the scorching rays of a vertical sun, and from the rains, and from the tempest. If the committee can allow us the sum of five pounds, we could, with the help of the Foulahs and others, erect a spacious house for the Lord of hosts, between the two towns. It would be built in the native form of wood and cane, and covered with grass, which would be far better than holding our meetings and schools under the above-mentioned trees.

I have every reason to think, that the system of Mohammedanism is rapidly on the decline, and must, ere long, fall before the light and force of truth. I have distributed several copies of the Arabic scriptures, which were kindly furnished by the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Incalculable good is likely to result therefrom; for the people who can read appear very anxious to obtain a copy. I believe that some of the Bibles, Testaments, and the Book of Psalms, have been carried hundreds of miles into the interior of the country. A short time ago I presented Mr. Grant's tradesman with an Arabic Bible; soon after he reached the port of Cantaliconda, (about three hundred miles above Macarthy's Island,) a marraboo was so pleased with the Bible, that he even offered at once to give him three bullocks for the book of God. Surely such accounts appear to augur well.

Of late I have had many interviews with bushereens and marraboos, (priests of Mohamed,) and some have, with no small degree of candour, said, that the white man's religion must prevail, and finally overthrow their system. One man, a marraboo, said, that "white man had God in his heart, and that make him happy too much." I very frequently ask them the state of their minds; but, notwithstanding their apparent sanctity, their external ablutions, their prostration to the earth, and prayers (so called) twice every day, together with a repetition of the Alcoran, and the use of their beads, *greegrees*, charms, &c., &c., there is in them not only a destitution of that religion which takes its seat in the heart, but, alas! alas! they are (as is too evident) "earthly, sensual, devilish."

Another man declared that he could not derive comfort or satisfaction in his worship at the mosque; and no marvel, for there is no looking to the world's Redeemer, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world!" Another

marraboo, after witnessing the holy fervour and zeal of some of our people, was greatly amazed, and exclaimed, in the Mandingo language, "What does all this mean? There is but one God, and Mohamed is His prophet!"

I pray that the gospel of God our Saviour may speedily supersede the domination of the false prophet: then the wilderness will become a fruitful field, and the desert like Eden, the garden of the Lord. The neighbouring kings and chiefs have an extraordinary propensity for war; they seem to be influenced by the love of riches, (slaves,) the love of honour, and the love of power.

We have just been sadly annoyed by Kimmington, a most desperate chief: he has even threatened to invade Macarthy's Island; and on Tuesday last, the 19th, an alarm was given, which put the whole settlement into a state of great consternation and confusion. It was reported that Kimmington and his people were in the bush near the island; the bugles were immediately sounded at the fort, the government bell was rung, the cannons were loaded, the people hastened from their farms, some of the poor women were weeping aloud, and others were busily engaged in carrying their children, boxes, &c., to the fort for protection. Such another sight I hope I shall never be called to witness. My dear wife and I retired in secret before God, and were enabled to cast on him our every care, knowing that "the hairs of our heads are all numbered," and that nothing could happen to us without the knowledge of our heavenly Father. Soon, however, we were informed that Kimmington's son, and a few horsemen, were on the side of the port, opposite to the island, and that their object was not to make war, but to promote peace.

A short time ago, a vessel and her cargo were seized by the above-mentioned chief, which belonged to an English merchant; in consequence of which the trade has, in a great measure, been suspended, as the merchants are afraid to proceed in their vessels above Macarthy's Island. This circumstance has subjected the natives to very great inconvenience, they being under the necessity of coming in their canoes a distance, sometimes, of at least two or three hundred miles. The kings of Jemera, Barbarra, and Woolley, have in consequence lost their customs; they have, therefore, given Kimmington distinctly to understand that, unless he makes restitution or friendship with the white people, so that they may proceed up the River Gambia as before, they will break up his town, and take his country from him; and now he begins to tremble for consequences. His message to the Commander was as follows:—"I do not wish to injure or hurt white man, Foulah man, nor Mandingo man." He also stated, that he thought the vessel belonged to a black man; and then began to express his regret for what he had done. I trust, however, that this painful circumstance will be over-ruled for good, and that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. Amen, and Amen.*

To the preceding communication from Macarthy's Island, I add the two following letters from St. Mary's, with the introduction by the general secretaries:—

MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

IN our last Number we printed a very encouraging letter from Mr. Dove, respecting the new mission established at Macarthy's Island. Equally gratifying are the following extracts from the letters of Mr. Fox, who diligently and usefully occupies the station of St. Mary's, on the same river, the Gambia. To Admiral Warren our Society owes its cordial thanks for the public testimony which, it will be seen, he

* "Missionary Notices," vol. viii. pp. 60—62.

was pleased to bear, on a recent occasion, to the character and labours of our missionaries, and for his benevolent offer of assistance in favour of Amadi Gum's liberation, as contained in his obliging note to Mr. Fox.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Fox, dated St. Mary's, River Gambia,
September 6th, 1834.*

THERE is work enough in this neighbourhood to employ three native assistants and an additional missionary, could we obtain them.

I am myself fully employed, and many an evening have I retired to rest when I have been so fatigued that I have absolutely preferred the boarded floor to my bed: the following day and days have, of course, found me worse. The following is my work every sabbath, (if at all able to attend to it,) that is,—at five o'clock A.M., prayer-meeting in the chapel; at half-past seven, I read prayers to the soldiers in the barracks; at ten, read prayers and preach in our own chapel, when the heat, from the lowness of the chapel, and the crowded congregation, is almost insufferable; at half-past eleven, perform duty at the church; at two P.M., sail to Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, preach and meet the class, (or go to Melville,) and at six o'clock in the evening again preach here; at the close of which I either hold a prayer-meeting, meet the society, or administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper. My week-days also are fully employed: every morning at five o'clock we have a prayer-meeting in the chapel, (these I cannot always attend, from indisposition,) and at half-past six the school commences. I have also a considerable number of baptisms, marriages, sick to visit, and funerals to attend; and either prayer-meeting or preaching every evening in the week.

You will please to observe, I do not complain of this,—though I am sometimes fearful as to the consequences. No; I trust I can say, it is “my meat and my drink;” and with humility I adopt the language of the poet:—

“For this alone I live below,
The power of godliness to show,
The wonders wrought by Jesu's name;
O that I might but faithful prove,
Witness to all Thy pardoning love,
And point them to the' atoning Lamb!”

From the Same, dated St. Mary's, November 10th, 1834.

I BEG leave most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your kind communications, bearing date the 10th and 15th of September; and which arrived here on the 22d of the following month.

They were put into my hands at a period when the affectionate language they breathe, and the kind admonitions they contain relative to my health, were peculiarly acceptable to us. Three days before, we had committed to the “silent tomb” a lovely and promising infant, aged only six days, after but a few hours' sickness; and under circumstances which led us to reflect upon death in one of its most afflicting forms. Our sorrow could only be alleviated by the consideration, that the Judge of all the earth doeth right; that “all things work together for good to them that love God;” that “what we know not now, we shall know hereafter.” This, however, we already know, that the spirit of our dear child is gone to that Saviour, in whose heavenly kingdom we expect to meet again. And, thank God, ere long the “king of terrors'” own funeral will take place; for in that day “there shall be no more death.”

As to the present state of our health, you will be both gratified and grieved. You will be glad to hear, that, notwithstanding the work I have had, and still have, to perform, I am in moderate health. Surely an especial Providence has watched over me during the present sickly and deathly season. While scores of the natives have gone the way of all flesh, and out of about fifty Europeans no less than ten or twelve have been carried to the house appointed for all living, I have scarcely been prevented from attending to my numerous and important duties more than once or twice. This calls aloud for gratitude to Him who hath said, in reference to his ministers more particularly, "But the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

You will, however, be sorry to hear, that my dear wife's health is exceedingly delicate and precarious; yet, she is much better than she was a few days ago, but still very weak; and I have scarcely been able to leave her bed-side.

The doctor recommended her going home by the vessel which brings you this letter; and I have endeavoured to persuade her to do so, but cannot prevail; she wishes to stay as long as I do, or be buried in African soil by the side of our dear infant.

For want of assistance I cannot possibly leave the island for a single day, though Captain Quin, commander of His Majesty's ship, "Britomart," has very kindly and repeatedly invited us to go with him to sea, two or three weeks, for the benefit of our health, where we should have good medical advice, and every comfort we could expect.

I shall have your sympathies, I know; and, I trust, your prayers also, that I may have strength according to my day, and realize the fulfilment of those well-known lines:—

"When my sorrows most increase,
Let thine utmost joys be given;"

or with pious Job exclaim, "Though Thou slay me, yet will I trust in Thee."

The welcome intelligence, that £500 had been granted towards the erection of the new chapel, was received with heart-felt gratitude. I immediately commenced purchasing materials, a considerable quantity of which are now on the spot. His Excellency, the governor, has kindly promised to lay the foundation-stone, which, I hope, will take place in a few days: and I trust, the Almighty will grant his blessing with this important undertaking, and spare me to see "the top-stone brought on with shouting, Grace, grace unto it!"

About five or six weeks ago arrived from the Leeward the "Isis" frigate, with Admiral Warren, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's fleet on this coast, during the last three years, on board, who came here to meet his successor, Admiral Campbell, in the "Thalia" frigate, from England. The "Isis" lay at anchor about a fortnight before the other admiral arrived, during which period I had the pleasure of visiting Admiral Warren, by his obliging invitation, two or three times, and of meeting the Rev. W. V. Henneh, chaplain to His Majesty's ship. From both these gentlemen I received great kindness. The admiral cordially congratulated me on the increase of our congregation, the addition to the society, and the good that he believed was doing. He expressed his pleasure that we had a missionary at Macarthy's Island; and that the two native assistants answered so well. I informed him they did; and that I had two or three others whom I wished to propose. On his leaving the Gambia for England, a respectful Address was presented to him by the merchants and traders of the settlement; and, in his answer to that Address, he expressed his views of the good resulting from the labours of your missionaries.

The following is the part referred to:—

"The success of the missionaries with the natives reflects the highest credit on

the able gentlemen who have been and are now employed at St. Mary's, and at Macarthy's Island, a distance of between two and three hundred miles up the river; and far exceeds what the most sanguine could have expected in so short a time.

"Indeed, gentlemen, with the fostering hand of Government, a gradual increase of liberated Africans, and the continued exertions of the Missionary Society, I really look forward to see realized, in a great measure, those beneficial plans for the good of Africa which have, in all other places, been so long and so often essayed in vain."

When Admiral Warren's answer to the merchants and traders was received, the "Isis" was lying out at anchor three or four miles from Bathurst, preparing to get under weigh. The respectful mention he had publicly made of your missions and missionaries, I thought, deserved an acknowledgment; and I wrote the following hasty lines:—

"Mission-House, Bathurst, River Gambia, October 11th, 1834.

"SIR,—I CANNOT suffer the 'Isis' to leave the Gambia without tendering to you, in the name of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, and also on behalf of my fellow-labourer, the Rev. Thomas Dove, of Macarthy's Island, our most sincere thanks for the very liberal views you entertain, and have expressed, towards the Society with which I have the honour to be connected.

"Most fervently praying, that every personal, domestic, and spiritual blessing may always attend you,

"I remain," &c.

*"To Rear-Admiral Warren, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Fleet
on the Western Coast of Africa, &c., &c."*

I also sent him, as a small present, a walking-staff made by Amadi Gum, who is an excellent workman, and of whom Admiral Warren had heard some account; when he sent me back by the pilot the following very gratifying note:—

"His Majesty's Ship 'Isis,' October 12th, 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I ACCEPT, with the greatest pleasure, the proof of Amadi Gum's ingenuity and gratitude; and should you, ultimately, find any difficulty in procuring this deserving man his freedom, you may consider, that I have always twenty pounds at your service to effect it.

"I always am, dear sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"FREDERICK WARREN."

"To the Rev. William For."

Amadi Gum's very eyes glowed with fire when I communicated to him the intelligence of Admiral Warren's benevolent offer. He exclaimed, "Thank God; thank God! I hope the Lord will help you to get my freedom!"

You will not, I hope, forget my proposal for Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen; that infant society deserve encouragement; they have again asked for a school, and will do all they can towards a chapel.

My present state of health, all things considered, is tolerable, and I am perfectly willing to remain on this station a third year, with your permission. I must, however, beg of you to send out, as soon as possible after Christmas, an additional missionary for this station, besides allowing me to employ two or three native assistants; and you may depend upon it we shall all be at it, and always at it.*

* "Missionary Notices," vol. viii. pp. 74—76.

It will be seen, from the last of these letters, that the writer had now obtained permission to build a new chapel, with a liberal grant from the parent committee. This welcome news reached the Gambia on the 22d of October, and he therefore began the work immediately, begging and giving and labouring with all his might; and though he was occasionally laid aside with attacks of fever during the rains, as well as afterwards, yet, upon the whole, his health was tolerable. He is persuaded that nothing but the special providence and goodness of God could have preserved his life during the excessive, though happy, toil of the greater part of that and some of the following year. More help was needed: it was kindly promised, and in due time it arrived.

This was also the case at Sierra-Leone; but before further help arrived there, death had thinned the small band of missionary labourers; for "one was taken, and the other left." Mr. Clarke was called to "gather up his feet" at the close of the rains, and just as the healthy season had set in, after a residence in the colony of only about twelve months. One of the missionaries belonging to the Church missions was also called hence, to be no more seen; and four of them had returned to Europe invalided. Mr. Maer had suffered severely, but was mercifully preserved, and was "in labours more abundant."

ISAAC CLARKE, whose term of public service was so short in this mission, was a young man of sincere piety; and, while health and strength lasted, was happy and useful in his Master's work. It appears that he never fully recovered from his seasoning-fever, though he was removed from one place to another for a change of air. His lungs were affected before he left England; and therefore, though the climate, no doubt, accelerated the disease, his death could not be wholly attributed to that. He gradually grew weaker and weaker in body; but "his soul was happy in God," "quite happy." These were some of the last expressions he uttered; and he died in peace, on the 4th of November, 1834. As he was much esteemed in life, so was he greatly lamented and honoured in death; his funeral being attended by at least six hundred persons. "The brethren, May, Peck, Munro, and Clarke, lie side by side."

Mr. Crosby had sailed for Sierra-Leone before the news of Mr. Clarke's death had reached London; so that another mis-

sionary was now very much needed; and, as soon as practicable, a third was sent.

On the 3d of December, 1834, the foundation-stone of the new chapel at Bathurst, St. Mary's, was laid by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, in the presence of most of the European residents, several naval and military officers, and a large number of the natives. The following "historical sketch," written on parchment, was placed, with some small pieces of British coin, in a cavity of the foundation-stone, and was read by the Lieutenant-Governor in the open air before it was deposited:—

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF WESLEY CHAPEL, ON THE ISLAND OF ST. MARY'S,
WESTERN AFRICA, COMMENCED DECEMBER, 1834.

IF there be a God,—and that there is all nature cries aloud, and even our own existence clearly demonstrates,—then it is the bounden duty of every rational and intelligent creature to love and serve and glorify Him. But although the Divine existence may be inferred from the varied and beautiful works of nature, had there been no further revelation respecting the self-existent, independent, infinite, and eternal Spirit, we should probably have long remained ignorant respecting his natural and moral perfections, the requisitions of the gospel, the immortality of the soul, and the awful realities of an eternal world.

Great Britain, though not one of the first portions of the globe that were favoured with this revelation, was nevertheless, at an early period, visited by the heralds of salvation; whose converts and co-adjutors in the ministry increased, many of whom, alas! were burnt at the stake, and swam through rivers of blood to defend the truth. Happily, however, for the honour of Britain, and the happiness and welfare of its inhabitants, persecution has of late years subsided, and England has not been more conspicuous for arts and sciences, her men of genius and literature, than for her humane and benevolent institutions, her attachment to the Christian religion, (the religion of the Bible,) and for an host of able divines, well qualified to advocate its cause at home, and most zealous in disseminating far and wide "the glorious gospel of the blessed God."

Among the modern reformers may be reckoned the Rev. Messrs. Wesley and Whitefield; the former of whom was the founder of Methodism, and also of the foreign missions bearing that name, which have now spread into the four quarters of the globe.

The first Wesleyan missionary arrived on this island in 1821, who soon commenced his ministerial duties; and though he met with difficulties, he also met with that respect from the local authorities, and that success in his work, which encouraged him to labour on. In the year 1825 a mission-house was erected, and the whole of the ground-floor, thirty-seven feet by seventeen, appropriated to the double purpose of holding divine service and also of keeping a week-day school.

In the latter part of 1833 this station was visited, by the great Head of the church, with a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The above-mentioned room became much too small to contain the congregation; the society in a few months was doubled, and in little more than twelve months increased fourfold, so that the original chapel could not admit even all the members of society, which had increased from seventy-five to three hundred: the population being about two thousand seven hundred, out of which there were about fifty Europeans. This led

to an application to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London, for leave (and the principal part of the means) to erect a new and much larger chapel, stating to them its size, (fifty-four feet by thirty-eight,) probable cost, and the probable sum that could be raised on the island towards its erection. After some months' unavoidable delay, the welcome intelligence was received from the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee that £500 were granted toward the expense; and the missionary to whom that letter was addressed (Rev. W. Fox) was authorized to begin to build immediately. This letter arrived on the 22d of October, 1834; the following day a commencement was made by clearing the site of land adjoining the mission-house, purchasing materials, &c.

Charles Grant, Esq., was engaged to erect this chapel, the doors, windows, and interior part excepted, which the missionary engaged to superintend; and this foundation-stone was laid on Wednesday, December 3d, 1834, by His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor George Rendall, Esq., Representative of His Britannic Majesty King William IV. May the blessing of God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, rest upon this place; and may the present inhabitants of St. Mary's, and generations yet unborn, have to bless God to all eternity, for the erection of this chapel! Amen, and amen.

While the smith was soldering up a square tin and leaden box containing this document, previous to its being put in the stone, the 540th Hymn was sung, to the well-known tune of the "Old Hundred;" after which His Excellency proceeded to lay the stone, assisted by several other gentlemen. He then gave a short, but very appropriate, address. The writer also gave a brief exhortation; and then was sung the 620th Hymn:—

"Behold the sure foundation-stone
Which God in Sion lays," &c.;

and thus closed the commencement of this important undertaking.

A few extracts from my unpublished journal and letters may be introduced here.

December 6th, 1834.—The past two days here have been partly occupied in soliciting subscriptions for the new chapel, in which I have succeeded very well. I met with only one refusal: this was from a gentleman of deistical principles, who, with his declining to give any thing, made some rather severe remarks upon the mission, calling the gracious work of God, and the blessed revival which was still going on, a mere farce. This called forth a reply from another European gentleman, who was present. Though not, it is to be feared, a converted man, yet he was a well-wisher to the cause, and nobly defended the mission from this unexpected and ungracious attack. After speaking for some time on the propriety and utility of our missions generally, and the good that had resulted from mis-

sionary labour in this colony, he referred to the present *farce*, as the sceptic called it, and, pointing to several well-known characters in the town,—who had frequently been brought before the magistrates for debt, breaches of the peace, &c., but who had not been seen in the Court-House for many months, and were now orderly and industrious, civil and obliging in their manners, well clothed in their persons, and regular attendants on the means of grace,—he asked, with some warmth, if all that was “a mere *farce*.” “If their hearts are not changed,” continued he, “it is evident that a great moral change has been effected in their lives; and this is a fact known to the whole colony.”

Sunday, 14th.—At six A.M. I gave tickets to two large classes; at half-past seven at the barracks; at ten I read prayers, and preached with considerable liberty; at the close I baptized several adults. Immediately afterwards I performed duty at the church. At two P.M. I sailed to Berwick-Town, preached and renewed the tickets; returned home a little before six; when I again preached, and at the close held a prayer-meeting.

17th.—I felt much blessed this evening, while preaching from Heb. xiii. 8, “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.” I had been engaged all day with the new chapel, and went into the pulpit without a text; (not the more excellent way;) but on opening the Bible, the passage just quoted presented itself; and it was good to be there. At the close, I met my class, when we had another refreshing season.

Christmas-Day.—I rose this morning at four; and commenced the prayer-meeting a little before five. Many could not get into the chapel. At half-past seven I went to the barracks; at ten I read prayers, and preached from the “faithful saying;” (1 Tim. i. 15;) then performed duty at the church. At half-past two I attended the prayer-meeting at Soldiers’-Town; and in the evening preached from the emphatic answer of the blind man who had received his sight. (John ix. 25.)

29th.—Quarter-day. The leaders and local preachers dined at the mission-house; and we then proceeded to business. Another year of prosperity, both temporal and spiritual. To God be all the praise!

January 1st, 1835.—Last evening I held a watch-night service. Scores could not get into the chapel. The subjects selected by the local brethren were appropriate. I closed the service, which was a solemn and profitable season. To-day I have been to Berwick-Town, to commit to the silent tomb the mortal remains of Mary Lusack, one of the oldest members on this

station, who died triumphantly happy in God, between eleven and twelve o'clock last evening. About the same period I was addressing the congregation on the subject of death; adding, "While I am speaking, and you are hearing, it is highly probable that some of God's people are saying, 'O the pain, the bliss of dying!'" Though the sea was rough, many of the natives went over in their canoes; and about twenty accompanied me in the mission-boat. It was an affecting scene. Some of her last words were, "The Master is come, and calleth for me." *

Sunday, 4th.—I commenced the service this morning, by giving out that beautiful hymn,—

"When all thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys," &c.

I then improved the death of Mary Lusack, from, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand," &c. It was a gracious season; and many in the congregation, by their countenances and tears, said,

"O may I triumph so,
When all my warfare's past!"

After performing colonial duty, I proceeded to Berwick-Town. On arriving at the house of the deceased, where we preached, I was struck with the sadness which appeared in the countenances of all present; most of whom (that is, the females) had their heads dressed with black or blue baft, as a token of respect to their departed friend. I endeavoured to impress upon their disconsolate minds the encouraging words of the Saviour to his disciples, "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions," &c. (John xiv. 1—3.) I afterwards met the class, and then embarked in the mission-boat for St. Mary's; but, owing to a contrary tide, I did not reach that place till a few minutes after six. However, I again preached, and at the close held a short prayer-meeting.

17th.—I received a letter from the Rev. John Beccham, with the welcome intelligence that an additional missionary is coming out immediately for this station.

* This is the person mentioned in a preceding chapter, who was brought to a knowledge of the truth under the ministry of the Rev. John Morgan, at an early stage of the mission. I afterwards furnished a short account of this good woman for the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, which appeared in 1837, p. 233.

Sunday, 25th.—Another heavy day's work. I conducted six services. Tired *in* the work, but not tired *of* it.

29th.—We had a gracious season at the five-o'clock prayer-meeting this morning; two persons found peace with God, in addition to three the other evening. Praise ye the Lord!

On the 30th of this month I addressed a letter to the committee, containing an account of the financial and spiritual state of the circuit. The following is an abstract of that communication:—Some account of personal and domestic affliction; but the prosperity of the cause of God was a sufficient recompence for all our aches and pains. We had had to mourn over some, but rejoiced over others; had united in marriage several couples, and baptized nearly two hundred. The financial receipts were upwards of £60, in addition to the annual list of subscriptions, amounting to £40. 2s. 7d., with upwards of £100 towards the new chapel, the walls of which were now about fifteen feet high, &c. Five members of the society had “died in the Lord” during the year, ten had removed, eleven had been excluded. The number of members were,—Bathurst, 261; Melville, 26; Berwick-Town, 27: total, 314; being an increase of 130 during the year, besides upwards of twenty on trial. In the school, boys, 95; girls, 31: total, 123.

February 6th.—We had a delightful prayer-meeting this evening. One of the soldiers from the barracks literally “smote upon his breast,” and cried aloud for mercy. I went to him at the close of the meeting, and pointed him to “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.” He did not then find relief for his burdened soul, but returned to his quarters in deep distress, assisted by his sergeant and another soldier.

Sunday, 8th.—My work to-day was much as usual, except that I went to Melville in the afternoon, instead of to Berwick.

19th.—To-day I united in marriage thirty couples of liberated Africans, the female part of whom had only recently been rescued from the slave-ship, by His Majesty's cruisers. There may be an evil in this wholesale system of marrying; but when there are two evils, prudence dictates that we choose the least; and believing this to be the least of the two, I perfectly concurred with the governor in the propriety of thus uniting them in matrimony. The courtship, though of short duration, was mutual: the man having “popped the question,” as in other lands, he almost immediately received an answer in the affirmative from the female; and so they were married, and duly and properly registered; and it is to be hoped that all the parties will attend to the vows they have now made. At all events, I did

my duty, though it was with some difficulty that I maintained my accustomed gravity during a part of the service.

23d.—This evening the brig “Emerald” arrived from London, with the promised additional help; that is, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, to whom we gave a right hearty welcome. May they be made an abundant blessing to the swarthy tribes of Ham in this interesting part of the mission-field!

A very favourable opportunity having offered for taking a short trip to sea, a few weeks after the arrival of Mr. Wilkinson, I gladly embraced it, for the sake of my dear wife, who continued in a very delicate state of health; and I also needed a little rest or change. The vessel in which we embarked was an English brig, going to one or more of the Cape-de-Verd Islands, and expecting to be absent about three weeks. We sailed on the morning of March 21st, and on the evening of the 24th anchored off the Isle of Mayo. We found the inhabitants in a state of great excitement, from an insurrection which had taken place at St. Jago, by some troops recently arrived there from Lisbon, who were partisans in the great political stir which at that time existed in Portugal. These troops, having possession of the garrison, hoisted the flag of their own party, drove the inhabitants into the interior of the island, put the governor into irons, and then plundered the town. The inhabitants of Mayo were daily expecting these insurrectionists to pay them a visit: in fact, when they first saw our brig and flag, they were apprehensive that we had hoisted false colours, and that we were from St. Jago. Finding, however, that we were true Britons, the governor immediately chartered our vessel to the Gambia, with despatches to our governor for assistance, in case of an attack made upon them. We therefore only remained at Mayo twenty-four hours, when we were again under weigh for the Gambia.

During our short stay at Mayo, I visited the Catholic church, which stands upon an elevated site of ground at the north side of the town. It is unproportionably built, being about sixty-five feet in length, and about twenty feet wide. It was undergoing repairs, but at noon-day had a burning lamp. I saw the priest, so called, who was a black man, dressed exceedingly shabby, who appeared almost as ignorant on the subject of practical Christianity as the stones of which his church was built. The town is small, irregularly built, and the houses very meagre, excepting the governor’s, and one or two others; and these not half so respectable as the store-house at the Gambia.

The manners and habits of these Portuguese were to me filthy in the extreme; one room answering for bed-chamber, sitting-room, and dining-room. The fort was in a shattered condition, with very few guns, some of which were of no use whatever; and the few soldiers who were on the island appeared to be under a very loose kind of discipline: so that, though nature has tolerably well fortified this little island, it being from two to three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and withal very rocky, yet a small force would soon succeed in taking it. Of this the inhabitants seem sensible; for many of them, we were told, have their money and other valuable articles either buried or packed up, so that they may start into the interior at the approach of a foe.

We arrived at St. Mary's on the evening of the 28th, thankful to God for his preserving care over us, though little or nothing benefited by the voyage, having been absent only one week.

April 17th, Good-Friday.—We had service morning and evening, and both times upwards of one hundred and fifty were obliged to stand without. Most of the congregation were dressed in black. Mr. Wilkinson preached in the morning, and I in the evening. The presence of the Lord was with us.

Easter-Monday.—Yesterday was to me, and I hope to many, a good day. In the morning I preached from, "He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay." (Matt. xxviii. 6.) In the afternoon I preached at Melville, on, "Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou?" &c. (John xx. 15.) Many could not get in. I afterwards received several on trial.

29th.—My colleague and myself have to-day been to Berwick-Town, accompanied by the governor and the engineer. His Excellency has granted to the mission two lots of land in an excellent situation, which were measured and marked off.

May 4th.—I have to-day drawn up a memorial to the governor, on behalf of six of the members of the society, who are slaves. They have long had their freedom promised to them, but it has never been granted. They have made several applications to be allowed to purchase it; but in this also they have failed. At their request, therefore, I have interceded on their behalf.

6th.—My illness has settled into dysentery. Yesterday and to-day I was very ill; but my soul is in a happy frame.

Sunday, 10th.—Mr. Wilkinson not returning from Fort

Bullen in time for the evening service, I preached, though very unwell.

Sunday, 17th.—Another idle sabbath. But it is the Lord. He can bring low, and as quickly raise up again. My disease, however, has assumed the chronic form; so that it is now calomel, calomel, calomel! Time and patience, however, with God's blessing, will, ere long, I hope, find me restored.

25th.—Ten days ago I wrote to the committee at considerable length, on several subjects connected with the mission: one of these was the propriety of my remaining another year, though the usual time allotted to the brethren on this sickly coast has already more than expired; but for several reasons I was exceedingly anxious to remain some time longer, and wrote thus: "I cannot as yet see my way open to return; and I think the departure out of the missionary field ought to be as plain and clear as the path that led me into it." I therefore requested to be re-appointed at the ensuing Conference; but stated that, in case of a complete failure of health during the rains, I should feel it right to embrace the first opportunity of having an immediate change; and, in that case, I would gladly return here again. The necessity for this has already appeared in my own health, but more especially in the continued and increased illness of my dear wife, who, to all appearance, *cannot* stand up against another sickly season, as she continues so weak and debilitated even now, and is suffering severely: in fact, she has never recovered from the effects of the last season. I have therefore been compelled to write to-day again, stating that as soon as the chapel is finished, I shall feel it my duty to return for a short time.

28th.—Yesterday we had an eclipse of the sun. I am to-day better, though far from being well; and have resolved to take no more calomel. Most of the day I have been in the new chapel, fixing the lamp-chains, giving directions for the pews, &c.

June 2d.—During the past night I have suffered more from sickness than I ever did before, with violent cramp in my limbs, which continued till five o'clock this morning. I am therefore to-day confined to bed, and am thankful to my heavenly Father that the sickness and pain have abated. Never shall I forget the past night: it may well be said that, after severe fatigue or pain, rest is sweet. I never realized this so fully as to-day; and I thank God I have a good hope of that sweet, that heavenly and eternal, "rest which remains for the people of God," where

“ Infinite day excludes the night,
And pleasures banish pain.”

Sunday, 7th.—I was sufficiently recovered to go to Barra-Point, where I preached. In the evening I addressed the people here.

July 4th.—I have been much engaged of late with the new chapel; more especially this week. I have had most of my meals there, and have had the carpenters at work almost night and day. To-morrow it is to be dedicated to the service and worship of the most high God. May it be a good day!

Sunday, 5th.—This morning, long before the time of service arrived, crowds of people assembled round the chapel door; and at half-past ten it was crammed quite full, and scores, if not hundreds, had to stand without. Many of the Europeans and persons of colour were present. I preached in the forenoon, and Mr. Wilkinson in the evening. The collections amounted to £28 currency; and the Divine Presence was graciously felt. I am truly thankful that I have been spared to see completed so comfortable and respectable a place of worship. May it be the birth-place for many hundreds of souls!

28th.—Expecting to sail in a day or two, I this evening preached from 2 Cor. xiii. 11. I had been unwell all night and during the day with fever; but it being announced that I should preach, if at all able, and feeling somewhat better just before the bell began to ring for divine service, I rose, and prepared for the pulpit. Many wept, and some cried aloud. This dear people have for some days past shown their real affection for us in bringing us, as presents, ducks, fowls, &c., each present being accompanied with a prayer to God for our safety on the voyage, a speedy restoration to health, a happy meeting with our friends, and a strong hope that we shall come back again. Two days after this we bade them adieu, and sailed for our native country; and I fulfilled the promise I had made to them of returning; but as some further particulars of our departure from the Gambia, with my speedy return, and the reasons for so doing, will be found in a subsequent page, I shall close this chapter, and proceed, in the next, to the origin and commencement of the mission at Cape-Coast-Castle.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1835—1837.)

THE Discovery of the Coast of Guinea—Situation and Description of Cape-Coast—Europeans—Native Population—Prospect of the Castle, &c., from the Sea—Trade—Origin and Commencement of the Mission—Death of the Rev. Joseph R. Dunwell—The Committee “perplexed, but not disheartened”—Resolved to send two Missionaries—State of the Mission at Sierra-Leone—Mr. Sanders sails for that Station—The Author and Mr. MacBrair embark for the Gambia—The Latter sent as a Translator of the Scriptures—Our Arrival and Reception—Communication from the Author—Mr. MacBrair proceeds to his Station at Macarthy’s Island—Opposition to the Mission—Extracts from Mr. MacBrair’s Journal—Outrage on the Mission at Macarthy’s Island—The Assistant’s House demolished by a lawless Gang—The Author requested to go thither with all Speed—Mr. MacBrair returns to St. Mary’s—Finally sails for England—The Writer now at Macarthy’s Island—Extracts from his unpublished Journal—The rainy Season—Personal Affliction—Is appointed to Macarthy’s Island—Goes down to St. Mary’s to settle his Accounts with that Station—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley at Cape-Coast—And of Mr. and Mrs. Patterson at Sierra-Leone—The Author returns to Macarthy’s Island—Close of the Year—Statistics of the Mission at each Station.

THE coast of Guinea, including the Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coast, was discovered and explored by the Portuguese about the latter end of the fifteenth century; soon after which several European forts were erected in various parts. We have in a preceding chapter given some account of these forts, with a brief description of the native tribes, and the sanguinary and war-like character of the Ashantees, as also of the awful and degraded superstition of the inhabitants of that and other neighbouring kingdoms.

Cape-Coast-Castle, which has long been the chief British establishment in this part of Africa, is situated in $5^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 10'$ west longitude. The fort stands upon a rock about twenty feet above the level of the sea, and has appropriate accommodation and extensive magazines. Behind the castle is the town of Cape-Coast, which contains some comfortable houses, and has a square or parade in front of the castle-gate. The resident European merchants are twelve, and the native population is about five thousand. There are four magistrates, besides the president of council. The number of stone houses belonging to the Europeans, or natives connected with them, is



VIEW OF CAPE COAST CASTLE.

about eighteen, and they are supposed to be worth from £1,000 to £2,000 sterling each. The natives live in very comfortable "swish" houses, made of mud, which become hard and durable, and last so long as the roof resists the rains.*

The castle is an irregular figure of four sides, with four bastions at each angle; the whole mounting about eighty pieces of cannon. Two-thirds of the walls of the fortress are washed by the heavy sea which invariably runs along this line of coast, and it is well protected on the land side. Within the castle is an extensive line of spacious buildings, three stories high, running north and south, dividing the fort into nearly two equal parts, and containing the government-house, &c. A nearly similar structure runs east, forming a triangular space of considerable extent.

The cape, on which the castle stands, is an angular promontory, bounded by the sea on the south and east sides. It was originally settled by the Portuguese; but the Dutch dispossessed them in a few years, and took great pains to strengthen the fortifications. Admiral Holmes captured it, and demolished the citadel, in 1661; since which time it has remained in the possession of Great Britain, having been confirmed by the treaty of Breda. When the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, destroyed all the English factories along the coast in 1665, this place withstood his utmost endeavours, although he attacked it with thirteen men-of-war. The Company, who obtained a charter in 1672, subsequently added greatly to its strength by building some bastions, though the fort is considered to be too near the town, and commanded by some of the houses.†

It appears from Smollett's "History of England," that the French, in 1757, made an attempt to capture Cape-Coast-Castle, but signally failed; for though the squadron consisted of two ships of the line, and a large frigate, the governor, Mr. Bell, on hearing of the approach of these vessels, under the command of M. de Kersin, though ill-prepared for them in the way of ammunition, or soldiers to work the "few crazy guns," immediately provided gunpowder and about fifty Europeans from some vessels on the coast, mounted a few spare cannon upon a temporary battery, and with twelve hundred armed Negroes, under the command of their chief, received the French squadron, and poured such a steady and well-directed fire for two hours into M. Kersin's fleet, that the latter thought it most

* DR. MADDEN'S Report, in the Appendix to the "Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the West Coast of Africa, in 1842."

† MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 565.

prudent to make sail for the West Indies, without inflicting any great damage on the castle.*

The troops are commanded by a European. They are natives of the place, enlisted by the colonial authorities, are well behaved, and for order and discipline are said to be equal to any of our West-Indian regiments. During the visit of the late Niger Expedition to this place in 1841, the fort only mounted about twenty-four guns. Mr. Simpson, one of the civilians who accompanied that expedition, speaks thus of the prospect of Cape-Coast-Castle, as they approached it from the sea:—

The view, in our vessel's track to this place, was of the most highly picturesque description, uniting in it the sublime as well as the beautiful. The surf was breaking impetuously upon the beach and the base of the fort, in tremendous waves upon waves. Cape-Coast-Castle fort, occupying a considerable surface, and being entirely white, reflected the splendour of a setting sun. Nature thus, in her stern and beautiful aspects, spoke to the hearts of us voyagers, with perils impending over us, and far separated from the scenes of our more peaceful days, in language which I could have more easily expressed, had it been less deep and touching. I felt myself for a moment but a speck in a great creation or system of things, for whom it was a delusion to think the Almighty could care. But it was only for a moment I could thus think, and do dishonour to the majesty of Him whose universal parentage lasts throughout the duration of the creatures He has made, exhausting not His love, wearying not His power, in whose ignorance even a sparrow falls not to the ground.

Behind the castle, on rising ground, a small fort is erected, having a telegraph on its summit; and at night the castle and the fort exhibited a strong light,—a very beautiful object of view.

A considerable trade is carried on at this place, which is said to have increased of late years. The principal commodities imported into England from this part of the coast, are gold-dust, ivory, palm-oil, dye-woods, and, latterly, ground-nuts, with some minor articles of trade. There are several other British forts and settlements in the immediate vicinity, and at some distance from Cape-Coast-Castle; where, as well as in other places, we have now missions established, which will be noticed in due course.

The Wesleyan mission at the Gold-Coast was undertaken at the close of the year 1834, and actually commenced in 1835. The Rev. Joseph R. Dunwell arrived at Cape-Coast-Castle early in the month of January of that year, when he met with a hearty welcome from the governor and authorities, and a little band of the natives whom God had prepared for the reception of his holy word. The missions on the Gold-Coast have now assumed so important a character, and the particulars con-

* MARTIN'S "British Colonies," vol. iv. p. 566.

nected with their origin and formation are so interesting, that I shall here transcribe, from Dr. Beecham's admirable work on "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," the circumstances which led to the commencement of this good work :—

It was in the autumn of the year 1834 (writes Dr. Beecham) that the committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were induced to send a missionary on a visit of observation to the Gold-Coast. A few native youths, who had learned to read the English translation of the Bible in the excellent Government-school at Cape-Coast Castle, became so interested by the contents of the sacred volume, that they agreed to meet at regular times for the purpose of reading it together, and of inquiring carefully into the nature and claims of the Christian religion. The name which this association assumed was that of "A Meeting or Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;" and they adopted for their guidance the following rule, which is copied literally from the Minutes of their proceedings: "That, as the word of God is the best rule a Christian ought to observe, it is herein avoided framing other rules to enforce good conduct; but that the scriptures must be carefully studied, through which, by the help of the Holy Spirit and faith in Christ Jesus, our minds will be enlightened, and find the way to eternal salvation."

The formation of this most interesting society or meeting took place on the 1st of October, 1831; and in the year 1833, Mr. William De Graft, one of the first who began to read the scriptures privately in the spirit of prayer and inquiry, received at Dix Cove, where he was then residing, a request from his young friends at Cape-Coast Town that he would engage some suitable person, who might be proceeding to England, to purchase for their use a number of copies of the New Testament. Shortly after, the late excellent Captain Potter, master of a merchant-vessel from the port of Bristol, arrived at Dix Cove; to whom William De Graft applied as one likely to execute with promptness and care the commission for the purchase of the scriptures. He was surprised at receiving such an application from a native young man, and became so greatly interested by the information which his questions elicited, that he was led to ask whether the instructions of a missionary would not be highly appreciated by those native inquirers after the true religion. De Graft replied in the affirmative, but appeared doubtful whether so high a privilege was attainable. Captain Potter next proceeded to Cape-Coast, where he saw the members of the meeting; and, having consulted President Maclean, he returned to England, resolved to exert himself, in order that, on his next voyage, he might, together with copies of the scriptures, take out a Christian minister who should "preach the word" to those who were already united in seeking "the way to eternal salvation," and proclaim the gospel of Christ to other portions of the Heathenish native population of the Gold-Coast.

Immediately after his arrival at Bristol, Captain Potter communicated to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London his views as to the promising opening for missionary exertion in that part of Africa, and generously offered to take a missionary with him on his next voyage, who might make personal observation and inquiry upon the spot; and, should he conclude that the prospect was not such as to warrant his continuance for the purpose of commencing a mission, Captain Potter engaged that he would bring him back to England without any expense to the Missionary Society. This noble offer met with acceptance on the part of the Missionary Committee; and the Rev. Joseph Dunwell was selected for the interesting service.

This devoted missionary embarked with Captain Potter at Bristol, on the 17th

of October, 1834. The entries in his private journal sufficiently indicate the views with which he entered upon his arduous undertaking. Impressed with the responsibility which attached to him, and fearing lest the important mission might fail through his incapacity, he studied daily, on his voyage, the lives of eminent missionaries, especially those of Brainerd and Martyn, in order that he might catch a larger measure of their spirit, and propose to himself as an example the zeal and self-denial by which they were characterized. On the 6th of December the ship came within sight of land near Cape Palmas; and a few extracts from the journal of Mr. Dunwell, illustrative of the character and manners of the natives, at the several places where they touched, as well as of his own feelings while contemplating their moral state, will be read with interest:—

“December 7th, 1834.—At daylight we were seen by the natives; and in half an hour upwards of fifty men were on deck, the first of whom recognised Captain Potter, and appeared glad to see him. I observed immediately that they were most rapacious beggars. We shortly weighed anchor, it being Sunday, in order to secure greater quietness and tranquillity; but although we had a good breeze, a great number of canoes came off to us in the course of the day. These people are the most athletic and well-proportioned men I ever saw, and have most animated countenances. They seem exceedingly fond of Englishmen, and say they would be glad if I would stay and live with them, as there is no ‘white man’ at Sesters, Garraway, or Cape Palmas; all which places we passed to-day. The inhabitants appear numerous; but Christ has not been named among them. What Christian can witness their numbers, and their degradation, without deep feeling? I noticed that nearly all we saw could speak broken English. The country appears almost like a paradise, though everything springs spontaneously. At dusk we anchored off Cape-Town, (an American settlement,) which I intend to visit to-morrow, God willing.

“Monday, 8th.—At day-break I saw many canoes coming off. Numbers of people were soon upon deck, with rice, fowls, and ivory, which they exchanged for articles of English manufacture. About nine o’clock, the king, whose name is Freeman, came, with several attendants. He was dressed in a coat and trowsers of coarse blue cloth, and wore a three-cornered hat, with a red cockade. A coloured silk umbrella covered him from the rays of the sun. Upon entering the cabin, his attendants presented the treaty lately made between the Americans and himself, respecting the colony, (which is about twenty miles square,) in behalf of the Colonization Society. Having received a note from Dr. Hall, the governor, Captain Potter accompanied me on shore, and we were politely received by the doctor and his secretary, Mr. Thompson.

“While I was there, I was introduced to a man who told me that he was a member of the Wesleyan-Methodist Society, and that there are sixteen persons who meet together in Christian fellowship on a Sunday morning. The governor expects a missionary shortly. He expressed a strong wish that our committee should send one; indeed, I think there is a good opening for missionary labour, as there is already a Christian society which stands in need of a shepherd, and there is a great number of the aborigines of the country in the town adjoining the settlement.

“Before we returned on board, we visited the king at his hut, where chairs were placed for us, and we were welcomed with much cordiality. No sooner were we seated, than a great number of natives assembled round us, in a state of perfect nudity; and when we took our departure for the boat, we were escorted by scores of them to the shore. Mr. Thompson, the governor’s secretary, told me that the people were astonished at me, and said among themselves, that I was a ‘god-man,’ come to talk ‘great palaver.’

"Tuesday, December 9th.—To-day we have been visited by three kings, who all appear to be great men in their way. They have many under their control. Kavally seems to be next in importance to Cape Palmas. The news of a 'god-man' (as they term me) having come, appears to have gone like lightning down the coast. Cape-Coast seems to be much envied, as these people also desire to have a missionary. We asked one of their chiefs last night if he would wish me to come and live with him; and, to express his meaning, he laid himself down, and extended his arms at full length, and said, 'You be my father, my brother.' Several chiefs have brought their sons to me, and wished me to take them, and teach them '*sensen*.'

"One native came to know when Christmas was, and why we called it so. When I told him, he seemed utterly astonished, and said, 'That be great palaver indeed;' and, striking his head, he added, 'Will keep that there good *sensen*.' Another came, and wrote on a slate, 'You come.' Upon examination, I found he could write his name, and read the alphabet; another could read words of one and two syllables. The quickness with which they learn is amazing. How great the harvest!—and the labourers, not few, but really *none*!

"I cannot doubt: I do believe that I am in the way of Providence, in coming with this vessel. If I live, I shall have an opportunity of visiting several hundreds of miles of this coast; and what I have seen of it I admire, and should not mind settling anywhere.

"December 11th.—When I arose in the morning, I found that we were opposite the land of Drewin. The country still assumes the same appearance: but, to my surprise, I learned that few ships touch here, as the people are savage, and speak another language. Not many years ago, Captain Thomas Feebin, of the ship 'Union,' from Bristol, stopped here for the purposes of trade; but, for some reason or other, the natives murdered the captain and the whole of the crew. They ransacked and plundered the vessel; and shortly after, Captain Potter passed, and caught some of the natives on the wreck; but he was obliged to abandon it, in order to save his own life, and those of his crew. In the evening, as we passed along, we came in sight of a village named Kutro. Here the natives kindled a fire on the beach, as a signal for us to anchor; but as we did not stop, two canoes came off, with some plantains, bananas, and fowls, which we bought. These natives had a very different appearance from those we saw last, having nothing round their waists but a mere strap of cloth, instead of the Manchester cloths I observed round the others; and they were afraid to come on deck, and seemed distrustful of all of us in the extreme.

"Friday, 12th.—Early this morning, we were opposite Pikanani Lahú, or Long-Jack's Place. Here the inhabitants appear exceedingly ignorant of religion or letters. If possible, they are worse beggars than I have seen before, as nothing seems to satisfy them. About one o'clock we arrived at Cape Lahú, and anchored. As usual, we had the decks soon filled with natives; among these were kings, chiefs, and counsellors, who all appeared exceedingly kind and familiar. They are athletic and well-proportioned; and their costume is nothing but a belt round their waist. Some wear their hair in large tufts, others curled, plaited, and braided.

"Saturday, December 13th.—At five o'clock this morning, or soon after, I could perceive the canoes making to the vessel. In a short time the decks were covered from end to end. To-day I embraced the opportunity of making some inquiries about this people and the place, as it is acknowledged to be one of great importance. The town appears to be divided into two districts, governed by two kings, namely, Peter and Antonio, both of whom I saw. Of the extent of these places I cannot speak positively; but the number of inhabitants certainly amounts to many

thousands. The people appear to be possessed of gold; and I saw vast quantities of ivory. The country is low, but very fertile and pleasant, producing spontaneously every kind of vegetation necessary for its inhabitants. I very much wished to visit this people in their town, as they gave me several pressing invitations. King Peter told me he would build me a house, if I would go; and one of his sons made me a present of half an ackie of gold, patted me on the face, and said, 'Me like you face; black man do.' My friend, Captain Potter, told me, that if they got me there, most likely they would keep me several days, till they had all seen me. I felt a longing desire for the salvation of these people, and could have freely stayed with them, and given myself up into their hands, and spent my strength and life amongst them, for the glory of God.

"December 15th.—I arose early this morning, and found we were opposite Pikanani Bassam. Here is a large population, exceedingly ignorant, and, at this time, engaged in war with what are called the Bush-men. This is also the case with two large towns which we have passed, namely, Jack Lahú, and Jack Jaques; so that we considered it best not to call here. In the evening we came to anchor at Grand Bassam, one of the prettiest-looking places I ever saw. The town stands about six miles up a noble river of the same name. It is a place of considerable importance. Old Kwosia, the king, is the greatest man we have seen. He possesses much wealth, and has a great number of wives. His influence is such, that nothing is done without his consent and approbation. We had not been here an hour, before he came on board. I was struck with his appearance; for although he is low in stature, there is something noble and dignified in his person. He is a complete man of business, and carries a large box of gold at his side, of no little value; yet he wears a mean cloth round his waist, and assists occasionally in rowing his canoe. If we have an opportunity of visiting his town, it is our intention so to do; and I believe I shall be the first Christian missionary that ever set foot in this place.

"December 16th.—About nine o'clock this morning, the king sent messengers to say that he could not visit us for ten days, as one of his wives, and a brother, had died last night. Upon inquiry, the messengers told us that they had been bewitched, and that two persons would be sacrificed, as well as a thousand guns fired at the same time.

"December 17th.—The roar of the guns, fired on account of the death of the king's wife, although at seven miles' distance, was like that of distant thunder. In the evening we took the boat, in order to ascertain whether we could land on the beach; but as we found that it was nearly perpendicular, and the swell very great, we did not attempt it; so I fear that our intended visit to Grand Bassam will be frustrated.

"December 20th.—Another day has been on my part wholly unemployed. I cannot read for the continual noise on deck, much less think closely. The Africans are indeed a noisy people; but this is not all: they are ignorant in the extreme. To-day, while conversing with one of them, I introduced religion; but, alas! he was as ignorant as a brute; he neither knew who made him, nor any thing else. All I could get from him was, 'Great devil talk angry:' signifying, that when it thundered, the devil was angry.

"December 23d.—This day we got under weigh, and came to a poor, small town, called Half Assinee. This place seems to have sprung up from one of the same name, destroyed by the king of Apollonia; who is a dreadful tyrant, carrying terror and destruction wherever he comes. Although the people at this place are poor in comparison with some of their neighbours, yet they are industrious. One young man who came on board, and calls himself 'Tom Coffee,' says he has been

at Liverpool, and went to church. He appeared much surprised at what he saw and heard."

Leaving this place, they called at Dix Cove and Commenda, both which towns have since become mission-stations; and on the 29th of December the vessel anchored off the Dutch fort of Elmina. At this place, within sight of Cape-Coast Castle, Mr. Dunwell wrote in his journal as follows: "What my feelings have been this day, I cannot describe. The place of my future residence is in view: it may prove the spot where I shall finish my earthly existence; and there the name of Jesus Christ may be honoured or dishonoured by me. But, in the strength of grace, I trust that, whether my days may be many or soon numbered, they will be spent in the service of God. All things appear to me to sink into nothingness, compared with the great work of my Divine Lord and Master."

While at anchor off Elmina, Mr. Dunwell wrote a letter to President Maclean, at Cape-Coast Castle, respectfully informing him of his arrival on the coast, and stating the objects contemplated by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, in sending him as a missionary to that part of Africa. On his arrival, a day or two afterwards, at Cape-Coast Castle, he met with a kind reception from the president, who invited him to remain at the castle until he could provide himself with a suitable residence; and expressed his opinion, that there was a very favourable opening among the natives for missionary exertions.*

Mr. Dunwell immediately commenced his labours among the people, who received him with devout gratitude; and the Lord blessed him with considerable success. A society of from forty to fifty members on trial was speedily formed; and the aspects of the new mission were of the most cheering character. An interesting letter from this devoted missionary, dated Cape-Coast, April 1st, 1835, was published in the "Wesleyan Missionary Notices," in the month of October of the same year. This letter contained extracts from his journal, from which it appears he had visited several places in the neighbourhood of his station, among which was Annamaboo, where he was well received, and kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Barnes, a respectable merchant of that place. He also spoke of other places which he was anxious to visit, where the doors were wide open to receive the message of salvation. The mission thus early assumed a most promising appearance. The large room in which public service had been held at Cape-Coast Town proved too small, and it was in contemplation to erect, as soon as possible, a suitable chapel. But, in the midst of the anticipations which this hopeful state of things inspired, Mr. Dunwell was attacked by fever, under which he sank in a few days; and left the societies, which he had been instrumental in forming, as sheep without a shepherd. This afflictive dispensation produced the deepest feeling among all who took any interest in the mission. On the following morning a native wrote, "Sad news in

* DR. BEECHAM'S "Ashantee and the Gold-Coast," pp. 259—272.

the town! The shepherd is away! The poor missionary is reported dead!"

JOSEPH R. DUNWELL, the first Wesleyan missionary on the Gold-Coast, was a young man of deep piety, amiable manners, and consistent conduct. In him were manifested, in an eminent degree, zeal for the cause of Christ, and a yearning pity for the souls of the Heathen. In a letter, addressed to a friend, which was found in his room after his decease, he expressed his readiness to lay down his life in Africa; and remarked, that it grieved him most of all, that his utmost exertions were so inadequate to meet the spiritual wants of the multitudes to whom he had access. The last entries in his own journal, and the notices furnished by Mr. Joseph Smith, the native master of the school at the Castle, show with what feelings this useful missionary met his death, far from his father's home, uncheered by the presence of mother, or sister, or other relative, and attended only by those to whom his generous qualities had endeared him in the land of strangers. On Sunday, the 14th of June, having mentioned that he had preached twice, although unwell, he added, "After the evening service I had a most violent headache, with some fever and sickness, which continued till I retired to rest. There appeared every symptom of what is called the 'seasoning,' which so frequently proves fatal: still I cannot describe the peace of mind I feel. I feel that I am a most worthless sinner, and have no hope, no plea, but, 'Jesus died for me.'" The day after, it appears, he used his pen for the last time, and wrote, "I passed an exceedingly restless night, having great pain of body; so that I rested very little. Yet, O the composure of mind! I believe I can say, 'In life or in death, I am the Lord's.'" On the 24th he sent for Mr. Smith, who found him much worse than he expected: they prayed together, and Mr. Dunwell repeated the fourth verse of the twenty-third psalm: "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." On Mr. Smith leaving to attend the school, he said to him, with tears, "Brother Smith, we have passed many agreeable evenings in conversing on instructive subjects; but I have to tell you I shall soon be absent from you, and be present with the Lord. I am going home, and shall be no more seen; but watch over the flock, and strengthen them in the Lord when I am gone." He expired between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of June 24th, 1835, and was interred the following afternoon. Great numbers of the natives, with most of the European gentlemen,

attended his funeral; and the governor having read the funeral service, the members of the society then sang that beautiful and appropriate hymn,—

“Hark! a voice divides the sky!
Happy are the faithful dead!” &c.

Thus lived and thus died the Rev. Joseph R. Dunwell. His sun went down almost as soon as it began to shine; yet no words of disappointment or regret escaped his lips, on account of his having so early sacrificed his life in the missionary enterprise; but a quenchless zeal for the cause of his Divine Master sustained him to the last; and all the solicitude he manifested was for the infant church formed by his instrumentality.

The loss of Mr. Dunwell was severely felt by the society, and deeply regretted by all who knew him, both at home and abroad. The day after the funeral, the bereaved society met, to take into consideration the circumstances in which they were placed by the afflictive dispensation which had overtaken them. The result was, they resolved to continue together until further assistance arrived; saying, “Though the missionary is dead, God lives;” and having “commended one another in prayer to God, they separated at ten o’clock.” The committee at home, in announcing Mr. Dunwell’s death, stated, “We are painfully affected by this dispensation, but not disheartened; ‘cast down, but not destroyed.’ Our great Master ‘buries his workmen, but carries on his work.’ To Western Africa the people of England owe a debt, which must be paid at all hazards; and God will yet bless our persevering efforts to discharge, in some measure, the solemn obligations of humanity and religion.” The society at Cape-Coast having presented a request (through Messrs. Jackson and Barr, two gentlemen on the Coast, who had kindly undertaken the administration of Mr. Dunwell’s affairs) to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, for another missionary, “the committee, unable to reconcile to their conviction of duty the abandonment of a work which had been so auspiciously begun, resolved to more than meet the application, by sending two missionaries, on the principle that the interests of a mission in such a climate as that of Western Africa ought not to be left to the care of only one individual. It was further agreed, that the two missionaries to be sent should be married men, in order that their wives might attend to the improvement of the native females.” *

* DR. BEECHAM’S “Ashantee and the Gold-Coast,” p. 278.

The communication of the intentions of the committee was received with unbounded satisfaction by the members at Cape-Coast, who continued to hold their religious meetings with regularity, and were exerting themselves to raise subscriptions for the erection of a suitable chapel. As soon as practicable, Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley were sent; and they were soon followed by Mr. and Mrs. Harrop. In due course, further particulars of this mission will be given; but, in the mean time, we return to the other stations.

At Sierra-Leone, Messrs. Maer and Crosby were united in effort and in heart, and the God of missions was with them during this whole year. The table inserted in Mr. Maer's quarterly report at that time, will show that the converted Negroes were not generally backward in supporting, according to their limited means, the cause of God and his gospel. The following is an extract from Mr. Maer's communication, dated "Free-Town, July 23d, 1835 :"—

It affords me much satisfaction to be able to state, that the Lord has been with us, and made us instrumental of good during the past quarter. Our society is on the increase. We have now six hundred and fifty-two members, and three hundred and forty-two on trial; making nine hundred and ninety-four under class-instruction.

There has also been a corresponding increase in the contributions returned from the classes. At the close of the quarter, ending in March, I stated that the returns exceeded those of any preceding quarter, by £5; and I have now to state, that the returns for the quarter, ending June 30th, exceed those of March by £5. 12s. 4d., being £33. 14s. 7d., which averages 14½d. per member. But, what is still more delightful, many have of late obtained the pardoning mercy of God. From March 31st to June 30th one hundred and thirty persons have professed to receive the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins. Among this number there are many young persons belonging to our schools in Free-Town and Portuguese-Town.

The present state of the society here is as follows :—

Places.	Members.	On trial.	Total in class.	Cash re- turned this quarter.	Average per Member.	Remarks.
				£. s. d.	d.	
Free-Town.						
Maroon chapel	80	22	102	5 9 9	16½	Congregation larger.
Bathurst-street chapel	102	40	142	5 11 9	13	Here is some increase.
Ebenezer chapel	30	11	41	2 5 5	18	Appearances very flattering.
Portuguese-Town	108	46	154	6 19 0	15½	Rising a little.
Congo-Town	56	15	71	2 8 2	10½	A little increase.
New-Town, West	141	59	200	8 7 11	14½	A great increase.
Soldiers'-Town	46	38	84	4 13 3	24½	Many persons converted here this quarter.
Wellington and New-lands	85	83	168	2 17 5	8	The chapel enlarged, and the society improving.
Wilberforce	3	18	21	0 1 11		Prospects brightening.
Lumley	1	10	11	0 0 0		Here much good would, I believe, be done but for the distance.
Total	652	342	994	38 14 7		

We have completed and opened the new Ebenezer chapel, which is properly settled on the Wesleyan plan. The piece of ground on which it is built, granted to

us by the Colonial Government for that purpose, contains two thousand one hundred and eighty-four square yards. It is well attended; and there is a prospect of the society increasing in this place. Many have lately joined the society there, several of whom have found peace with God. We have begun to enlarge the new chapel in New-Town West, by lengthening it to sixty feet, but cannot finish it during the rains. The congregation is very large. I am very sorry that our chapel in Congo-Town is not yet completed. The walls are up, but the rains prevent the workmen from proceeding for the present; and besides this, we are so embarrassed that it will be impossible for us to complete the work without some assistance from the funds of our Society, I think to the amount of £16 or £18. The building is now forty-one feet by twenty-six. The people meet for worship at present in an unfinished dwelling-house.

Our schools are prospering. We have at present five hundred and forty-six boys, and three hundred and eighty-four girls, making a total of nine hundred and thirty children in our week-day schools; besides which, we have about one hundred and fifty in our Sunday-schools. We have also early morning schools for the monitors, and for the most promising of the boys.*

A short time after this, the lease of the Maroon chapel to the Wesleyan Missionary Society expired; and as the missionaries and trustees could not come to terms about its renewal, there was no alternative but to give up the chapel to them. Mr. Maer took for his text, one Sunday evening, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." (Matt. xxiii. 38.) When he had finished his sermon, he requested Mr. Crosby to pray, put the Bible under his arm, walked out of the chapel, and never went into it to preach again. The writer of this fact, in the Sierra-Leone "Watchman," some years after this, says, "Truly their house of prayer has ever since been desolate, and at the present time shows a lamentable scene of spiritual destitution. Efforts have since been made to prove to them, that it would be for their spiritual benefit to give up their place of worship to the Wesleyan Missionary Society; but there is one or two who love the pre-eminence, and who will not consent to this; and thus they keep the people in a state of suffering from a famine of the word of God." Some of the Maroons, however, obeyed the Divine command: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." (Rev. xviii. 4.)

On the 16th of October, Mr. W. Sanders embarked for Sierra-Leone; and on the 12th of November, the writer, with Mr. MacBrair, sailed for the Gambia. Mr. MacBrair was appointed to Macarthy's Island, with especial reference to the translation of the scriptures into one or more of the native languages, for the direct benefit of the Foulahs, on whose behalf

* "Missionary Notices," vol. viii. p. 170.

that mission was established. He received written instructions upon the subject on the eve of our embarkation, a copy of which was printed in the Annual Report for the following year. Having passed some time as a missionary in Egypt and Malta, and possessing a competent knowledge of Arabic, with other attainments, he was a competent person for the important undertaking; and though weak and delicate in appearance, he possessed a good share of moral courage, and nobly responded to the call of the committee, though but recently returned from Northern Africa. After a somewhat tempestuous voyage, we landed at St. Mary's in the middle of December.

Mr. MacBrair, in his "Sketches of a Missionary's Travels," which he published a few years afterwards, thus speaks of our arrival:—"As our vessel dropped anchor in the roads of St. Mary's, we saw a number of friends collecting upon the beach; who, having heard by the pilot-boat of our being on board, came to receive us, and give us a cordial welcome to Africa. The pious Negroes pressed round to shake hands with their ministers, especially with brother Fox, whose return imparted no small degree of satisfaction. Some of them could scarcely contain their emotions, but stood a long time in the house, gazing upon their much-loved pastor; and, during the whole of next day, they were coming from all the country round about, to inquire after his welfare. One poor Negro came in haste, saying, 'Me hear in the bush' (a place for cutting timber, several miles off, on the other side of the river) 'that you been come; and me run, run, and me neber (never) stop till me come to look you.' I was therefore at once satisfied, that Negro hearts are susceptible of the liveliest emotions of gratitude; and they thus appeared to me in very advantageous contrast with the hard-hearted Egyptians."

The following communication, which appeared in the "Missionary Notices" a few months after this, will explain the circumstances of the writer's return, without any further remarks from himself; from which it will appear that he had only been in England about fifty days, before he was again on board the vessel, and bound for Africa. The paragraph written by the secretaries is included, not because of its complimentary terms to himself, but in truth and justice to them. They neither desired nor expected that I should return so soon, and under such peculiar circumstances. I intended it, and on arriving in England earnestly requested it.

MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

OUR valuable and successful missionary, Mr. Fox, was some months ago compelled, by the failure of Mrs. Fox's health, and the peril in which her life was placed, to visit England. He felt, however, so strongly the necessitous circumstances of the mission at St. Mary's on the River Gambia, thus left with only one European missionary, that he very soon, not merely consented, but nobly requested, to return for a time to his beloved station and flock: though Mrs. Fox's continued weakness made it impracticable that she should accompany him again to Africa. The following extracts contain some interesting notices of Mr. Fox's two voyages, and of the ardour and diligence which have marked the resumption of his self-denying labours, as well as of the prospects of extended usefulness by which he and his colleagues are encouraged among the Mandingoes of that vicinity.

RIVER GAMBIA, ST. MARY'S.—*Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. W. Fox, from July 30th, 1835, to February 14th, 1836.*

JULY 30th, 1835.—About one o'clock we went on board the brig "Dapper," accompanied by Mr. Grant and several other friends. Many of our members of society and leaders followed us to the beach, and two of the local preachers went with us in the mission-boat to the vessel, to whom I had again to say, "Finally, brethren, farewell;" though I hope it will not be absolutely final. I have promised the society that I will come back, if at all possible; and I have a strong impression on my mind that my way will be made plain to do so. The emancipation of the slaves on the island, the employment of the two additional native assistants proposed to the committee, the erection of mission-premises at Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, and the commencement of a mission at Cape St. Mary's, or higher up the river, are all subjects in which I am deeply interested.

31st.—We were obliged to come to anchor last evening, but got under weigh early this morning. The pilot is now leaving us, and we are bearing up to the windward of the Cape de Verd Islands. Farewell to the isle of St. Mary's! Mayest thou abundantly prosper in a commercial, civil, and religious point of view! My pen cannot describe my feelings at leaving thee, and the dear people amongst whom I have been labouring during the past two years. I have suffered much, and so has my dear wife; we have also left behind us a lovely babe, who was "subdued by sickness in a day;" and more than once have we both been on the margin of the grave, and expected to "gather up our feet;" but, by the good providence of God, we have been preserved. The success with which it hath pleased Almighty God to crown our efforts to do good, and that in so short a time, affords us pleasing reflections, and will do so to our latest hours. The glory we would give to God. Again I say, "Farewell;" but not for ever!

Sunday, August 30th.—This morning we came to anchor at Fayal, one of the Azores. The town is situated on the east side of the island, in a bay, and presents a very imposing aspect, rising, in a semicircle, some hundred feet above the level of the sea. Most of the island appears to be well cultivated. Here I went ashore with the captain and some of the passengers. Finding a medical gentleman, I took him on board to see Mrs. Fox; he afterwards sent her some medicine, but is of opinion that her native air alone will restore her. Here is a beautiful town and island, in a salubrious climate, with a population of twenty-five thousand souls, many of them respectable and intelligent; but no Protestant minister, no missionary of the Cross! Most of them appear to have embraced the absurdities and superstitions of Popery. I visited the church this morning, and could not but wish that the tenor of their

lives and conduct might correspond with their apparent devotion. O when shall "Ethiopia stretch out her hand unto God?"

31st.—Having obtained some water and fresh provisions, we got under weigh to-day about noon.

Sept. 3d.—During the past three days we have suffered from rough weather: the waves found their way into our cabin and most of our berths; we have, consequently, had very little rest by night or day.

4th.—This morning I again visited a man in the fore-castle, who has been sick with fever and dysentery ever since we left the Gambia. While I was speaking to him about his soul, and the love of God, the tears started in his eyes; and I have a hope that God will save him.

19th.—Yesterday, about one o'clock, we landed at Dover, having been just fifty days on our voyage. Grateful, indeed, we felt to the God of providence for having conveyed us in safety across the treacherous deep. This morning, between six and seven, we reached London.

Nov. 9th.—A day of parting much dreaded, and never to be forgotten: this morning, at six o'clock, I bade adieu to my dear wife, affectionate mother, and many other relations and friends. It was, indeed, an hour of trial; my faith in God, and love for my dear wife, were put to the test. The sweetest and dearest of ties was, for a time, to be torn asunder; and, with streaming eyes and a throbbing heart, I proceeded to Birmingham, and this evening reached London. My two brothers having accompanied me to town, contributed, in some small degree, to sweeten the bitter cup, and to beguile the dreariness of a twelve-hours' journey, on a very cold and bleak day; but were it not for something more cheering and supporting which I derived from the unfailing "Spring of all my joys," I must have given way to frail human nature, and said, "I cannot, I will not go." But He who says "Go," is going with me, and has promised to be with me even to the end. I feel thankful to God that my dear wife reached home in safety; for her sufferings, since we left the Gambia, fully convince me, that had she remained there a little longer, it would have been too late:—thus hath her life been preserved. The voyage to England has considerably improved my own health, so that I shall be the better prepared to endure, for a time, the fatigues and prejudicial effects of a West-African climate. Although the sacrifice I make merits nothing, yet I feel as if I had a peculiar and special claim upon the kind care and providence of God; and hope in a future world, if not in this, to realize the fulfilment of that delightful promise, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." (Matt. xix. 29.) If the naturalist and the merchant can leave their native land, with all its comforts, and their beloved families, with all their endearments, for the unfriendly shores of Western Africa, their object being the advancement of science, or the acquisition of fame or wealth; why should it be thought a thing so very marvellous, that a Wesleyan missionary should make the same sacrifice, with an object far more noble and sublime? To accomplish this, he is willing to go to "the farthest verge of the green earth," or to the very worst portion of this terraqueous globe;—in search of what? not gold and silver, or precious stones; not the fading laurel of fame; not merely to ascertain the manners, customs, and peculiarities of nations, nor to extend British commerce;—he goes and "dives into that mine from which, we are often told, no valuable ore or precious stone can be extracted; and he hopes to bring up, not merely the gem of one immortal spirit, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of Christian graces; but he expects, nay, fully believes, that

he will find, and rescue from obscurity, many a gem that will deck the Saviour's crown, many a precious and immortal soul for whom His precious blood was shed." Into this mine he enters, held up by the power of prayer, and cheered by the prospect of future glory; for, should he fall in the enterprise, should the ropes break, or should Providence see fit to call him home, he doubts not that, through the mercy of the Saviour's great atonement, he will receive a crown of life,—a missionary's crown,—if a martyr's, all the richer.

11th.—To-day, at two P.M., I went down to Gravesend with my missionary companion, the Rev. R. M. MacBrair, and joined the vessel, expecting to sail early in the morning.

Dec. 15th.—This afternoon we landed at Bathurst, St. Mary's, after rather a long and somewhat tempestuous voyage; and found Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson in tolerable health. The leaders, local preachers, members, and friends flocked around us, and gave evident proofs that they were glad at our arrival. In the evening I attended the prayer-meeting.

Sunday, 20th.—This morning, at six o'clock, I met a large class. At half-past ten I read prayers, and Mr. MacBrair preached. At two P.M. I sailed to Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen; preached, and examined the society individually; and, in the evening, preached again at St. Mary's.

31st.—This evening I held a watch-night service, which we all found very profitable. May the next year be one of great prosperity!

Jan. 2d, 1836.—Yesterday I left St. Mary's for Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, to commence the assistant's house, and was under the necessity of staying all night. In the evening I held divine service under a tree, as the moon shone very brightly: forty or fifty were present; and after I had spoken to them, two or three prayed. I felt quite refreshed in body and mind by having engaged in this religious solemnity. I retired to rest last evening on a native bed, of the meanest order; it was composed of a species of cane-sticks, crossed over each other, about eight or ten inches from the ground; on it was placed a thin grass mat, and a dirty sheet, and a bag filled with something dreadfully hard for my pillow. The door of the hut being shut, the only avenue, through which either light or air could have access, was a small hole, just at my left cheek, about two inches and a half in circumference, broken by accident. Through this I hailed with pleasure the light of day; and at six o'clock I rose, and repaired with the men to the place where we were building. This afternoon I arrived at Bathurst, rather fatigued.

Sunday, 17th.—This morning I preached at Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, and afterwards met the class. There being little or no breeze, I was several hours in returning to St. Mary's, where I preached in the evening.

22d.—Last evening, about eight o'clock, Mr. Wilkinson and I left St. Mary's for Jillifree, in Mr. Grant's cutter, which was going to Macarthy's Island. Owing to a light breeze we made very little progress during the night; and the tide being against us, we this morning came to anchor three or four miles distant from the place of our destination, and went ashore and walked thither. We landed at an exceedingly awkward and muddy place; and, but for great care, must have sunk in it. Immediately behind the mangroves which adorn the banks of the river, are large trees, shrubs, and flowers, of various descriptions; in which monkeys presented themselves to our view as we walked along the path, which was exceedingly narrow and serpentine. On reaching Jillifree we waited upon the alcaid, when several of the old men were immediately in attendance. Most of them knowing Mr. Grant, salutations and mutual good wishes passed between them. About one P.M. Mr. Grant left us, to proceed up the river. In the afternoon, as we were pre-

paring to go into the town, the alcaid called upon us. I spoke to him, by an interpreter, on the object of our visiting Jillifree; stating that we were ministers of the gospel, and wished to teach the Mandingoes the important truths of our holy religion. I requested him to tell the people in the town that, at five o'clock, we would speak to them all, and hoped he would collect them together. I gave him a small present, and a copy of the New Testament in Arabic, with which he was much pleased, and, I believe, could read it tolerably well. Accordingly, at five o'clock we proceeded to the spot assigned for us, where we found collected together a good number, of both sexes, several of whom had their spears, cutlasses, and fire-arms. We commenced by giving out the first two verses of the hymn on the eighty-third page:—

“ Shepherd of souls, with pitying eye
The thousands of our Israel see;
To thee on their behalf we cry,
Ourselves but newly found in Thee.

“ See where o'er desert wastes they err,
And neither food nor feeder have,
Nor fold nor place of refuge near;
For no man cares their souls to save.”

I preached, or rather spoke, to them in as familiar a strain as I possibly could, on the nature and design of the gospel, and the commission given to its ministers to go into all the world and preach it to every creature. They listened with considerable attention; and several of them frequently bowed their heads with a smile, as in assent to what I said, and then exclaimed, *Bettiata! bettiata!* (“Very good! very good!”) Mr. Wilkinson afterwards prayed. The alcaid and several of the old men said, that what I had spoken was very good, and that they should be very glad for Christians to come and sit down amongst them. Having spoken to them about a school, the boys and girls were enraptured, following us to our residence, and saying, *Alcoran bettiata! alcoran bettiata!*—meaning, they should be very glad to learn to read and write. An adult followed us, to ask if he might come when we commenced a school; to which we, of course, replied in the affirmative. Jillifree is a small Mandingo town on the north bank of the river, the name of which is familiar to every one who has read Mungo Park's Travels; as here that celebrated traveller landed on his arrival from England to explore the interior of this interesting continent, and was detained some months by sickness peculiar to the climate. It is situated on a rising plain, five or six hundred yards from the river, is well stockaded with strong, tall mangrove timber, and has four entrances. The houses are built of mud, covered with grass, and are tolerably substantial and comfortable. It contains a population of about one thousand souls, and is about a mile from Albrada, where the French have a small settlement, through which we passed yesterday, containing about the same number of inhabitants. Several other Mandingo towns are within a few miles. The distance from St. Mary's to Jillifree is about eighteen miles. The house in which we are staying is a stone building belonging to Messrs. Chown and Messervey, of St. Mary's,—the only stone house here; it is situated between the town and the river, contiguous to both; and is surrounded by shrubs, flowers, and evergreens of various descriptions; the guava, banana, paupi, lime, and orange are among the number of fruit-trees which are in great abundance, the fruit of which comes to a high degree of perfection spontaneously, the natives paying little or no attention to pruning and manuring them. The river is directly in front of the house, and a number of fine tall palm-trees adorn its banks. The

rippling of the tide, the warbling of birds of the most beautiful plumage, and the rural scenery around it, but, above all, the demoralized state of its inhabitants, produced feelings of peculiar emotion. The late venerated Rev. R. Watson once exclaimed, "O, when shall the glorious gospel of the blessed God dawn upon all lands; when shall it wipe away all tears; when shall floods clap their hands, and forests wave instinct with universal gladness, and hills rejoice, and valleys sing, and the Gentile of every lip and name glorify God for his mercy? When shall it dawn?" said that eloquent and able minister of the New Testament, "When shall it dawn?" Thank God, the voice of the heralds of the universal Saviour-King has been heard this evening in a Mandingo town! "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert an highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

23d.—I rose this morning very little refreshed by my night's rest, in consequence of a vast number of rats running up and down the steps, ringing the bells, knocking at our door, and rushing into our bed-room; glad I was when the light of day dispersed them; we then arose, and were anxious about the arrival of the mission-boat, which was to be sent up after us, on the arrival of Mr. W. Juff from the Sierra country, some thirty miles north of St. Mary's, as he had not arrived when we left on Thursday. The alcaid again called upon us this morning, and afterwards sent us a present,—a small basket of oranges. A venerable-looking old man came also, saying he was sick yesterday, and not able to attend the meeting we held; but he had heard of it, and was very glad; adding, that he had two children he wished to send to school when we commenced. Although I am not very sanguine as to immediate success in the conversion of the Mandingoes, brought up, as they are, in the absurdities of Mohammedanism, yet their appearing willing to send their children to a Christian school argues something in favour of our object; for that will be laying the foundation-stone for the superstructure of our holy religion, and, at the same time, working as a mighty moral lever, in throwing down to the ground the iron pillars of Mohammedan superstition and delusion; and I trust these followers of the false prophet will, ere long, forsake their blind guide, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. I have to-day distributed several copies of Arabic scriptures, and more I could have distributed to advantage if I had had them with me. I have promised to take more when I go again. The mission-boat not having arrived, and hearing that a French schooner will leave Albrada during the night, we this afternoon took up our beds and walked thither; but, to our surprise, when we reached the port, the schooner was under weigh, about a mile and a half distant, having sailed sooner than she expected. We immediately obtained a small boat, put a few of our things into it, and followed her; but having rowed three miles we were obliged to return; the breeze had freshened, and the schooner was beyond our reach. On again reaching Albrada, we met, on the beach, one of the French gentlemen whom we had seen yesterday. Knowing we were friends of Mr. Grant, he kindly invited us to take up our abode with him for the night, for which we felt thankful; for we had no where else to go but to Jillifree, and sleep with the rats; but we were very anxious about our appointments to-morrow, and hoped something would occur, so that we might reach St. Mary's by ten o'clock in the forenoon, though it was near nine P.M., and we knew of no conveyance but a small schooner, which does not leave here till the afternoon of to-morrow. Fortunately, we had not been in the house long when, to our great joy, the mission-boat arrived; and though we were both much fatigued, and a good

night's rest would have been very acceptable, being anxious to attend, to our important duties to-morrow, we cheerfully declined the gentleman's kind offer of accommodation for the night, and embarked for St. Mary's, which place we reached about six o'clock in the morning. Though somewhat sleepy and fatigued, (having on Thursday night slept about three hours on some boxes, on Friday night with the rats, and last night two hours on the beach, and the remaining part in the boat on the river,) the Lord helped me in preaching his holy word. Blessed be the name of the Lord!

29th.—This evening I met with Jagger, the goldsmith, a respectable native, and an excellent mechanic, but a superstitious Mohammedan. A large tree in one corner of his yard is much in his way, and he wishes it cut down; but dares not do so, lest he himself should immediately die. This is one of the many superstitions practised by the followers of the false prophet; though not near so bad as that of an infatuated mother who, a short time ago, flung her infant babe into the river, because it did not walk quite so soon as the generality of children;—supposing it possessed by an evil spirit. The child was afterwards found dead, an inquest was held, and the wretched mother is now in jail, to be tried at the ensuing sessions.

Sunday, 31st.—I read prayers and preached this morning from Phil. i. 21; in the afternoon I rode to Melville; and coming home I buried a soldier who had died of small-pox, which is very prevalent. In the evening I preached again at Bathurst, from, "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ." While I was dwelling on the awful realities of the judgment-day, there was a death-like stillness, until it was broken by the piercing cries of two penitents. I have seldom felt such an influence as this evening, and hope it is a token for good.

Feb. 5th.—Being anxious to see the king of Barra, relative to a school at Jillifree, &c., we left St. Mary's yesterday, and arrived at Berrinding, the royal town, to-day. Unfortunately, His Majesty had this morning started for Jillifree, to witness the rite of circumcision about to be performed upon a number of his juvenile subjects; so that our journey is partly lost. Walking round the town, after we had taken a little refreshment, one or two Mandingoes, who were partly intoxicated, got up a palaver, supposing we were come as spies to make war. They were told by several of the old men, that we were not merchants or officers, but ministers of the gospel, and were for peace, and not for war. But they could not silence the drunken fellows, so they carried them away. The looks and gestures of one indicated any thing but what was favourable towards us, which, together with his having a long knife in his hand, caused an old woman to catch hold of me and Mr. Wilkinson, saying, *Tobaba, na! na!* "White man, come! come!" The old men and others begged us to take no notice of the palaver the drunken man had made, assuring us it would not have happened if the king had been here, and that the king would punish him for it when he came. Leaving a few presents and an Arabic Bible for His Majesty, with our respectful compliments, we departed, intending to visit them again the first opportunity. Berrinding is about seven miles from Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen. We passed two other small towns in going to it, one of them not more than a mile from Berwick.

Sunday, 7th.—In going to Berwick-Town, Fort Bullen, to-day, the mission-boat capsized, and I had to swim ashore; fortunately we were not far from it, and I reached it without much difficulty, although I was under water some time, the sea being very rough.

13th.—I have been to Fort Bullen during the last three days; I left there this afternoon, a little after two o'clock, and did not reach St. Mary's till past ten this

evening; thus I have been eight hours on the water, owing to a foul breeze, and contrary tide.

14th.—My good night's rest has not taken the pain out of my bones, occasioned by lying on a native bed during the preceding three nights. This afternoon I buried two more soldiers, who died of small pox.*

In about three weeks after our arrival, Mr. MacBrair proceeded to his appointed station at Macarthy's Island; having been well occupied, during his short residence at St. Mary's, in collecting all the information he could respecting the Foulah and Mandingo languages. He soon found that the latter is the most extensively in use, and that it was also spoken by the generality of the Foulahs, though they have a distinct dialect of their own. He therefore decided to commence with the Mandingo, in which his time was principally taken up, though he rendered valuable aid to the mission in the way of preaching, &c.

About this time, and subsequently, we were considerably annoyed by some of the colonial authorities, and one or two others, particularly at Macarthy's Island; and Mr. and Mrs. Dove having been on the Coast three years, during which they had both experienced repeated attacks of fever, and were called to suffer in other ways, they left Macarthy's Island towards the close of April, and in the following month sailed from St. Mary's for England. I had engaged to supply his place until a successor arrived; but, as will be seen, was appointed to Macarthy's at the ensuing Conference. In the mean time, I was partly at St. Mary's, and partly at the upper station. The following extract from Mr. MacBrair's journal will give the reader some idea of the inconveniences to which missionaries are subject in this part of the world, from the oppressive heat of the climate, want of domestic comforts, &c. :—

May 10th.—The weather is now becoming exceedingly oppressive, as the sun is vertical, and the thermometer rises to 102° or 104° Fahrenheit, where it continues during the whole day. Though the air used sometimes to be nearly of this temperature, yet it then lasted only a few hours out of the twenty-four. Besides, as Mungo Park justly remarks, the *hermattan* or hot winds are somewhat bracing to the constitution; so that the same degree of heat in March and May produces very different effects upon the bodily frame. The easterly blasts cease in April; but the sea-breeze seldom reaches Macarthy's Island, and then only after having lost all its refreshing qualities. Truly "the grasshopper is a burden:" for the least exertion is excessively irksome, and a constant languor weighs down the spirits. The broken and restless slumbers of night afford little refreshment, whilst the exhausting heat of the day prevents repose. Besides, the prickly heat covers my body with a distressing itchiness; and as it has especially attacked my hands and arms, it renders

* "Missionary Notices," vol. viii pp. 322—326.

writing by no means an agreeable employment. To add to my misfortunes, I am at present left alone at this station, and have therefore various little duties to perform which did not before devolve upon me. I have also to superintend household matters, which is an incessant trouble, with such untutored servants as those whom we are constrained to employ. It is seldom that any thing like a regularly trained domestic can be met with in this country: so that we usually engage young lads, whom we are obliged to instruct in their routine of duties. But as youth is naturally thoughtless and playful, and as the Africans make little account of noticing time within a range of two or three hours, it is very difficult to obtain any regularity about the house, unless by an ever-watchful superintendence. For instance: I have sometimes continued at my studies long after the usual dinner-hour; but upon going to ascertain how matters were getting on in the kitchen, I have found neither dinner, fire, nor cook. After some search, the latter has been discovered fast asleep in a corner, or sporting by the river's side, in complete ignorance of his being behind the ordinary time; for they have no clocks or watches. But the greatest hardship is, *that I am all alone*. As to the provisions which I have at this time to cook, they are not very abundant; for a foreign stock will not keep in this weather, and we are thrown principally upon native resources. We can now seldom get beef; and when we do, it is unfit to eat, as it must be dressed immediately after being killed. Neither myself nor my boys understand baking bread, so that, though we sometimes make the experiment, it but rarely succeeds. A few hard biscuits from a sea-store remain; but they have become maggotty, and I am no cannibal. Of fish, potatoes, and butter, we have none; and at the present time no rice can be bought on the island, though I have begged a little, and a cargo is expected up the river in a few days. My garden supplies me with cabbages, which grow here most luxuriantly, and of which I have a good stock: the village or our own yard furnishes poultry and eggs; and my goats yield their milk and an occasional kid. A Negro also sometimes goes and shoots a partridge or guinea-fowl, which is an agreeable variety from the constant routine of poultry and cabbage or rice, both for breakfast and dinner. When the appetite has almost failed from bodily exhaustion, it is hard work to lack a morsel of *bread*; a want of which none can be sensible till they prove it by painful experience.*

A few days after this, Mr. MacBrair writes: "As to study, it is now almost out of the question; for the lassitude caused by the enervating weather, and the bodily irritability produced by the prickly heat, quite distract me, and render me incapable of any connected thought; so that I see the propriety of a translator only *wintering* in this climate, since the summer will be pretty nearly so much lost time." In the previous extract, *bread* was lacking; but now the climate has produced such debility, that Mr. MacBrair writes: "Even to eat is a very hard task." It is difficult to say which is the most painful,—"to lack a morsel of bread," or, when it is set before you, to be unable to eat it; both are bad enough, and both have to be endured not unfrequently by modern missionaries.

At the latter part of this month, the writer received a letter,

* MACBRAIR'S "Sketches of a Missionary's Travels," pp. 264—266.

with other documents, from Mr. MacBair, by a special messenger, detailing some further opposition to the mission, and requesting that I would hasten up thither. The assistant's house had been demolished by a mob, headed by a European. Mr. MacBair writes, at the close of his letter, "Please send the boat and boys quickly back, and furnish Pierre Sallah with some provisions for the way. Send me some rice, as none can be bought here. The free people are in a dreadful perturbation; and whilst John's house was being demolished, amidst the yells of a lawless gang, it was also amidst many tears and sighs of our people, who exerted themselves to the utmost to save some of the furniture."

In consequence of these melancholy tidings, I wrote the following note to the governor:—

MISSION-HOUSE, *Friday morning, May 27th, 1836.*

SIR,—I herewith forward to your Excellency a communication from Macarthy's Island, with the particulars of which I have been made acquainted.

As your Excellency has already been informed, that the affairs of that mission have been transferred to me, I beg to state, that I purpose leaving this island, for Macarthy's Island, early this afternoon. I am under the necessity, from the late outrageous occurrence that has unhappily taken place, of respectfully soliciting from your Excellency that protection of person and mission-property to which, as a British subject, I am legally entitled. Your Excellency's answer to this request will oblige

Your obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM FOX, *Wesleyan Missionary.*

To His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Rendall.

About six P.M., just as I was going on board, I received the following reply:—

BATHURST, GAMBIA, *May 27th, 1836.*

REV. SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; and have taken care to write so strongly to the commander of Macarthy's Island, that I have no doubt you will receive every protection you can desire.

I have the honour to be,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G. RENDALL, *Lieutenant-Governor.*

To the Rev. William Fox, &c., Bathurst.

The bearer of the governor's letter brought me one for Mr. MacBair, with some despatches for the commandant; and it is but justice to say that he desired his compliments, expressed his regret at what had taken place, but hoped I should find matters not so bad as represented, and that there would soon be an amicable arrangement.

I was now on my way, and arrived at Macarthy's on the

evening of the 31st. Two days after, Mr. MacBair, with the assistant, John Cupidon, and his wife, sailed for St. Mary's, in order to obtain that redress for such outrageous proceedings, which had been denied them on the spot: but very little was done for us at St. Mary's; and we were called for some time to endure a series of opposition and persecution. The writer has neither disposition nor space in this work to recount all, or one-half, of these vexatious and unmerited annoyances; nor is it necessary, as some account of them has for some years been before the public in Mr. MacBair's "Sketches;" and a better spirit toward the mission and the missionaries has long since existed at the Gambia.

Mr. MacBair having accomplished the principal part of the object of his mission, and the rains having now fairly set in, he sailed for England early in the month of August. That he should have accomplished this in less than nine months, amidst many interruptions, provocations, and bodily indisposition, proves that he possessed a peculiar fitness and aptitude for the work, and that not a moment was lost which could be properly secured for the main object for which he was sent out.

Dr. Lindoe and the friends at Southampton had generously offered to raise, in addition to their annual contributions towards the support of the Foulah mission, the sum of £1,000 for the purpose of meeting, in part, the expenses which must necessarily be incurred in prosecuting the work of translation; and in a short time after Mr. MacBair's return to England, his translations of some portions of the New Testament into the Mandingo language, were submitted to the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who kindly engaged to print, at their own expense, the translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. A Grammar of the Mandingo language, with Vocabularies, was also printed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society about the same time.

The author was now (June, 1836) residing at Macarthy's Island. He had paid a visit to this station two months previously, when Messrs. Dove and MacBair were both there. On that occasion certificates of the two lots of ground on which the mission-premises stand were obtained from the lieutenant-governor, who happened to be there at that time; and in a few days the six hundred acres of land granted to the Foulah mission by the parent Government were at length measured off; four hundred and forty towards the north-west end of the island, and the other one hundred and sixty acres in the opposite direction.

Saturday, June 11th.—I have been much engaged all the week with the repairs and enlargement of the mission-house, which could not be finished before Mr. Dove left.

13th.—Yesterday, after divine service at this place, I went to Broco, about two miles beyond the south-east extremity of the island. I had a long conference with the Foulahs, who are exceedingly afraid of the Mandingoes; but they say, at the close of the rains, they will come and settle on Macarthy's Island.

25th.—During the week I have taken a short tour on the north bank of the river. I rode down to Kayaye, and from thence proceeded the next day to the residence of the king of Kattaba, about eighteen miles inland. His sable Majesty I had seen before. He is a most importunate beggar, and complains that he has *only seven wives!* I passed a number of Mandingo and Foulah towns: the latter, owing to the rains setting in, were removing their cattle from the banks of the river to higher ground. I returned home on Thursday evening, having rode during the day about thirty-five miles. In removing the rubbish, &c., connected with the mission-premises within the last few days, several reptiles have been caught and killed, among which were three venomous snakes, from five to six feet in length.

Sunday, 26th.—To-day I preached twice here; and in the afternoon I went to Fattota, and gave tickets to a large class.

28th.—Being called upon to inter a corpse this forenoon, I was surprised and grieved to find upon the burying-ground a number of liberated Africans under Government busily employed in making farms. I immediately wrote to the commandant upon the subject, suggesting the propriety of a certain portion of land being marked out and fenced round, to prevent the ploughshare from disturbing the ashes of the dead. Three days after this, I received an answer from the commandant, perfectly concurring in my suggestion; but as he does not approve of the present place, it being too near the town, he will, on the first opportunity, submit the matter to His Excellency the lieutenant-governor at St. Mary's.

July 13th.—I have been very unwell, but am now better. Having reason to fear that some of the members in the society are living without the vitality of religion, I this evening preached from Matt. xxv. 8: "Our lamps are gone out."

22d.—I have to-day been to Broco, and distributed several copies of the Arabic scriptures to the marraboos. In the

town farthest from the river-side, I saw three Mandingo men in irons. At first I supposed they had committed some crime, for which they were to be punished; but, upon inquiry, I found they had been captured in a recent disturbance in the upper river, and that they were kept in bondage till their friends came and redeemed them. I offered the alcaid a few dollars if he would break off their chains, and let them go; but to this he objected; and I afterwards found that he expects sixty dollars for one man, one hundred for another, and for the third a young female slave and sixteen bullocks! I left, pitying the poor captives, and praying for their heathen and demoralized countrymen. How vain to talk about civilization independent of Christianity! And how true it is, that

“He is a free man whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides!”

Sunday, August 7th.—I have been very unwell all the week: I did not rise this morning till between nine and ten, and was then quite feverish. However, I preached, and the Lord graciously assisted me. The people appear more attentive: some wept, and the congregation improves a little. From the pulpit I went to bed, and John Cupidon preached in the evening.

Sunday, 14th.—This evening, after the service, I held a short prayer-meeting. One of the Negroes, who prayed with great fervour, among other things, addressed the throne of grace as follows:—“Jesus, save all we *soul*; suppose man lose one eye, he can see with the other; suppose man lose one hand, he can work with the other; but suppose man lose him soul, he lose him *all*;” and then, with great energy and pathos, exclaimed, “Jesus, save all we soul to-night! save all we soul to-night!” to which the people responded with a loud Amen!

17th.—We are now in the midst of the rains, vast quantities of which have fallen to-day. The mission-house leaks so extensively, in consequence of the flat roof, that I have been obliged to put on a thatched one, as there was no place where I could sleep without having a shower-bath in bed. I have been recommended to go down to St. Mary’s, but cannot consistently leave this station at present; though I have lately suffered severely, and am still very unwell. At the request of the commandant, I to-day accompanied him to the spot proposed for the interment of the dead. It is about eighty yards square, on a green plain, about three quarters of a mile due west from the mission-house, near to the larger tract of the six hundred acres of land. Whilst riding round, I could not resist the thought, that per-

haps here I may sleep till the resurrection of the just; but I felt quite composed. In the evening I discoursed from the encouraging words of the Saviour recorded in John xiv. 1, 2.

22d.—Yesterday was a good day to me, and, I hope, to the people. My subject in the evening was, “This do in remembrance of me;” after which I administered the sacrament of the Lord’s supper. Having now discharged the work-people connected with the mission-house and premises, I hope to pay a little more attention to reading, visiting, &c. This afternoon I went to Laming, a small Mandingo town, about a mile from the opposite bank of the river.

27th.—I have had fever for two or three days. Last evening the king of Kattaba arrived here, and this morning paid me a visit, accompanied by ten or a dozen of his courtiers. I was very unwell; and the noise these wild fellows made was almost unbearable. They were highly amused at sitting down upon chairs; but I not having sufficient for the whole, the others readily squatted themselves upon the floor. After the usual compliments had passed, His Majesty begged a little tobacco, to help him on his journey up the river. An attack has recently been made upon one of his towns by a marauding party, who killed one woman, and carried off twenty-five of his subjects as slaves.

I spoke to him upon the subject of a mission being commenced upon his territories, and about a large tract of land for the Foulahs. The latter, he said, required consideration; but as to the former, he began to count his fingers, saying, *Kiling, fula, sabba, nani, lulu, woro, worongwolu, sey, kononta, tang*; adding, emphatically, “Ten missionaries might come, if they pleascd.”

29th.—Yesterday was an idle sabbath, or, rather, a suffering and sick day. I again took powerful medicine, which, with what I had taken before, operated smartly, attended with vomiting. In the evening I obtained an intermission of fever, and I hope the quinine will now have effect. But as I have no wife, colleague, doctor, or nurse, in this monotonous wilderness, an attack of illness is “not joyous,” and my spirits do sometimes flag a little. But, praise the Lord, I have abundant cause for gratitude; for though in this attack of fever I have had several sleepless nights, I have enjoyed much of the Divine Presence when my servant boys have been fast asleep, and the cat and dog, with a *burning candle* and a “cup of cold water,” have been my only visible companions. Thank God, “the Invisible” has “appeared in sight,” my pillow has been wet with

tears of joy and gratitude, and I have literally realized the sweetness of those well-known lines,—

“ When my sorrows most increase,
Then thine utmost joys are given ;
Jesus comes with my distress,
And agony is heaven ! ”

My friends at West Bromwich are, I trust, doing what they kindly promised, that is, “ *HOLDING ON THE ROPES*,” and, if it be the will of God, I shall see them again : however, I wish not to be too sanguine : the cost was counted, and in that cost *life* was included : it is in God’s hands, let him do what seemeth him good.

“ My life, while Thou preservest that life,
Thy sacrifice shall be ;
And death, when death shall be my lot,
Shall join my soul to Thee.”

31st.—Thank the Lord, I am improving rapidly. To-day I buried one of the school-boys, whom I had previously visited ; and have a good hope in his death.

September 3d.—I am to-day preparing for the pulpit, in which I feel a sacred pleasure. I have lately given away a number of the Arabic scriptures to the Tilobonkoes, (an industrious tribe, to the east of Bondou,) who come here in search of employment. They are strict Mohammedans. It has been very wet to-day, and the mission-house, notwithstanding the grass roof, leaks considerably. In two or three weeks I hope the rains will be over, though the effects are likely to last for some weeks longer. The river is now very much swollen, and in many places overflows its banks : it has done so opposite the mission-house, and the water has almost reached the gate leading into the yard.

12th.—Yesterday, though poorly, I preached twice here, and in the afternoon rode to Fattota, and gave tickets to upwards of thirty members. To-day I have written several letters : one to Mr. Maer, at Sierra-Leone ; one to Mr. Wilkinson and the assistants at St. Mary’s ; and two or three on business. I have also had near a score of applications from the Tilobonkoes for portions of the Arabic scriptures.

14th.—Though I had taken a considerable quantity of medicine, the fever returned yesterday afternoon, and I have had a very severe night. Hoping to arrest it before it came to its height, I again took “ five and fifteen,” bathed my feet in hot water, drank some hot tea, and put additional clothing upon the bed, which brought on a profuse perspiration ; but that, unfor-

tunately, was followed by a dry skin, a quick, strong pulse, and an almost insupportable head-ache, with considerable vomiting. Towards morning it somewhat abated; but has left me to-day amazingly weak, so that I can scarcely move or speak. I have, during the day, taken twenty grains of quinine, which I sincerely pray may prevent another attack.

22d.—I am, praise the Lord! much better, and have been doing a little in theology and the Mandingo language. This evening we had another strong tornado, with heavy rain. I am informed by several persons, that more rain has fallen this season than for several years past; so that large crops are expected; and, from appearances, these will be realized.

October 4th.—I am still unwell. This evening I met the last two classes for tickets, and found my soul truly blessed while encouraging the people of God. Praise the Lord, we have an increase of eleven during the quarter, and a prospect of seeing better days!

To-day an intelligent-looking Moor called upon me, who arrived on the island a day or two ago, from Medina, as he states, the burial-place of Mahomet, having travelled across this extensive continent. He appeared much interested when I reached the chart, and named some of the countries through which he had passed, particularly when I pointed to Mecca, the birth-place of the false prophet, of whom he appears to be a rigid follower. He states that it is eleven months since he left Medina, and that two friends who came with him were murdered somewhere in the neighbourhood of Abyssinia, and that he walked ten days without stopping at any place, to escape the savage tribe. When questioned as to the object he had in view in coming so far, his answer was, he merely came "to take a walk!" He wished to see the Gambia, Goree, the Senegal, &c. I gave him a copy of the New Testament in Arabic, which he appeared to read with ease. His statement may possibly be correct, in having crossed the continent; for we have an old marraboo on this island who has actually done so twice, having gone from this place to Mecca and Medina, and back again.

7th.—I had a little fever this morning, and am obliged to have recourse to quinine, with other medicine, to keep off another severe attack. Yesterday we had a good quantity of rain, and no appearance at present of its closing. To-day I have engaged, as an assistant in the Mandingo language, the person Mr. MacBrair employed: he is a proper Mandingo, and has been educated in England. I have almost finished a large vocabulary, soon after which I purpose translating the First

Conference Catechism. May the Lord help me, preserve my health, and prosper this mission !

11th.—I have fever, more or less, every day, and seldom enjoy a night's rest. This morning I again took medicine. The thermometer to-day is 89°, though we have had a north-west breeze most of the day ; so that it has not been so oppressive as yesterday.

Sunday, 16th.—To-day I preached twice, with tolerable liberty. In the afternoon I attended the school.

21st.—This morning we had two or three arrivals from St. Mary's, one of which brought me the "Watchman," with the Conference news, and a letter from my dear wife. Though poorly, I have had a rich feast all day in perusing the very delightful reports of the first Conference held in Birmingham. "God bless the preachers and the people!" I could not help exclaiming aloud repeatedly, as I read, and wept for joy, to see the harmony and unanimity of the former, and the liberality and Christian kindness of the latter.

25th.—Since Sunday afternoon I have been very ill: the most severe bilious fever I have experienced this season. On Saturday I was ill with ague, and was imprudent enough to go out in the heat of the day to bury a corpse, though I could scarce sit on the pony. On returning, I went to bed, and for several hours suffered severely. On Sunday morning, feeling a little better, I preached ; and this, I fear, greatly aggravated the paroxysm. In the afternoon I was obliged to go to bed ; and am just now up, and only able to crawl about. Yesterday I had the doctor ; who has been again to-day. Though very ill on Sunday night, I was very happy ; the former part of the night especially : while meditating upon death, and the glories of the heavenly world, my soul exulted with joy, and my eyes overflowed with tears of gratitude. Glory be to God ! He does *not* leave nor forsake a helpless worm that trusts in him.

29th.—Yesterday and to-day the king of Kattaba called upon me, with whom I had a long conversation upon the evils of rum-drinking, polygamy, &c. I also again introduced the subject of a large tract of land for the Foulahs, the six hundred acres not being near sufficient. He appeared willing, provided the other leading men were ; but added, he must have the usual customs from them in the way of bullocks, &c. This led to some further conversation ; and I have promised to pay him a visit, and look at some part of his dominions, visit the Foulah towns, &c.

November 5th.—My fever has continued without a regular

intermission until this morning, having been in the furnace three days; and I am now exceedingly weak.

8th.—On Saturday evening the ague re-commenced, and continued all night. On Sunday morning I was put into a warm bath, but to no purpose: the fever continued, with very great debility, all day and night of Sunday; and how it would terminate, was uncertain. I was certainly *very ill*, and was anxious to say a few words to my dear wife; but I could not write, and there was no one to whom I could speak upon the subject. Thank God, I felt quite happy when at the worst! On Monday morning there was a change for the better, and I am still improving, and thankful to God that he has once more raised me “from the margin of the grave.” O may I afresh dedicate all I have and am to his service!

10th.—I hope I am gaining strength, though still very weak. It appears that I am appointed to this station by the late Conference; so that it will be necessary to go down to St. Mary's to close my accounts with that station. I am also wanting some building materials; besides which, the doctor recommends a change: and perhaps it may do me good.

15th.—I believe I am improving, though still troubled with a little ague. I am now again very busy with the repairs and improvements of the mission-premises here, and building a small chapel and house at Fattota for one of the assistants, &c.

16th.—During the night, I had considerable fever. This morning I heard from Mr. Wilkinson, who has had a serious attack of illness. Though very poorly, I preached in the evening.

18th.—Having made every arrangement I possibly could, and given directions to the assistants, in reference to their appointments, &c., I yesterday embarked on board the “Angola.” We are now at anchor at Yanimaroo, taking in corn and hides. I am happy to hear we make no more stoppages till we reach the end of our journey. I had no rest all night.

Sunday, 20th.—Another sleepless night; and so violent was the pain in my head, and face, and teeth, which involuntarily chattered together with cold, that I knew not what to do. I almost wept with the jumping and excruciating pain. I am to-day more free from it, but unable to do any thing in the way of holding divine service. The Lord grant me grace and patience to *suffer*, as well as to *do*, all his righteous will!

22d.—This morning, about four o'clock, we came to anchor at St. Mary's. Having a fresh breeze, I was able to lie in the cabin last night; but I obtained no sleep. Soon after five

o'clock I went ashore ; and before I reached the mission-house, my heart was warmed at hearing the people singing the praises of God at the early prayer-meeting. I went into the chapel, and joined with them in prayer and praise. Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, I found, were rapidly recovering from their recent attacks of sickness. We were glad to see each other, and mingled our joys and sorrows together. Though we had each suffered in various ways, we found abundant cause for thankfulness to a kind and gracious Providence.

The mission at Cape-Coast had been partially suspended by the lamented death of Mr. Dunwell, which we have recorded in a preceding page. But on September 15th of this year, Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley arrived there; and though the society had been without a missionary for nearly fifteen months, it was found their numbers had increased, and the influence of Christianity was felt to a considerable distance inland. Mr. Wrigley commenced his varied labours with zeal; and a suitable place of worship having become indispensably necessary, he undertook, without delay, the erection of a commodious building, including a chapel and school-rooms; and under his ministry the society continued to prosper.

At Sierra-Leone the brethren Maer, Crosby, and Sanders, had been preserved through the sickly season, though not without repeated attacks of the country fever; and on the 10th of October, their hands were strengthened, and their hearts encouraged, by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Patterson. Interesting communications about this time, from Messrs. Maer and Crosby at Sierra-Leone, and from Mr. Wilkinson at the Gambia, the reader will find in the eighth volume of the "Missionary Notices," pages 416, 417.

Having closed my financial accounts with the St. Mary's circuit, and transferred the affairs of that mission to my respected brother and colleague, Mr. Wilkinson, I prepared to return to my own station. Though my sojourn at St. Mary's was somewhat less than a fortnight, I had, during that period, though far from being well, preached several times, had paid a visit to Fort Bullen, and the Mandingo town in the kingdom of Barra, had written several letters to the governor for a discharged soldier respecting two of his children, who were held in Slavery by a coloured lady of Goree, one of whom, being then on the island with the said lady, the father happily obtained; and last, though not least, I witnessed the peaceful and happy death of Sally Doughlas, wife of James Doughlas, "the faithful

Negro servant" who accompanied the late Mrs. Marshall to England, and who took charge of "the little orphan boy" to Newcastle, the affecting particulars of which are already before the reader.

Having completed some other matters of business, on the 5th of December I embarked on board the schooner "Fame," bound for Macarthy's Island. I had been confined to my bed with ague most of the day, and was half-disposed to yield to the kind solicitations of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson to remain a little longer; but having every thing on board, and feeling somewhat better just as the vessel was about to get under weigh, I rose from bed, and, accompanied by Mr. Wilkinson and some others to the beach, I went on board, and immediately turned into bed in my little cabin, where I continued till late the following day, having taken four doses of quinine during that time.

On the morning of the 12th we arrived at Macarthy's Island; nothing particular having occurred on the passage, except that on the preceding day we passed a small vessel which had been attacked and swamped by a hippopotamus, and I found that another small craft, which had brought me some lime for the mission-house, had come in contact with one or more of these river-horses, though happily without doing any damage. I was now much better than when I left St. Mary's; but the country was in a very disturbed state, owing to some marauding bandits going about seeking for prey, in the shape of men, women, and children, cattle, or what they could lay hold of.

In the mean time I was employed with looking after the masons, carpenters, and other people at work on the mission-premises at George-Town, and with the new chapel and house at Fattota. I also engaged a number of liberated Africans on the six hundred acres of land, in clearing it of brushwood, &c. This, with the spiritual affairs of the mission, and frequent conferences which I had with the Foulahs, and other duties, fully occupied my time.

Under date of "Sunday, January 1st, 1837," the following entry was made in my journal:—"Last evening we had a most blessed watch-night service. Both the assistants and the local preacher gave appropriate exhortations, and the Almighty graciously assisted them and myself, and was eminently present with the people, while, in the house of our God, we closed another year. O may this next be a very happy, holy, and useful one! To-day I preached twice here, and in the afternoon went to Fattota, and met the society for tickets. One of the members came dressed in the native style; and, when interrogated upon

the subject, he said, 'Massa, sun warm too much to-day.' The heat was certainly very intense, but, besides the propriety of the thing, I told him I thought he would not suffer so much from the sun with his trousers *on*, as he did with them *off*. Mr. Cupidon has been preaching at Broco to-day, and there are again 'rumours of war.' The Woolli people, assisted by the Bam-barras, are intending to attack some part of Kemmingtan's dominions."

We shall close this chapter with the following statistics of the missions at each station at the commencement of 1837:—*Sierra-Leone*, members, 1,124; school-children, 930. *St. Mary's*, members, 368; school-children, 152. *Macarthy's Island*, members, 167; school-children, 68. *Cape-Coast*, members, 150.

One-fourth of the number at Cape-Coast were on trial, besides which there are about fifty at Annamaboo. There were no returns for the schools; but "Mrs. Wrigley had formed three classes of native females, who gladly listened to her instructions," and she had also under her care a school for children, "who were learning to read very fast, and advancing in other branches of female education."

CHAPTER XX.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1837, 1838.)

THE Year 1837 one of unprecedented Mortality—Eight Deaths in nine Months—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Harrop at Cape-Coast—Their Sickness and Death—Death of Mrs. Wrigley—The Shock to Mr. Wrigley—Extracts from his Letter upon the Subject—Brief Sketches of Mrs. Harrop, Mr. Harrop, and Mrs. Wrigley—Mr. Wrigley now the only Missionary at Cape-Coast—His Appeal for more Help—Sierra-Leone—Death of Messrs. Maer, Crosby, and Patterson of the Yellow Fever—Sketches of their Character—The Announcement of these Deaths in the “Missionary Notices”—Remarks thereon—Macarthy’s Island—The Providence of God—The Author’s various Employments—Visits St. Mary’s—A Soldier hanged—Hope in his Death—The Author returns to Macarthy’s Island—Letters on the Subject of the Epidemic, &c.—Wild Beasts on the Continent—Death of a Mandingo Man and Boy by a Leopard—Further Accounts of the Epidemic at St. Mary’s—The Author hears of the Death of Mr. Wilkinson—Resolves to go down—Peculiar Circumstances of the Case—Incidents on the Passage—Death of Governor Rendall—Safe Arrival at St. Mary’s—Sketch of Mr. Wilkinson—His funeral Sermon—Some Remarks on the Effects of the Yellow Fever—One Half of the Europeans at St. Mary’s cut down in a few Weeks—The Gold-Coast—Mr. Wrigley—His lamented Death—Mr. Sanders at Sierra-Leone, and the Author at the Gambia, now the only two Wesleyan Missionaries on the Coast—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Dove, with Mr. Badger, at Sierra-Leone—Mr. and Mrs. Swallow, with Mr. Wall, at the Gambia, and Mr. and Mrs. Freeman at Cape-Coast—Statistics of the Missions—Mr. Sanders returns to England—The present Appointments, with an Extract from the Annual Report on the Subject of the Mortality during the Year, &c.

THE year upon which we have now entered was an eventful one in the history of these missions. At its commencement some untoward events, ever to be lamented, unhappily occurred in the mission family at Sierra-Leone, by which some of the brethren were greatly at variance; and this state of things continued for some months; but the year was marked by much of the Divine Presence and blessing upon the labours of his servants on all the stations on the Coast, at each of which there was an augmentation to their numbers, consisting of several hundreds of members. But it was a painful and an unprecedented year in the mortality of the missionaries; and it becomes once more our painful task to record the ravages of death. No

fewer than six missionaries, and two wives of missionaries,—in all, eight agents of the society,—were removed from the church below to the church above, in the course of about nine months ! These afflictive and mysterious dispensations of Providence we shall, as heretofore, register in due order ; and, in so doing, we shall have to commence at the Gold-Coast. That mission was strengthened by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Harrop, who landed there in the middle of January. But they had scarcely entered upon their labours, when, owing to the injurious exposure of themselves to the effects of the sun and damps, they were almost immediately attacked by fever, which proved fatal to both ; and Mrs. Wrigley sank under the fatigue which she experienced, while attending, with affectionate anxiety, by night and by day, to the wants and sufferings of her newly-arrived friends. At this painful visitation, the grief of the societies was almost unbounded, and the wound Mr. Wrigley received was very severe. Mr. Freeman, who referred to this subject in one of the “Quarterly Papers” some time after, says : “Perhaps no language could be more applicable to his feelings, than that of Dr. Young, while lamenting the loss of his companion in life, and her amiable children :—

‘Insatiate archer ! could not one suffice ?

Thy shaft flew thrice, and thrice my peace was slain,
And thrice ere thrice yon moon renew’d her horn !’ ”

The shock which Mr. Wrigley received from this complicated bereavement was the more severely felt, as he himself was only just recovering from a severe bilious fever. But we shall best understand the views and feelings of this afflicted and bereaved missionary, from himself, by inserting the substance of a letter addressed to the general secretaries, a copy of which now lies before me, and which gives the particulars of the melancholy events just alluded to. The whole letter is painfully interesting, and is alike creditable to the head and the heart of him who, alas ! was himself called, in a few short months, to join “in a nobler clime” those whose loss he so deeply deplored in this. The letter is dated “Western Africa, Cape-Coast, February 20th, 1837,” and commences as follows :—

REV. AND DEAR SIRS,—With feelings of unutterable sorrow, I have to announce the heart-rending fact, that Mr. and Mrs. Harrop and my beloved partner are no more ! O, my God, teach me resignation to that which my human reason would say is utterly unaccountable and inexplicably mysterious ; to acknowledge thine hand, to revere thy sovereign will, and to submit to thy righteous dispensations ! Such a stroke confounds all my reasonings, and levels me with the dust.

After stating that Mr. and Mrs. Harrop arrived on Sunday, the 15th ultimo, and that they went in company to the afternoon service, where they had a crowded congregation, and that Mr. Harrop was both surprised and gratified with the sight, Mr. Wrigley says :—

But, ah ! how vain are all our earthly hopes, and how mysterious are His ways whose judgments are a great deep ! The arrival of our friends, so highly calculated to cheer and encourage us in our arduous work, was but the prelude to the experience of the severest afflictions.

Mr. Wrigley was himself attacked with illness the following day, and was confined to his bed for some time ; but adds :—

The arrival of our friends at such a time I was led to view as a most providential event, inasmuch as the work would be carried on without interruption. It was otherwise determined. On Sunday, the 29th ultimo, precisely a fortnight from their arrival, our two friends commenced with the seasoning-fever, though in so mild a manner as to lead us to indulge the hope of speedy recovery.

This pleasing hope was not realized ; for though the best medical help, with the best nurses the place afforded, was immediately obtained, they became worse. Mr. Wrigley writes :—

Had not Mrs. Harrop been labouring under the influence of other diseases of an opposite nature, I doubt not she would have got over it. Her fits, however, increased in violence every succeeding day, until Saturday, during the whole of which day she was in strong convulsions ; in which, with great struggling, she ceased to breathe, about two o'clock in the morning of the sabbath, February 5th. It was an awful scene : never shall I forget it. My soul was in a state of the utmost agitation : Mrs. Harrop struggling with her last enemy, her husband in an adjoining room in a state of delirium, and my own beloved partner in another room every thing but insensible to all around her. Every thing was done for Mr. Harrop that the skill of our medical attendant could devise, or the activity of his attendants accomplish ; but it was all in vain. He continued much in the same way as above stated, with some lucid intervals, until Wednesday morning, twenty-five minutes to seven o'clock, when he silently, and without a groan, ceased to be an inhabitant of this vale of tears.

As for my dear wife, never was shock greater to my mind than that which I experienced when, on a sudden and totally unexpected change, there was manifested every symptom of speedy dissolution : this occurred on Wednesday morning, at six o'clock. For five hours I had been engaged previously in bathing her head incessantly with limes and cold water, with pleasing hopes of a speedy and favourable change. The fever was at its height ; she wandered a little, but was remarkably still ; and it was not until half an hour previous to her end, that I entertained the least idea of such an event. She died, with the composure of one taking rest in sleep, at half-past six o'clock, a few minutes before Mr. Harrop breathed his last.

This was too much for my feelings to bear : my mind, already enfeebled by weakness and loss of rest, was completely prostrated. I could no longer contain myself, and I was reduced to a state of complete frenzy for the space of half an

hour, while all around me were bathed in tears, expecting that their last hope in my spared life was about to be extinguished. I was at last forcibly carried away from the side of my beloved partner's remains, and removed to the house of W. Hutton, Esq.

Scenes like this are truly affecting, sufficient to excite our tenderest sympathies, fervent prayers, and liberal contributions in the cause of missions. Nor is the preceding a peculiar case ; for we shall have to record others of a similar kind, ere we close the catalogue of deaths in this deathly clime. Mr. Wrigley, in speaking of his own affliction, previously and subsequently to the above bereavement, says, he "was determined, even at the sacrifice of life, to attend on his suffering companions, and render them all the assistance he could ;" which, he adds, "now indeed affords me a mournful satisfaction ; while, at the same time, I am amazed that, after the loss of rest for at least six nights out of seven, I am now able to record such tragical events." "Tragical," indeed, they were ; but "what we know not now, we shall know hereafter."

It remains that we give a brief and separate sketch of these three, who "counted not their lives dear unto them," so that they might contribute, in some small degree, to the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in Heathen lands.

MRS. HARROP, the first of those who fell on this occasion, was a native of Eckington, a village in Derbyshire, and was born in the year 1807. Her maiden name was Barber. In the sixteenth year of her age she was deeply convinced of sin, sought and found mercy through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and immediately united herself with the people of God. On writing to a friend in 1827, after adverting to the goodness of God in bringing them both to a knowledge of Himself in youth, she observes : "It is our privilege and our duty to rise higher." And again : "I feel assured that we cannot be perfectly happy until every desire, every passion, of the soul is brought into subjection to the will of God." Some time after this, she kept a diary, a remnant of which is now before me ; from which it appears that holiness was her grand pursuit. Under date of "January 1st, 1835," she wrote : "Goodness and mercy have followed me all my days. I can see the hand of God in every circumstance of my life. The past has been a year of deeper enjoyment than any preceding one. I have to-day publicly and solemnly renewed my covenant-engagement to be the Lord's. O my God, strengthen me, that every power of body and soul may from this day be consecrated to thee,

that I may count all things as loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord ! Amen and amen !” Miss Barber, however, did not content herself with receiving good ; but, according to her power and opportunities, she endeavoured to do good to others. She was faithful and diligent as a sabbath-school teacher, tract-distributor, missionary-collector, and visitor of the sick. Soon after this, a more extended sphere of usefulness presented itself, and she was united in marriage to the Rev. Peter Harrop, and with him embarked for the Gold-Coast, where, after a stormy and lengthened passage, they arrived in safety. This Mrs. Harrop recorded in her diary with gratitude to God. A week after, she again writes : “ I can truly say, my soul is in some degree quickened since we came here. Last night I had the privilege of attending the class-meeting of the leaders here, and found it a very profitable season. We sensibly felt the Lord in the midst, to strengthen and refresh our souls. O may He eminently own and bless our coming among this people !”

These, it is believed, were the last words which she penned. In another week she was attacked with fever, and in one more she breathed her last. Mr. Wrigley writes : “ During her affliction, Mrs. Harrop appeared to have strong confidence in God, and assurance of her interest in the Saviour. Her consolations occasionally abounded, and she rejoiced in the prospect of a speedy admittance into the mansions of glory. She did on one occasion say, ‘ I did not think I was come to Africa to die ;’ but this was the only expression of the kind she was known to utter : generally, in the midst of her severest paroxysms of suffering, her language was that of resignation to the Divine will, and of praise for the mercies by which her past life had been marked, and the consolations by which she was supported.” The day previous to her death she said, “ I shall be in heaven to-morrow.” These were the last sensible words she uttered. She died on Sunday morning, February 5th, 1837, after a residence in Africa of only three weeks. Her remains were interred the same day on which she died, attended by the society and others, in the ground appropriated for that purpose.

PETER HARROP was a native of Hadfield in the Glossop circuit, and was appointed to the Gold-Coast mission by the Conference of 1836, but did not sail till the 17th of November ; and, owing to an unusually long passage, he did not arrive there till the middle of the following January. He was a young man of considerable native energy and promise ; but almost before he had

thrust his sickle into the harvest ripening before him, he was called away to be no more seen till the resurrection of the just. He had no apprehension that his affliction would be unto death ; but he was not unprepared for it : he expressed himself as happy in God ; and many of his last hours were occupied in giving utterance to the feelings of his heart, which overflowed with gratitude for all the goodness which God had showed to him. " Every thing was done that the skill of the medical attendant could devise, or the activity of his attendants accomplish ; but it was all in vain." His Master had come and called for him. He died on the 8th of February, 1837, in the thirtieth year of his age. During the latter part of his illness he was delirious, so that he was not aware that his dear wife had " first obtained the prize," till their spirits mingled together in the skies three days after ; and that Mrs. Wrigley had only just preceded him, as though it were to carry the news to his wife, that her husband was coming ! O how soon did these three meet again !

" And what a joyful meeting there,
In robes of white array'd !
Palms in their hands they now all bear,
And crowns upon their head ! "

Mrs. WRIGLEY, who also expired on the 8th of February, only " a few minutes before Mr. Harrop breathed his last," was a woman of sincere affection and genuine piety, and, by her attainments and Christian spirit, was admirably adapted for usefulness. She arrived at Cape-Coast with her excellent husband in the middle of September of the preceding year ; and, deeply affected with the moral degradation of the female sex, she almost immediately collected a number of them together, to whom she gave religious instruction, in addition to a school of female children, which she had under her care, and in which she took great delight. Previous to her illness, referring to the Lord's goodness, in the partial restoration of her husband, she said, " Now that the Lord has given you unto me again, we will give ourselves afresh unto him, and be more than ever devoted to his service." In this state of mind she entered on her affliction, which had been superinduced by her unfailing and incessant attentions to her husband, and her generous and kind assistance to her newly-arrived brother and sister ; for, notwithstanding the loss of rest which she had sustained on account of Mr. Wrigley's illness, " during the Tuesday evening she arose four times to attend to the wants of Mrs. Harrop."

Soon after this she was attacked with the seasoning fever. During the progress of the disease, she was not in that joyous state which generally characterized her experience ; and on one occasion she said, " I believe I shall die, and I do not feel my confidence in God so strong as I used to do ; and a sense of my many short-comings and unprofitableness presses down my mind, and makes me feel low." Her dear husband encouraged her to look to God, and she soon found comfort. On the day previous to her death, she wandered much ; but it was evident, even in her wanderings, that the work of God and his high praises occupied her mind. At one time she repeated those words : " They that make the sacrifice shall gain the prize ;" and at other times would praise the Lord aloud. " She died with the composure of one taking rest in sleep, at half-past six o'clock " in the morning.

As Mr. Harrop and Mrs. Wrigley died within a few minutes of each other, they were interred at the same time. The attention and sympathy of nearly the whole town were excited by such an unusual and unexpected event ; a large concourse of people attended the funeral, many of whom bore visible marks of real sorrow. " It was truly affecting," writes Mr. Wrigley, " to behold the school-children, weeping at the grave of their beloved mistress. They were much attached to her ;" and he then adds : " Blessed indeed are the dead that die in the Lord. Haste, happy day, that shall usher me into the heavenly society, and to the sight of her whose precious memory is engraven on my bleeding heart ! "

" These all died in faith." It was in their hearts to labour for God ; but he saw it best to take them to an early reward, and to leave the work to others.

Mr. Wrigley was now the only surviving missionary on this station ; and nothing but the consolations of religion could have sustained him, under an accumulation of losses so sudden and severe. But " by degrees," he writes, " I have begun to resume a measure of restoration from a state which, if continued, would soon have lodged me in the cold embraces of the tomb. Life, indeed, in my present circumstances, has no charms ; nor could I support myself beneath the weight of such a stroke, were it not for the hope of ere long joining the glorified spirit of my devoted partner, and, in the mean time, of following up those victories of the cross of our Emmanuel which together we have been enabled to achieve to his glory, since we arrived on these inhospitable shores." In the same letter Mr. Wrigley

says, "I am keeping the school together as well as I can, until you send further help: surely others will be found to occupy the places of those who are gone. There is indeed a large harvest of souls waiting to be gathered in here; but every thing outwardly seems opposed to its accomplishment: nevertheless, I will not despair, I will yet hope to see better days in Cape-Coast." After requesting a quantity of elementary and other books for the schools, which were much wanted, and speaking of several openings which presented themselves where they might establish others, but that he could "not stir for want of books," he once more renews his application for help, as follows: "I have also again to urge the immediate re-inforcement of the mission: what is one single individual among so many? I hope, notwithstanding the sad news which these sheets will communicate, that others will be found to fill up the ranks, and, in the spirit of one now slumbering alongside Harriet Newell, in the Isle of France,—Sargent,—‘come to this hell, if it be even to die here.’" In due course others *were* found, who freely and nobly offered themselves to be "baptized for the dead" in this part of the world.

But we must leave Mr. Wrigley for the present, and proceed to Sierra-Leone, there also to record three deaths, which took place during the three succeeding months. These were Messrs. Maer, Crosby, and Patterson, who all died of the yellow fever which was just then raging in the colony, and which soon extended along a considerable line of the coast, carrying off a great number of Europeans at most of the settlements. But as we shall have occasion to speak of this again ere long, we proceed to our melancholy task of giving biographical sketches of those missionaries who had already fallen.

EDWARD MAER, who arrived at Sierra-Leone in the latter part of 1832, and who had therefore been in Africa upwards of four years, was a zealous, devoted, and successful missionary. He was appointed to this station at his own special request. The origin and manner of his offer is interesting. A respected brother minister, now in England, but who has spent several years in the mission work, has kindly furnished me with the following particulars on this subject. He says, "I wish I could depict to you the spirit evinced, as well as give you correctly the language employed, by Edward Maer, when he offered himself for Western Africa. It was in October, 1831, that we stood side by side for examination before the Missionary Committee. We

had been associated together for a few days previously. I admired the man. In my view, he was just what a missionary ought to be. When asked, in the course of examination, whether he had a preference for any particular part of the world, he replied, with deep feeling, and in a spirit of moral heroism, that Western Africa was laid upon his heart. He had been reading some recent communications from the Church missionaries in that part: they were mourning the loss of brethren whom that deadly clime had swept away, and whose places had not only remained vacant, but were likely to remain so, no candidates offering for that hazardous post. The surviving brethren strongly appealed as to whether Western Africa were not included in the Saviour's commission, and whether none were willing to hazard their lives there in obedience to that commission. Maer felt the full force of that appeal, and not only willingly offered, but urged that he might be appointed to that sphere of labour. He was appointed accordingly." From extracts of letters from Mr. Maer, already before the reader in this volume, it will be seen that his missionary zeal did not flag when he reached the warm shores of Western Africa, but that he laboured on, year after year, and was rendered eminently useful in the extension and consolidation of that important mission. Having made arrangements to visit his native country, with the full intention of returning to Africa at an early opportunity, he embarked for that purpose on Good-Friday, March 24th. The estimation in which he was held was indicated by the fact, that a great number of the natives accompanied him to the ship, and took leave of him with many tears. On the day after his embarkation he complained of being indisposed, yet spoke of preaching to the crew on the following day. But his labours were at an end: the disease proceeded with such rapidity, that he exchanged mortality for life early on the Monday morning, March 27th, 1837, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the fifth of his ministry. He was buried at sea.

BENJAMIN CROSBY was a man of more than ordinary piety and devotedness to God. He was born at Beckingham, in the Newark circuit, in the year 1807; and lived for some time during his youth in the employ of the late Daniel Webb, Esq., of the same place. When about twenty-two years of age, he was awakened to a sense of his lost condition as a sinner, under the ministry of the late Rev. John Smith, at Bassingham, and, soon after, at a prayer-meeting, found peace with God. He afterwards removed to Auborne, in the Lincoln circuit, where

he began to preach; and having acted for some time as a local preacher, with great zeal and success, constrained by the love of Christ and a yearning pity for souls, he offered himself for the work of the ministry in Heathen lands. "At the quarterly-meeting which recommended him, he was spoken of as a most diligent and conscientious farm-servant, as a man mighty in prayer, and as full of zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls." About this time he was received as an inmate in the family of Mr. Thomas Bainbridge, of Lincoln, who has kindly furnished the writer with the following interesting particulars. Mr. Bainbridge says, "While under my roof, he anxiously improved himself in writing, arithmetic, and English. He had received little early instruction, and was very desirous to supply this deficiency, especially in regard to his knowledge of the vernacular language. His experience of the things of God was deep and clear. His practice was to rise for prayer about midnight: at these times he often had seasons of special manifestation, and overwhelmings of Divine power. He walked closely with God, enjoying rich and holy communion. His inward devotion sustained his energy in public. Whether praying or preaching, he poured forth the fulness of a soul inflamed with Divine love. His preaching was generally attended with manifest good. Like his friend, John Hunt, he had drunk deeply into the spirit of the late John Smith. His appeals to the consciences of sinners were like thunder, while with tenderness and pathos he directed the penitent to the cross, holding forth the freeness and sufficiency of Christ to save all that believe. In my then large establishment, I felt it a privilege to have a man of so much piety, prayer, and consistency under my roof. The tone of his piety was felt by all, yet he was beloved by all."

Having remained with Mr. Bainbridge about three months, who had previously "known him as a most devoted and upright Christian, and a zealous and useful local preacher," he was called out as a supply in the Horncastle circuit, where he remained until he was sent for by the Missionary Committee, and then proceeded to Sierra-Leone. We have, in the preceding chapter, more than once referred to the labours of Mr. Crosby in that colony: further communications from him while there may be found in the eighth volume of the "Missionary Notices," pages 168, 257, 462. All the energies of his body and mind were thrown into the great work of saving souls from sin and death. His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the people in various parts of the colony wholly given up to idolatry. The

fervour of his zeal was manifest in the excessive labours which he undertook, by frequent travelling and preaching, and visiting from house to house. In one of the last communications which he addressed to the committee, a short time previous to his death, he gave some extracts from his journal, that they might "learn how he spent his time, and also see the necessity of sending men to this colony that both can and will labour for the salvation of immortal souls; men who will 'scorn their feeble flesh to spare,' and not even count their lives dear unto them for the name of Jesus." In this spirit Mr. Crosby lived and laboured; nor could any persuasion induce him to relax his successful efforts for the salvation of those around him, whilst any physical strength remained. On Wednesday, April 19th, he attended to his ordinary duties, and preached in the evening with his usual energy; but before morning he was seized with the prevailing epidemic, which baffled the skill of the physician, and which rendered him almost incapable of conversation. To the question, however, "Have you a bright prospect beyond the grave?" he distinctly, and with emphasis, replied, "I have." He died in peace on the 24th of April, 1837, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the third of his missionary labours, deeply lamented by his brethren, and many scores to whom his ministry had proved "the savour of life unto life."

JAMES PATTERSON, the third missionary who fell a victim to the yellow fever on this station, during this unusually unhealthy season, was brought to a saving knowledge of the truth at Lynn, in Norfolk, in the eighteenth year of his age; and from that period felt an ardent desire to make known the blessings of salvation to the benighted Heathen. After labouring as a local preacher in the Lynn and Great Queen-street circuits for several years, he was appointed by the Missionary Committee in 1836 to Sierra-Leone. He, together with Mrs. Patterson, sailed for that place on the 6th of September, on board the "William and Alfred," and, after a pleasant voyage of five weeks and two days, arrived at their destination in good health. But they were not permitted long to labour in this interesting part of the mission field. Mrs. Patterson escaped the malignant disease which broke out soon after their arrival; but not so her dear husband. Mr. Patterson, on the 14th day of May following, was seized with it, and at the end of a week he sank under its incurable violence. During his short illness, his mind was kept in perfect peace. When he had lost the power of speech,

he was asked to raise his hand if he experienced a foretaste of future glory; immediately he lifted up his hands, and, without a struggle or a groan, fell asleep in Jesus, on the 21st of May, 1837, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and after a residence in the colony of little more than seven months. Soon after this, Mrs. Patterson returned to England.

An account of these afflictive and sad scenes of mortality arrived in England in rapid succession; and they were announced in the "Missionary Notices" for August, under the head of "Death of Missionaries in Western Africa." After speaking of each missionary separately, in suitable terms, and with the deepest sorrow regretting their loss, the article closes as follows:—

These afflictive events are painfully trying to the faith and hope of the church; but they are not to be regarded as forbidding further attempts for the conversion of the inhabitants of that fatal clime. Many hundreds of immortal souls have been brought to a knowledge of salvation, and to the enjoyment of eternal life, by means of the missions in which these and other precious lives have been sacrificed; a result which Christian faith discovers to be worth all the risk and loss; and even had the success been less evident, while the apostolic spirit remains in the church, men will be raised up who will "count not their lives dear to themselves," "that they may preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." But whilst we give expression to these sentiments, which are drawn from us by the afflictive events now recorded, we most earnestly call on all the friends of missions—on the whole church—to unite with us in earnest prayer to Him, in whose hands are life and death, to throw the shield of his protection around our missionaries, and to spare and long continue their useful lives. Nor will they forget to implore consolation and support for the surviving missionaries in Western Africa, and for the immediate connexions of our lamented friends in this country, from among whom they went out; and to pray that the bereaved churches at Sierra-Leone, and at Cape-Coast, may be kept and edified, and ultimately provided with pastors equal in zeal and love to those whose loss we now deplore.

When this excellent and very appropriate paragraph was penned, neither the committee nor the general secretaries had heard of the last death we have narrated, nor of one or two others that took place shortly afterwards, and which it will be our painful duty to place upon record. But it will be a relief to the reader, and undoubtedly one to the writer, too, if he will accompany me to Macarthy's Island, during a short interval, from these mournful stories.

It may be recollected, that we closed the last chapter at Macarthy's Island, on the first day of the new year, where the writer then was. The "rumours of war" then mentioned soon broke out into a series of plundering expeditions, the chief

object being to obtain slaves. A brief account of those disturbances, which took place at this time and subsequently, in the immediate neighbourhood of Macarthy's Island, we have given in the sixth chapter of this work, while describing the crying evils of the Slave-Trade. The writer was an eye-witness to some of the desolations perpetrated by these marauding bandits. In the first of those communications, dated March 13th, 1837, the reader will find, that in his visit to Jamalli, on the north side of the river, he beheld the ruins of two towns that had been destroyed, whilst from a third the inhabitants had all fled, and not a soul was to be seen. This was on the 25th of January; and the following fact connected with that visit will illustrate the goodness and providence of God, and also exhibit in a striking light the constant alarm and dread in which the inhabitants on this continent are kept, by the frequency of these plundering expeditions:—

Here I cannot but record the goodness of God in preserving me and my assistant, John Cupidon, from sudden death. On the way to these places, we met several Foulahs, who were gathering in the produce of the last rains, and carrying it to Macarthy's Island for safety; but on seeing or hearing our horses, they immediately ran into the bush, and hid themselves, supposing we were the war people coming upon them again. Finding this to be the case several times, Cupidon and the last Foulah man whom we met, and who, on seeing us, knew us, were both of opinion that it was dangerous to proceed, as there were only a few people collecting in the harvest, and if they saw us or our horses, would probably shoot us before they could know, or we could tell them, who we were. Cupidon had stated this to me before, so that I now judged it prudent to ask the Foulah to accompany us, that when his town's-people saw him with us, they might have no cause to fear. The man very readily returned with us; and we proceeded very cautiously till we reached the town, when, after looking about a little, we sat down under a *bentang*, when, lo! just behind us were three or four Foulahs, in the corn and cotton field, who seeing our horses, and supposing we were come for more plunder, one of them was *just in the act of aiming at either me or Cupidon with his gun*; though I suppose it was at me, as I was nearest to him, and with my back that way. Just at this crisis, he heard the man who had kindly accompanied us *speaking*, and, knowing his voice,* withdrew his aim, and called out, *Jumali be je?* "Who is there?" The man immediately replied, *Tobaba fodey be jong*: "The white minister is here." I turned round and saw these Foulahs coming from behind a large taba-tree, not many yards from us; and one of them was then in the act of priming his gun! This was a narrow escape; and with gratitude to the Father of all my mercies, I felt the full force of that precious text, applicable to all God's children, but which was addressed originally to missionaries, "But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered." (Luke xii. 7.)

The effects of the late rains had, however, now subsided, and this was what is called the best part of the dry season; and the

* I had hold of my pony's bridle, and this man was giving it a part of a water-melon, and, as he was stooping, the horse prevented him from being seen.

author, being once more in the possession of health, endeavoured to show his gratitude to God for that precious boon, by devoting the best energies of his body and soul to his glorious cause. The peculiarity of the Foulah mission, having more of temporal and secular matters connected with it than our missions in general, demanded, in fact, more strength than he could exert. For, in addition to the ministerial office which he sustained at Macarthy's Island, with frequent preaching, pastoral duties, marrying, baptizing, visiting the sick and dying, and burying the dead, (there being no other missionary or chaplain on the island,) he had to direct and superintend a number of mechanics, being architect and builder too; besides which, he had, on the six hundred acres of land, fifty, sixty, and sometimes seventy, day-labourers, and at one time a hundred and three, preparing it for cultivation, with about as many head of cattle: he was also frequently called to settle disputes between the natives, and had to act as an arbitrator, or a kind of magistrate; and no small time was occupied in dispensing medicine to persons who applied for it, either for themselves or for their friends. He had, likewise, frequent and long conversations with many of the Foulahs who paid a temporary visit to the island, upon the subject of their locating themselves on the mission-ground; and he made several visits to the main-land, both on the north and south sides of the river, having interviews with the native kings, and other leading men, and especially with the "wandering Foulahs," with the same object in view. He also took two or three journeys into the interior. Early in this year he proceeded to Madina, the capital of Woolli; and the following year he went as far as Boollibany, the royal residence of the almany of Bondou. In this way his time was occupied for several years, with not unfrequent interruptions from sickness, and occasional and necessary visits which he paid to St. Mary's, on the death of his brethren, or on other matters of important business.

From this brief abstract it will be seen, that, in addition to the combination of offices which he sustained, he was a kind of ambassador-general to most of the petty chiefs and kings for some hundreds of miles, east, west, north, and south of Macarthy's Island. But wherever he went, he did not forget the first and great object of his mission,—“man ruined by the fall, and his redemption by Christ;” and endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to “preach the gospel to every creature.”

His unpublished journal, letters, and other documents, would furnish some interesting particulars, on most of the subjects

alluded to; but he finds this volume has already reached a size beyond which he did not anticipate it would extend; and he must therefore for the future greatly abridge, or entirely pass over, many parts of his own personal narrative, and confine himself to a few prominent features of the mission. Some account, however, of his journey to Bondou will probably be given in its proper place.

Early in the month of June, 1837, he accompanied John Cupidon to St. Mary's, to attend the sessions, in order to obtain at least *restitution* for mission-property, so wantonly destroyed upwards of twelve months ago; but the defendant being absent from the colony, nothing was done for us at that time. One of the soldiers from Macarthy's Island was at this period found guilty of murder, and was condemned to be hanged. This being the first case of the kind since the formation of the settlement, it occasioned considerable excitement in the colony, especially among the natives. Some of our pious members visited the condemned criminal in the jail, as did Mr. Wilkinson and myself. For some time he appeared quite unconcerned at his awful situation, but at length saw and felt it most deeply, and earnestly requested us to repeat our visits. On Sunday morning, the 18th, before going to Barra, I saw him, and in the afternoon preached in the jail-yard, to all the prisoners, and a large congregation of natives, the sheriff and several other Europeans being present. My text was Romans vi. 23: "The wages of sin is death." After describing the nature of sin, with some of its effects, I more particularly referred to the unhappy man who was about to suffer temporal death for the heinous sin of murder; which sentence, awful as it was, was just and consistent, both with the laws of God and man: but this was not all; death eternal, or everlasting misery, will be the portion of every unpardoned sinner. The unhappy culprit was beyond the reach of human forgiveness; the sentence passed upon his body could not be reversed: he must die, and that in a few hours. After dwelling upon the awfulness of his situation, I referred to the latter part of the text: "The gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." The poor condemned man's situation, and the position which he occupied during the sermon, were peculiar; for he was inside the jail, looking at, and listening to, the preacher from a window of iron bars, which was about twelve feet from the ground, and, being very near, he forcibly reminded me of the dying thief upon the cross. Towards the close, turning to this "other malefactor," I offered him, in the name of Jesus, the "gift of God,"—a free and

full pardon here, with "eternal life" hereafter. It was an affecting time. During the service that awfully solemn hymn was sung:—

"Terrible thought! shall I alone,
Who may be saved, shall I,
Of all, alas! whom I have known,
Through sin for ever die?"

I felt considerable liberty in warning the multitude, and in exhorting the poor sinner to look to Calvary, and, during the last prayer, he shouted out, "Glory to God! Glory to God!"

In the evening, after preaching at the chapel, I went again to the jail, and also the next morning at break of day; when I found the prisoner had been on his knees most of the night, but was from the preceding afternoon quite resigned to die. A few minutes before eight o'clock Mr. Wilkinson and myself accompanied him to the scaffold, and there again prayed with and for him. The military, militia, and many of the inhabitants had assembled in front of the jail. It was an awful scene: in a few minutes the drop fell, and a deathless spirit was launched into eternity. We had hope, however, in his death; and on returning to the mission-house, that passage was the subject of meditation, "Wherefore He is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Heb. vii. 25.)

A few days after this, the author returned to his station, and the following letters, besides some account of the mission, will give the reader an idea of the epidemic before alluded to, which had just then reached as far north as the Gambia. They appeared in the "Missionary Notices" towards the close of the year, with a short preface, as usual:—

MISSIONS IN WESTERN AFRICA.

THE following letters from Western Africa will call forth the sympathy and prayers of our readers, on behalf of those who have been called to labour in the work and cause of Christ amidst surrounding pestilence and death. We regret to add that there is too much reason to believe that the excellent writer of the second of these letters, the Rev. H. Wilkinson, has fallen a victim to the prevailing epidemic. The details of this sad bereavement have not yet reached us, but may possibly arrive in time for our Postscript.

MACARTHY'S ISLAND.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. William Fox,
dated August 10th and 15th, 1837.*

I WROTE to you last from St. Mary's, on the 24th of June, and, amongst other subjects, gave you some account of the serious sickness with which we were threat-

ened. Dr. Tebbs died a few days after the above-mentioned date, and I believe two or three more European sailors from the "Curlew" have died since; but I am happy to say that the malignant epidemic has considerably, if not altogether, subsided, at least, for the present. I say for the present, because it is generally supposed that it will, in a short time, and in a still worse type, be conveyed to the Gambia by or through the atmosphere. This is inferred from the fact that an epidemic somewhat similar has broken out on the coast about once in six or seven years for many years past; and on those occasions, both at Sierra-Leone, the Gambia, Goree, and other places, the mortality amongst Europeans has been very great. From Sierra-Leone we have had no direct communication for some time. A vessel left there about the 30th of June, bound for England, which was wrecked somewhere about Cape Roxo; and I understand some of the sailors have reached St. Mary's, who state that the mortality there is still very great, so much so, that in Free-Town there is scarcely a white person to be seen. This statement may be somewhat exaggerated; but that it has been, and still is, very serious there, there can be but little doubt. However, it may take a different course to that of north, or, by the breath of Omnipotence, may be blown into nonentity; but at present this is only known to Him to whom all contingencies are perfectly familiar, and who, we know, "is too wise to err, and too good to be unkind."

Our doctor here has gone out in the "Curlew" man-of-war, (which lost its doctor, two or three other officers, and many of its crew,) till they meet with the admiral, or by some means obtain a surgeon; so that we are at present, and shall probably be so for some months yet, without medical aid on this island. A medical gentleman from a man-of-war, which happened to be at St. Mary's, from the West Indies, is acting as colonial doctor there, and will probably be appointed.

I have recently been ill for a few days with rather a smart bilious fever; but am now, thank the Lord, in the possession of good health.

I have nothing particular to report in reference to the cause of God here. I would that I could see better days. I have some good seasons in "preaching Christ to the people;" our Sunday-morning congregations are generally very good; and on other occasions I am sometimes led to sing,—

"The little cloud increases still,
The heavens are big with rain."

But we have scarcely as yet obtained the "rill," much less the "stream," or the "torrent." May the blessed God undertake his own cause, and, in this distant part of the moral wilderness, send us prosperity!

The enlargement and improvement of the mission-house and premises are at length finished; and heartily glad I am, I can assure you. Besides these, and the house and chapel at Fattota, I have built for John Cupidon a respectable native house, contiguous to the mission-house, which, with the expenses of the mission-ground, and near one hundred head of cattle, will account for the heavy amount for which I have drawn on the treasurers of late. I have now employed, on the six hundred acres, about seventy people, on the best parts of which they are growing rice, corn, and ground-nuts, also a small portion of Indian corn, millet, indigo, and cotton. All promise very well, excepting the rice, which I fear is the fault of the seed, as the rains are now regularly set in. I have, however, obtained some fresh, and I hope to obtain a moderate quantity of this useful article of diet. On the larger portion of the mission-ground there is a sort of creek or lake, which, during the rains, and for some time afterwards, is quite unfordable. I am therefore building a substantial wooden bridge across this, in a parallel with a direct or straight

road, which I have already made thus far. This bridge, being about two hundred feet long, will cost a few dollars, or rather a few pounds; but it is essential and absolutely necessary; and I have no doubt, when finished, will last many years. A sketch of the mission-house and premises, with the particulars of what has been done, I will forward you at the close of the year, if spared. I may, however, by this opportunity just observe, that the house is now substantial, comfortable, capacious, and considerably adds to the respectability of the place; and that, since the rains commenced, I have been rearing young fruit-trees, and transplanting others of different kinds from the island and main-land, which will give to the premises a rural aspect, and, in the course of a few years, make the house and yard much cooler.

A chapel will, doubtless, be wanted ere long; indeed, it would be much more comfortable if we had one now. On our present premises there is just room enough; but as the lot adjoining the south-east end of our premises is offered for sale, I would strongly recommend its being purchased, as probably another opportunity of this kind may not occur for many years, if ever, as the front lots, in particular, are becoming valuable, and several of the merchants are building substantial stone houses. Two hundred dollars are asked for this lot, with a large native house, or rather store, of cane and grass, which is worth seventy or eighty dollars. If you approve of this lot being purchased, I possibly may exchange it for the one on the opposite end of the mission premises, which is a corner lot, and which would answer still better for a chapel; but the possibility is, that the lot in question may be sold before I can hear from you, and in that case what am I to do? If I find it is likely to get into other hands, I shall probably venture to purchase it; and if you do not approve of it, I must try to sell it again. I have really expended so much money on this station, that I have not unfrequently been very uneasy, lest you should disapprove of any thing I may have done for the benefit and future welfare of this mission. The repairs and buildings are now all finished; but, as mentioned before, I am still proceeding with the mission-ground, which, of course, is not a little expensive. In all that I have done, I have been as economical as possible.

P.S. August 15th.—So uncertain is health in this clime, that though on the 10th inst. I was well, yet a few hours after I had written the above, I was attacked with fever, which continued, more or less, for three days. Yesterday I was better, and to-day I am, thank God, better still; and I hope, in another day or two, again to be in the possession of the invaluable blessing of good health.

On the 11th inst., I received letters from St. Mary's, and am sorry to say, that either the epidemical disease, or black vomit, had not so totally subsided as I had been led to expect, or that it has broken out afresh. Several of the natives have died of it, and two or three more European residents, one of whom is Mrs. Grant, who came out with me upwards of twenty months ago; so that our esteemed friend, Mr. C. Grant, is left a widower with a motherless babe at St. Mary's, and several other children in England. I need scarce say, that your missionaries in Western Africa need a special interest in your prayers. If we fall, it will be in the field, with the harness on, facing the enemy; for we shall never run away from our post till Providence opens the door.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Henry Wilkinson, dated St. Mary's, Gambia, August 18th, 1837.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I wrote you a few lines on the 7th inst., I embrace another (unexpected) opportunity of addressing you again.

I am truly sorry to state, that the epidemic is still making serious ravages on

this island. Sickness and death are marching around us in their ghastly forms: Such is the nature of the disease, that it baffles the power of medicine and medical skill. Nearly the whole of the persons that have been arrested by it have fallen victims. Such a season as this has not been experienced for many years in this part of Africa.

In reference to my dear wife and myself, I am truly thankful to God, that we have hitherto been preserved from the pestilence, and that we are at present in tolerable health, and able to attend to most of our important duties: indeed, Mrs. Wilkinson is, upon the whole, much better than I ever expected to see her again in Africa. With care, and our heavenly Father's blessing, I hope we shall be preserved to labour a little longer amongst these sable tribes.

As it regards the work of God with us, our congregations continue very good, and the society and schools are in a good state. I do not mean to say that we have no discouragements; for it often becomes our painful duty to enforce discipline and expel disorderly persons from the society. However, blessed be God! the society in general are alive to God, and are ornaments to our holy religion. We have several promising young men, four of whom I have lately put upon the Plan as exhorters.

I must mention another subject, and that is, that the chapels at Soldiers'-Town and Melville-Town are in a state of great dilapidation, from the strong tornadoes, and very heavy and incessant rain, which we have had for several weeks past. Indeed, this has hitherto been a destructive season in every sense of the word. It will be absolutely necessary, as soon as the rains are past, and the materials can be got, to repair these buildings. I suppose they may be put in order for about thirty pounds; however, I will assure the committee, that economy shall be attended to, and that nothing will be done but what is really necessary.*

“The excellent writer of the second of these letters” did fall “a victim to the prevailing epidemic,” and that in a few days after he wrote the letter we have just given. But the painful news did not reach Macarthy's Island for some two or three weeks after. In the mean time, the author was fully occupied with the affairs of his own important station. The rainy season had commenced; and the oversight of the farms, cattle, &c., with preaching, prayer-meetings, and pastoral duties, gave him plenty of exercise, both mental and physical. The rains were rather heavy just at this time, which threatened the rice-ground with a failure. Moreover, the monkeys and hippopotami had repeatedly (the latter during the night) obtruded themselves upon the mission-property, and did considerable damage. The immense forest on the main land had now increased its foliage, and the wild beasts had approached near to the water's edge.†

* “Missionary Notices,” vol. viii. pp. 574—576.

† A short time previous to this, as the author was returning from Fattatenda on the upper river, on board a small vessel, he saw two elephants apparently just coming to drink, at a little fording-place; and as the cutter was not more than thirty or forty feet from the water's edge, there being no breeze, and the ebb tide nearly run out, we were going very slowly, so that I had a good view of these

The lion's roar was frequently heard, and the leopards and wolves were exceedingly numerous ; so that it was dangerous to move on the continent. A singular accident, attended with the loss of two lives, occurred about this time. On the other side of the river, nearly opposite to the mission-house, at a fording-place, where there is a man stationed to look after the canoes that are frequently crossing this part of the river, there was a monkey on one of the trees, contiguous to the hut in which the man resides ; and as it was making a peculiar kind of noise, a boy ran to see what was the matter. When he arrived at the foot of the tree there was a large leopard, fixing his eyes upon the monkey, which had caused the noise ; but instead of waiting for the descent of the monkey, the leopard instantly seized the boy. A Mandingo man, hearing the screams of the child, ran to his assistance, and with a cutlass rescued the lad ; but the fierce animal then sprang at the man, and tore off a part of the top of his head : he, however, succeeded in driving away the leopard ; but both the man and the boy were dreadfully wounded. They were taken to the hospital, and died in a few days afterwards.

Almost every arrival from St. Mary's, about this time, brought the intelligence of some death or deaths among the Europeans ; and on the 12th of September we heard of the death of Mr. Wilkinson. On the 22d of the same month, the writer embarked on board the "Bathurst," a small schooner, bound for St. Mary's. He was very unwell at the time, and had been for some time previously ; and more than one kind friend advised him not to go down until the rains had completely closed ; for though Macarthy's Island was an inferior settlement and mission-station, in many respects, to St. Mary's, the Europeans there being often deprived of those domestic comforts, and even necessities, which could generally be more readily obtained at the latter place ; and though the heat was more intense by several degrees, and at this time there was no medical aid on the island ; yet there was this important fact connected with Macarthy's Island,—the dreadful epidemic which was committing such awful ravages along the Coast and also at St. Mary's, had never been known to reach so far inland as Macarthy's Island ; and the probability was, that on this occasion it would not ; whereas, by going to St. Mary's, I was

noble animals. One of them appeared from seven to eight feet in height, of a light grey colour ; the other was much smaller. But the sailors shouting, "Hurra, hurra !" caused them immediately to retire into the bush, when one or two more were seen by some of the crew, who had run up the rigging of the vessel.

entering into the midst of it. The writer was not insensible to this fact, and to the kind wishes of his friends; and though he was aware that Mrs. Wilkinson, who was dangerously ill, was not without a friend, he felt it a duty which he owed to his departed colleague, as well as to the mission, to hasten thither, and render all the assistance in his power to the missionary's widow, and to the bereaved flock, who had been deprived of their pastor.

On the passage down we heard, by letter, of the death of Governor Rendall, on the 20th, after a few hours' illness; and of several others. On another occasion we met a small boat; and, in answer to my inquiries to the captain, who spoke broken English, the mournful reply was, "No more two or three white men live at St. Mary's this time." We reached that station in safety on the evening of the 26th; and I found Mrs. Wilkinson at Mr. Grant's, in a very weak and debilitated state; but with the prospect of recovery, which was ultimately realized.

HENRY WILKINSON was an amiable, kind, faithful, and affectionate friend; a sincere, pious, and upright Christian; and a prudent, thoughtful, diligent, zealous, and devoted missionary. He had laboured on this station for two years and six months, with great pleasure and profit to himself, and with much benefit to others; and it was in his heart to have continued much longer.

But his course of usefulness was interrupted, and finally terminated, by an attack of the fatal epidemic which had carried off so many Europeans at St. Mary's, as well as several of the brethren and others at Sierra-Leone. The letter we have given in a preceding page, dated "August 18th," was probably the last which he ever wrote. On the following Sunday, August 20th, he attended to his duties as usual, and was then in the enjoyment of good health; and in a letter addressed to the author, communicating some account of his sickness and death, after speaking of his general good health up to the very day he was seized with the fatal disease, the gentleman who wrote says: "And I further think he never laboured with greater satisfaction or better success. I was myself in the chapel last Sunday, and heard him preach from that important passage in the Psalms: 'So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom;' and I think I never heard him preach with such enlarged views, or enforce the doctrine of the text with greater liberty or happier effect." On Monday morning he was still as well as usual, and during the day

visited the sick, and interred one or two corpses; but in the evening he was attacked with fever, which soon proved to be of the worst type. The day following he was still worse. The acting colonial doctor was, unfortunately, himself ill at the time, and subsequently died of the same disease; but two men-of-war coming in on that and the preceding day, both the surgeons from those vessels very kindly and promptly attended him; but, alas! it was to no purpose; for the "disease," to use his own terms a few days previously, "was such, that it baffled the power of medicine and medical skill." Neither that, nor the kind, unwearied, and affectionate attentions of his wife, and other friends, nor the prayers of the people, were of any avail: he continued to grow worse until late on Thursday evening, August 24th, 1837, when, without a struggle or a groan, he breathed his last. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and in the third of his missionary labours; and was buried the following morning in the new chapel, near the pulpit from which, on the previous sabbath, he had given out the hymn on the 650th page of the Wesleyan Hymn-Book, entitled "Triumph over Death," and commencing with,—

"And must this body die?
This well-wrought frame decay?
And must these active limbs of mine
Lie mouldering in the clay?"

So it was; though he little knew how soon it would be so: but he was found "ready" to "enter into the joy of his Lord." The writer had the melancholy pleasure of improving his lamented friend's death, from the same pulpit, on Sunday, October 1st, from the consoling words of the Saviour, addressed to the sisters of Lazarus, "Thy brother shall rise again;" (John xi. 23;) and on that occasion he gave out the same hymn, illustrating as it does the sublime doctrine of the resurrection. One verse may be introduced here:—

"God, my Redeemer, lives,
And ever from the skies
Looks down, and watches all my dust,
Till He shall bid it rise."

Glorious truth! It was good to be there.

The worst part of this unprecedentedly sickly season, it was hoped, was now over, as only one or two deaths of the malignant yellow fever had occurred up to this period, since the author arrived at St. Mary's. But there was much general

sickness, especially among the Europeans, all of whom had suffered more or less; and many had almost miraculously escaped death, as in the case of Mrs. Wilkinson. The writer also, in the middle of October, was once more brought to the margin of the grave; but again God interposed, and "the fever owned his touch, and fled." During his illness he was anxious to write a few lines to his dear friends in England, to be forwarded in case of his death; but he could not hold a pen. He was, however, very happy, even when burning with fever, parched with thirst, and tortured with pain; and could sing,—

" Yet, when melted in the flame
Of love, this shall be all my plea,—
I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me."

In the two letters already before the reader, dated August 10th and 18th, the one from myself, and the other from the late Mr. Wilkinson, some idea may be formed of the mortality which took place during the periodical rains of this year. But though the worst part was now past, several more deaths of the same dreadful type occurred after this, though they were principally among the shipping; and the colony continued in a very unhealthy state for some months after the rains ceased. Seldom, indeed, has the unsparing and impartial stroke of death been more strikingly manifest, than it was during this season at St. Mary's on the Gambia. The cases were not only sudden, but rapid and general: neither age, sex, station, profession, nor character, was exempt. One of the earliest victims was a fine tall officer at Fort Bullen, on the opposite side of the river; and the first intimation of his illness was made known by hoisting a blanket on the flag-staff. Medical attendance was immediately sent over; but in a few hours the English ensign, at half-mast, told us it was too late, and that his wife was a widow. This occurred in the middle of June: neither the sentinel guarding the barrack-gate, nor the troops inside, with loaded cannon, could keep off this "last enemy;" and having once entered the fortress, he left not until it was announced, "The commandant is dead!"

On the same day the surgeon of the "Curlew" man-of-war fell a victim to the disease; and, in a few days after, the purser and master, with fourteen of the crew, besides several others that were ill. This "common foe" had now entered the town of Bathurst; and the merchant in his counting-house, the magistrate on the bench, the tradesman in his shop, the secretary and civil officer at his desk, and the military on parade,

became diseased, sickened, and died, as did also the colonial doctor, whilst in the act of prescribing for others. Nor was this all; for the highest functionary in the colony, the resident at Government-house, and the faithful, zealous, pious missionary, whilst going about doing good, fell by the ruthless grasp of this "king of terrors."

Many of these cases had occurred when the writer was at St. Mary's, in June; and several of the sufferers he had visited in their illness. Dr. Tebbs, who expired on the 29th of that month, he had repeatedly seen, and witnessed his last moments. On that occasion there were seven Europeans in the room; and, in a week or two after, the writer and another were the only two that were spared out of the seven. Immediately after attending the funeral of the colonial surgeon, I had to embark for Macarthy's Island; and on my return, in September, the town presented the appearance of some solemn day of fasting and humiliation before God: business was, indeed, in a great measure suspended; and if the black captain's statement to me, on his passage down, was not literally true, it was so in part; for there was scarcely a white man to be seen. The author was reminded of that dreadful scourge, the cholera, which had committed such ravages in some of the populous English towns a few years previously. But even that was not a parallel, in point of comparative numbers, to the yellow fever at the Gambia during this dying season. Not less than *one-half* of the Europeans then residing at St. Mary's, were in a few short weeks numbered with the dead; exclusive of the naval officers and crews of Her Majesty's ships, and of other Europeans and Americans, of merchant-vessels, besides a number of Mulattoes, and a great number of the natives. The fact, that during this season four medical men died at St. Mary's, and another on his passage from Sierra-Leone to this place, shortly after, whilst a sixth, who was intended for the Gambia, died before his embarkation at Sierra-Leone; will exhibit, in a striking light, what has before been stated, that "sickness and death were marching around us in their ghastly forms," and that "such was the nature of the disease, that it baffled the power of medicine and medical skill." It was indeed a season never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it, or lived to survive its effects.

But it is now time that we proceed to the Gold-Coast. The reader will doubtless recollect the peculiar circumstances in which we left Mr. Wrigley there in the early part of the year,—mourning the loss of his beloved wife, and his other two com-

panions and friends. But though "cast down, he was not destroyed." "Faint, yet pursuing," was his motto; and as his physical strength returned, he applied himself to his high and important duties with unwearied diligence and zeal. The building of the chapel went on rapidly, and he visited several places, which soon after became the heads of circuits, or separate stations. Thus did he labour on week after week, and month after month, until the last month but one in the year, when he was seized with illness as he was returning by water from Annamaboe, and in a few days "ceased at once to work and live."

GEORGE O. WRIGLEY was appointed to Cape-Coast by the Conference in 1836, and immediately sailed with Mrs. Wrigley for that interesting station. He arrived there on the 15th of September, and met with a kind reception from all parties. In speaking of this in a letter to the committee, some weeks after, he says: "It is impossible for me to describe my feelings on first viewing, about four o'clock P.M. on the day above stated, the place of my future labours. I thought of my predecessor, of his labours, and of his premature end; nor could I for some time restrain those painful emotions which these thoughts excited. They were not, however, of long continuance; nor have I since laboured under similar feelings for a single moment." He at once entered upon his work in a true missionary spirit, preaching, visiting, and journeying from place to place, embracing every opportunity of usefulness, and crying, "Behold, behold the Lamb!" So early as the month of January in the following year, there was the prospect of a wide and effectual door being opened for the preaching of the gospel in Coomassie; one of the members of the society who had been residing there having reported to Mr. Wrigley, that, in the house where he dwelt, he had several times had the sons of the king of Ashantee with him at prayers; and that, on Christmas-day, the king requested their attendance at the palace, when he, in conjunction with one or two others, had singing and prayer, in the presence of the monarch.

Towards the close of this month, Mr. Wrigley had a serious attack of illness, which was followed by the terrible afflictions and bereavements already before the reader. Such painful events would have been severely felt in any country; but in a distant and barbarous land, far away from friends and relations, they are doubly painful; and by our now deceased friend they were felt most acutely. But in the letter from which we made several painfully-interesting extracts, on a previous page,

after appealing in strong terms for more help, his concluding words are, "I hope, in reference to myself, in the midst of my discouragements, (and I have them from a variety of quarters,) that I can say, 'Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus,' and from my work in this section of the mission-field, until my appointed time." In this spirit did Mr. Wrigley live and labour, "following up those victories to the cross of our Emmanuel" which he, together with others, had already "achieved to His glory," until his appointed time came; and then he was found ready for still more delightful employment. In the early part of November, he was seized with the illness which proved fatal to him, but was graciously supported during his affliction; and he received the kindest attentions from the affectionate people to whom he had ministered with so much success. In death, as in life, he reposed with unwavering confidence in the atonement of Christ, and rejoiced in hope of the glory of God. He died at Cape-Coast Town on the 16th of November, 1837; and his funeral was one of the most affecting scenes which had for a long time been witnessed. Mr. Wrigley was a devoted and excellent missionary; and the fruit of his evangelical labours in Western Africa remain to this day.

We have now completed a brief record of eight deaths which, according to the announcement at the commencement of the chapter, took place in the course of nine months. Four of these having occurred at Cape-Coast, that rising and promising society was thus deprived of all its European agents. It will also be seen, by a reference to the printed Minutes, that Mr. William Sanders at Sierra-Leone, and the writer at the Gambia, were now the only two Wesleyan missionaries on this extensive line of coast. Mr. Sanders, indeed, had been toiling alone for about six months; but it was not like the fishermen at "the lake of Gennesaret," who, on one occasion at least, are said to "have toiled all the night, and taken nothing." No: "the Galilean Pilot" was with him; and though some of the "nets" had been broken by the cold hand of death, seldom has that saying been more remarkably verified, "God buries his workmen, but carries on his work:" for there was during this year an addition to the society at Sierra-Leone of some hundreds of precious souls, including those on trial; and the income

of the society in weekly and quarterly subscriptions amounted to £240.

On the 19th of November, Mr. Sanders was cheered and encouraged by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Dove, and Mr. Henry Badger. The former, it will be remembered, had laboured at Macarthy's Island for about three years; but Mr. Badger was a new missionary. On the 26th of the same month, the writer had the unspeakable pleasure of giving a cordial welcome to Mr. and Mrs. Swallow, and Mr. T. Wall, at the Gambia: the latter was appointed to St. Mary's, and the former to Macarthy's Island. After a few days' residence at Bathurst, Mr. and Mrs. Swallow and myself, with a number of mechanics, embarked for the upper station, which place we reached on the 16th of December. On the 3d of January, 1838, the drooping spirits of the bereaved societies at Cape-Coast were once more revived by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, on which occasion the members came from various parts to welcome their new friends.

The following statistics will show an encouraging increase on all the stations, more particularly at Sierra-Leone and Cape-Coast:—

Sierra-Leone, members in society, 1,337; children in the schools, 1,134. *St. Mary's*, members in society, 386; children in the schools, 182. *Macarthy's Island*, members in society, 173; children in the schools, 74. *Cape-Coast*, members in society, 428; children in the schools, 105. Total, members in society, 2,324; children in the schools, 1,495.

This table exhibits a net increase of members on the preceding year of five hundred and fifteen, besides several hundreds who had been received on trial as candidates for church membership; and there was, likewise, nearly a corresponding increase in the schools.

On the 2d of March Mr. Sanders, being greatly debilitated, left Sierra-Leone for England, followed by the prayers and affections of the people. He arrived at Gravesend on the 21st of May, 1838, and has since that period been engaged in the ministry at home. The following were now the appointments for this part of the mission-field; they are taken from the Annual Report of that year:—*

Sierra-Leone, Mr. Dove and Mr. Badger.

St. Mary's, Gambia, Mr. Wall; Mr. Amadi Gum, assistant missionary.

* They were at that time correct, except that W. Juff, one of the assistants, was at St. Mary's, and not at Macarthy's Island.

Macarthy's Island, Foulah Mission, Mr. Fox, Mr. Swallow ; Mr. John Cupidon, Mr. Pierre Sallah, and Mr. William Juff, assistant missionaries.

Cape-Coast, Mr. Freeman.

We shall close this chapter with the appropriate paragraph written by the general secretaries, as furnishing a kind of recapitulation of the deaths recorded in the preceding pages, with some other judicious remarks on the state and prospects of the work in this interesting part of the great missionary field.

It is with emotions of no ordinary kind that the committee turn to this part of the mission field. The past has been a year of unprecedented trial, and painful visitation. During the prevalence of the fatal epidemic which has been permitted to ravage the coast of Western Africa, Messrs. Crosby and Patterson died at Sierra-Leone ; Mr. Maer died in the ship in which he had embarked, on his return to his native land ; and at St. Mary's, Mr. Wilkinson was removed to a better world, after a short affliction. Cape-Coast has been the scene of a similar mortality, and tidings have successively been received of the death of Mr. and Mrs. Harrop, and Mrs. Wrigley, and latterly of Mr. Wrigley. The removal of so many valuable agents, which, to short-sighted mortals, may appear untimely, calls for the full exercise of faith and resignation, on the part of the friends of the Society. But while they feel the painful bereavements which have been experienced, the alleviating features of the affecting case must not be overlooked. That the beloved brethren and their wives were all permitted delightfully to experience, in the hour of death, the consolations and enjoyments of that religion, to the spread of which, among the children of Africa, they had devoted themselves, demands the most heartfelt gratitude ; and that the various stations should, at the same time, be blessed with great spiritual prosperity, ought to be regarded as an indication that, although Almighty God has been pleased to remove many of the workmen, it is his will that the work itself in Western Africa shall be prosecuted, and as a pledge that it shall gloriously succeed, if the Society continue faithfully to provide the appointed instrumentality. Additional encouragement is derived from the twofold consideration, that the Society has not yet lacked a supply of missionaries for this part of the world, who freely and nobly offer themselves to be "baptized for the dead ;" and that a native agency is rising up, which, ere long, may take a very important part in the work of diffusing Christianity through that benighted country.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE, WITH A JOURNEY TO BONDOL.

(1838.)

GREAT spiritual Prosperity of the Missions—Native Agency—Triumphant Deaths of the Missionaries and their Wives—A Supply of Labourers still found—The Gold-Coast—Mr. and Mrs. Freeman—Death of the latter—Sierra-Leone and the Gambia—Another Robin Hood and Saul of Tarsus near Macarthy's Island—The Author pays him a Visit—The fifth and last Report of the Southampton Committee—The Author sets out on a Journey to Bondou—Arrival at Fattatenda in the upper River—Some Account of the Port, Trade, and Neighbourhood—Incidents on the Way to Madina, the Capital of Woolli—Some Account of Madina and Barrakunda—Circumcision—Bambako, the Residence of Mantamba, the King's General—Albino Negroes—Incidents on the Way, and Description of Kanipe, Dirma, Walufarra, and Tambakunda—The Author sleeps in the Wilderness—Wild Beasts—Arrival at Kotchair, the last Town of Woolli—Enters Nouday, the frontier Town of Bondou—Well received—Julangal, a Town of Serrawoollies—Arrival at Jume, a modern Athens—Incidents at Jume, and on the Way to Weegi, Gallordie, and Goodeerie—First Rain—Proceed to Fittinyibbi, Dandudy, and Fettibooki—Country more open, populous, and better cultivated—Arrival at the Capital—The Almamy encamped at a short Distance from the royal Residence—The Author pays him a Visit—Is introduced into the Camp—Interview and Conversation with this Chief on the Subject of Christian Missions—Gives to the Almamy and his Warriors a brief Summary of the Doctrines and Precepts of the Gospel—Is listened to with Attention—This Summary well received—The Author then addresses the Almamy on the Impropriety of going to War—This was a critical Moment—In the Midst of a Band of half Savages, all armed with Weapons of Destruction—But “Lo, I am with you” was present—Second Interview with the Almamy—Again warned him of his Danger—The Author's Return to the Capital—The Almamy and Soldiers immediately followed—Interview with the Almamy at Boollibany—His friendly Conduct to the Author, who bids him Farewell—Boundaries of Bondou defined—Some Account of Boollibany—The Manners and Customs of the People—Their Houses—Furniture—Dress—Food—Religion—Government—Almamy Saada—Their Laws—Polygamy—Commerce and Trade—Agriculture—Mode of Cultivation—Scripture Illustrations—The rainy Season—Tornadoes—Fertility of the Soil—“The Pastures are clothed with Flocks, the Valleys are covered over with Corn”—Mungo Park—Their Wars—Superstitions—Salutations—The Author's Return to Fattatenda—Incidents on the Way—Arrival at the Banks of the Gambia—African Travelling—Safe Arrival at Macarthy's Island—Meets his Class.

THE extract from the General Report with which we closed the last chapter, in addition to the chastened feelings and appropriate remarks on “the removal of so many valuable agents,” contains also several important and encouraging facts;

and though these have been brought out and illustrated in the preceding pages, we may be allowed a passing remark or two in this place. In the quotation reference is made to the "great spiritual prosperity" of the missions. It is consoling to know, that "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," like its immutable Author, is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever;" the same in all ages and places: and perhaps in no part of the world has its divine efficacy been more gloriously displayed than on the continent of Africa. It has there proved itself to be "the power of God unto salvation" to hundreds and thousands of the sable sons of Ham. The climate on the western coast of that vast continent, we know, both from experience and observation, is exceedingly prejudicial to European constitutions; and many of our beloved missionaries and their wives have fallen under its withering influence, in rapid succession. But there is nothing in the climate,—nothing in that death-dealing atmosphere, even during the worst of those epidemical outbreaks,—nothing in the deeply degraded and dove-tailed superstitions of its inhabitants,—nothing in the combined powers of earth and hell, that can blight, or weaken, or withstand the effects of the gospel. That is suited to all climates, and to all conditions of people: it cannot, it is true, change "the Ethiopian skin," but "the purple current" flowing from the cross can wash the black man's black heart "white as snow;" and that it should have so gloriously triumphed, during that awful year of mortality, when Almighty God was pleased to remove so many of his workmen, was indeed matter for devout thankfulness. The climate had cut down the messengers one after another, but the message was received by many hearts; for during the whole of that year "the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."

A second encouraging feature, which affords additional evidence that the effects of the gospel are every where the same, was found in the fact, that a native agency was rising up, and usefully employed. At this period of the history of these missions, the Gambia had the largest amount of co-operation in the way of native assistant missionaries; but even at Cape-Coast, though that mission was in its infancy, the fruit of those who had fallen in the field was seen in several excellent youths, who began to take an active part in the mission; and at Sierra-Leone there were, at the period now under review, forty-six class-leaders, and about thirty local preachers; and several of the latter were soon after wholly employed as native teachers.

Nor must we omit another fact, to which the committee very properly referred,—"that the beloved brethren and their wives

were all permitted delightfully to experience, in the hour of death, the consolations and enjoyments of that religion to the spread of which among the children of Africa they had devoted themselves." How abundantly do the preceding pages testify to this! They died far away from their native land and friends; but they died in the faith; and that not only peacefully and safely, but in most instances triumphantly. He who had said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end," did not forsake them when their heart and flesh failed them. No:

"Their God sustain'd them in their final hour,
Their final hour brought glory to their God!"

For, when the tongue was no longer faithful to its office, there was the speaking eye conveying the sentiment, "My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever." And even when the eye was gently closing in death, the uplifted hands spoke, with more than vocal energy, of "victory, victory, through the blood of the Lamb!" How encouraging this to all the friends of missions! And what a healing balm, especially to the bleeding hearts of those parents and relations at home, who had given their children, brothers, and sisters to this glorious cause!

Another encouraging fact (the last we shall now mention, and which has already been referred to more than once) was, "that the society had not yet lacked a supply of missionaries for this part of the world, who freely and nobly offered themselves to be 'baptized for the dead.'" We have seen in the preceding chapter, that most of the vacancies occasioned by the great mortality of that period were filled up; and that other missionaries were sent out during the year, whose arrival we shall record in due course.

Mr. Freeman had not heard of the death of Mr. Wrigley until he arrived at Cape-Coast; and when he entered the hallowed "chamber where the good man met his fate," and where four of the servants of the Lord had so recently breathed their last, his mind for some time was depressed; but he endeavoured to cast his burden upon the Lord, and at once entered upon his work with a cheerfulness of spirit that was truly admirable. The committee entreated for him and his wife, and for the other mission families, the earnest and continued prayers of their friends to "Him who was able to save them from death." But how short-sighted is man, and how unsearchable are the ways of God! Mr. and Mrs. Freeman had scarcely entered upon their labours, when the latter was removed to an early rest; and thus

again was the passage verified, "The one shall be taken, and the other left."

Mrs. FREEMAN embarked for Cape-Coast with her husband on board the "Osborne," on the 4th of November, 1837; but having a long and tedious passage, which arose principally from their being "becalmed under the oppressive heat of a tropical sun for the space of thirty days," they did not reach their destination till the 3d of January, 1838. But they landed in good health; and Mrs. Freeman immediately set about the female department of the mission work, in the same spirit as her husband. But while thus engaged in doing good, and arranging plans for future usefulness, and almost at the very time that Mr. Freeman was regarding it as a special providence that his partner had accompanied him, he was called to part with "the companion of his toils;" "the desire of his eyes being taken away from him with a stroke." Mrs. Freeman was seized with a violent inflammatory complaint which terminated her life in a few hours; resigning her happy spirit into the hands of Him who gave it on the 20th of February, 1838, after a residence at Cape-Coast of forty-eight days, which was precisely the number of days Mr. Wrigley had been dead when Mr. and Mrs. Freeman arrived. The death of this valuable woman was a great loss to the native females, as well as to her husband; and her funeral furnished evidence of the respect which she had secured for herself from all classes of society.

At the time of this bereavement Mr. Freeman was ill with the seasoning fever; but he gradually recovered his health; and as his physical strength increased, the inner man being renewed, he devoted himself afresh to God and his cause. Applications being made to him for teachers and missionaries from twenty to eighty miles round, he was distressed that he could not meet all the demands. In his first letter to the committee he had stated that he should not consider his work done, until he had unfurled the banner of the cross in Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee; and early in the following year he had the honour, privilege, and happiness of doing this. But we must for the present leave this enterprising missionary, and proceed to the other stations.

At Sierra-Leone the new brethren were delighted with the healthy and prosperous state of the mission, and, during the first quarter, they witnessed an increase of upwards of fifty, besides a considerable number who were admitted on trial. The

colony, however, was still sickly, and the mortality among the shipping was great. In the vessel which conveyed the missionaries to Sierra-Leone, there were, including the crew, about forty persons; but in less than five weeks eight of them were dead. This was the case, also, at the Gambia; but the brethren at all the stations for some time continued tolerably well. At the commencement of the year, the author had occasion to pay a visit to St. Mary's, when he embarked for the second time in a small open boat. On the passage down we had sometimes to anchor, and on one occasion, especially, the hippopotami came playing around us in great numbers, and so near as to endanger our lives. But a merciful Providence watched over us, and we reached our destination in safety. This uncomfortable mode of travelling, however, brought on a very severe bilious fever, which confined me to bed for some days. Having recovered, and accomplished the object of my journey, I returned, leaving Mr. Wall in excellent health, and happy in his work.

On arriving at Macarthy's Island, February 22d, I found Mr. and Mrs. Swallow had had a slight attack of fever, but were now much better. The country round was again in a state of commotion, arising from some Bambarra warriors, on the north side of the river, and a Foulah chieftain of Foota Jallon, on the south side, who was a kind of Robin Hood, as a civilian, living by plunder, and a "Saul of Tarsus" in religion, being a most bigoted follower of the false prophet of Mecca. Several towns and villages were again pillaged and destroyed, and many of the inhabitants taken into Slavery. Those of the Foulahs at Broko and Jamalli who could escape, hastened to Macarthy's Island for protection. The author, hearing that the Foota Jallon chief was remaining a day or two at Broko, paid him a visit; and he was afterwards permitted to come to Macarthy's Island, bringing with him only half a dozen of his people. This was on the sabbath day, and he actually came to chapel in the forenoon of that day. But for further particulars respecting this chieftain, as well as the disturbed state of the country, I must refer the reader to the Annual Report for 1838, and to the sixth chapter of this work.

The term of five years, during which the Southampton Committee had engaged to make provision for the Foulah mission, having expired, they published their last Report, of which the following is a copy, with the exception of some few extracts from the author's communications, which have already appeared in different parts of this work.

THE FIFTH AND LAST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOUTHAMPTON COMMITTEE OF THE INSTITUTION FOR BENEFITING THE FOULAH TRIBES, AND, THROUGH THEM, WESTERN AFRICA; WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTING THE CIVILIZATION OF THE CHRISTIAN FOULAHs, AND OTHER ABORIGINES.

THE committee, more than ever impressed with the wrongs and miseries of Africa, and with her just claims on the British nation, now take their leave of those friends who have supported them; and this they do with feelings of regret and thankfulness;—of regret, that the time of superintending this good work is closed, according to their primary announcement;—of thankfulness, that they have been instrumental in bringing the cause of the Foulahs before the public; in building a mission-house, school-room, and chapel on Macarthy's Island; in gathering a church of more than two hundred members, among whom Divine worship is constantly maintained; and in proclaiming to thousands, in that land of horrible darkness, by a native as well as a European agency, the glad tidings of a Saviour. They also deem it to be a ground of especial gratitude, that the four Gospels have been translated into the Mandingo language, and that one of them has been printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This boon to Africa they consider as an ample compensation for all the exertions employed in this important undertaking.

The committee rejoice that two more missionaries have been sent to join Mr. Fox at Macarthy's Island, and that Christian instruction will be carried on with unabated zeal and fidelity by the Wesleyan Missionary Society; and also that a native of Africa, who has been taught the art of printing in London, is about to sail for the Gambia, with a printing-press and materials, to aid in the propagation of Divine truth.*

The following communications from Mr. Fox, at Macarthy's Island, will, we doubt not, interest our readers:—

"I visited Jamalli," says Mr. Fox, "a few weeks ago, and also Laming, another small Mandingo town; at the former forty, and at the latter twelve, huts were destroyed by fire: the Foulah town, about half a mile eastward, was not injured, though without inhabitants."

The author then referred to the providential escape mentioned in the preceding chapter; after which he says:—

"I embraced this opportunity to persuade these people of the propriety and benefit of forming a town on the six hundred acres on Macarthy's Island; and I marked out proper streets, and measured a number of lots. I am happy to say, that three days ago two families came and fixed upon their lots; and as I have also there a hut myself, I hope this example will be speedily followed.

"I have for some time had thirty liberated Africans employed on the mission-ground, clearing it of brush-wood, ant-hills, and clumps of trees. Should a few of the Foulahs or Teucolors settle on it, I shall allow them to cultivate as much as they cau. I have purchased nearly one hundred head of cattle, and intend to purchase more. Thus, I hope, a considerable number of Foulahs may, ere long, be induced

* The two missionaries here mentioned included W. Juff, one of the assistants; but he continued at St. Mary's; and the "native of Africa," unfortunately, died in London,—but it is pleasing to add, that he died happy in God. His name was John Dick.

to take up their abode under the protection of the British flag; as there are many on the upper river who are constantly suffering from the ravages of war, plunder, and oppressive customs, who would probably be thankful for a place of refuge."

Here quotations are made from the writer's communications respecting the disturbed state of the country in the upper river: his having rescued a poor Foulah woman from slavery; also a visit which he paid to Madina, the capital of Woolli; with some account of the Foulahs; and an audience with the king, when he witnessed the awful superstition of a little boy being dedicated to the devil. The particulars we have given in the sixth and thirteenth chapters. The committee then proceed:—

It was mentioned in our last Report, that a committee, composed of gentlemen of high respectability and well-known philanthropy, had been formed in London for promoting the civilization of the Christian Foulahs, and the converted aborigines of Western Africa. They have had several meetings to deliberate on the best plans of operation, and for the selection of proper agents. They have also purchased a large number of implements. It is their intention, without delay, to bring the six hundred acres, so liberally assigned them, into cultivation; and to purchase other land as it may be deemed advisable. For this purpose they have engaged Mr. W. Fisher, whom they regard as a suitable person to superintend the concern; since, besides his knowledge of agriculture, he is said to possess considerable skill in mechanism. The committee have likewise reason to expect that Charles Grant, Esq., and a few gentlemen in Western Africa, will hold a correspondence with their secretary on all affairs of importance. And it is with much satisfaction they announce, that the plan of the Society has received the approbation of Lord Glenelg, Her Majesty's secretary for the colonial department.

Thus we see that God has graciously given to this Christian enterprise an encouraging measure of success. In due time we shall reap more abundantly, "if we faint not." "Duty is ours, irrespective of results." "We pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' and this is our duty; but we must use the means also, that the kingdom of grace may be advanced; that God in Christ may be more known, believed in, loved, obeyed, owned, and honoured, by ourselves and all others." "There is as well a prayer in actions as in desires, or any other way." "Let each, then, detached from the mass around him, as he will be distinct from it in death, and at judgment, and to all eternity, consider solemnly within himself,—'The work of sowing is mine.' 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;' for He, whose promise cannot fail, has declared, 'My word shall not return unto me void;' neither can His promise be embraced in vain."*

President.—Lientenant-General Orde.

Treasurers.—R. Howard, Esq.; Robert Lindoe, M.D.

Secretary.—J. S. Elliott, Esq.

Committee.—Henry Pownall, Esq.; Thomas Gurney, Esq.; Thomas Farmer, Esq.; John S. Elliott, Esq.; R. Howard, Esq.; Rev. Robert Heath, M.A.; Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.; Rev. John Beecham; Rev. Robert Alder; Rev. Elijah Hoole.

Southampton, January 20th, 1838.

* Sermon by the Rev. T. DALE, prefixed to the Church Missionary Report for 1837.

At the close of a long list of annual subscriptions and donations, the following summary of its finances was added :—

*Statement of the Income and Expenditure of Five Years, from Jan. 1st, 1833,
to Dec. 31st, 1837.*

RECEIPTS.				PAYMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1833, Subscriptions, donations, and collections ...	710	0	0	For mission, school, and teaching, &c., £350 <i>per annum</i> for five years, as per agreement	1750	0	0
1834, Ditto, ditto ...	687	18	3	For building mission-premises, school-room, &c... 350	0	0	0
1835, Ditto, ditto ...	710	3	0	For purchase of land, made over to the New Committee in London	225	0	0
1836, Ditto, ditto ...	937	1	10	For Bibles and portions of the holy scriptures, Arabic, French, and English. 30	0	0	0
1837, Ditto, ditto ...	840	19	2	Loss by exchange, Jersey and Guernsey	3	1	3
				Boat to convey cattle across the Gambia	25	0	0
				Towards expenses of translating the holy scriptures into one or more native languages, as per agreement	1000	0	0
				Balance paid to New Committee in London	503	1	0
	£3,885	2	3		£3,886	2	3

Note.—The whole sum given, without deduction for expenses, and applied to the object, according to the committee's engagement.

The “new committee” referred to, consisted principally of those who had composed the previous one, and their object was to promote civilization among the native tribes, by following the footsteps of the missionary, being fully persuaded, that the gospel is the great and primary instrument in raising fallen and degraded man in every part of the world.

The writer had been expecting Mr. Fisher, mentioned in the preceding Report, for some months past; but, on April 2d, he received letters from the general secretaries, saying, that he was detained by a temporary indisposition, so that the superintendence of the civilization department still devolved upon the missionary. But having now an excellent colleague, his labours

were not so abundant as they had been heretofore; and, having paid one hundred and three labourers their three months' wages,* for working on the mission-ground, and re-engaged the greater part of them, with overseers, and made some other arrangements, he prepared for his journey to Bondou. He was anxious to start earlier in the season, but was waiting the arrival of Mr. Fisher to take charge of the agricultural part of the mission. On Wednesday, April 4th, 1838, he therefore embarked on board the cutter "Fox," bound for Fattatenda, Mr. Swallow having accompanied him to Fattota. The writer had with him, on this journey, our valuable assistant, John Cupidon, and another member of the society, who was by birth a Teucolor, though he had never been in the country; he could, however, speak the Foulah language, and, having some knowledge of Divine things, was also of service. Having an unusually quick passage, we arrived at Fattatenda on the evening of the 7th, nothing very remarkable having occurred on the way.

FATTATENDA is one of the oldest and most distant ports on the Gambia, and has been frequently mentioned, incidentally, at least, in the former part of this work, as well as more recently. The advantages of this noble river for carrying on trade with the natives in the interior of Africa, was well known to our countrymen upwards of two centuries ago; since which period Fattatenda has been one of the most important trading-factories in the upper river. Several of the European merchants residing at St. Mary's have stores at this place, built in the native style, with a considerable assortment of British merchandise, which is intrusted to native traders. These are situated on the south bank of the river. The inhabitants here are but few, and the principal part of the trade comes from the opposite side; caravans frequently coming from some hundreds of miles inland, bringing hides, ivory, and gold-dust, and sometimes slaves; the latter are generally conveyed to Bissao, and some of the other rivers near the coast, south of the Gambia. Some of the merchants, through their agents, transact business on board their vessels, which are lying at anchor here for several weeks together, to prevent, in part, the trouble and annoyance which is experienced on shore from those who come to trade, who not only strike a very hard bargain for the European articles, but also incessantly beg and expect presents, over and above the regular "customs" or presents which are given to those who purchase a certain amount of merchandise; and there

* At the rate of about 7*d.* per day.

being no kind of protection, the disputes frequently run high, and often come to blows.* But this is sometimes the case, even on board: it was so last year, when the writer was at this place. Rum appears to be the curse of these people, and is the cause of many of these quarrels. If the *sonninkeas* (drinking and war people) know that rum is on board, they are immediately there; nor will they leave, either with good or bad words, until they have obtained some of this liquid fire: the consequence is, that many of the traders positively refuse to bring this article to Fattatenda, except in small quantities, as presents to the king of Woolli and Cabu; for if they leave St. Mary's with it on board, they will do their best to dispose of it before they reach this place. And if not another drop was ever permitted to be imported to the Gambia, it would be no small blessing to this part of the continent. Independent of this, there certainly needs some sort of protection for the European merchants and native traders. Government has been petitioned upon the subject, but hitherto to no purpose. The merchants at Bathurst are so divided in opinion as to what ought to be the kind or amount of protection afforded, and to what part of the upper river that protection should extend, and, besides this, there is so little unanimity amongst them on other subjects, that one or two efforts which they have made among themselves to produce a better state of things, have entirely failed.

The river here is about one hundred yards across, and at this season from two to three fathoms deep; but the banks are high, and the water-marks of the last rains are from forty to fifty feet above its present level. The surrounding country is rather mountainous, and in some places rocky. It is so on the north side of the river, close to the water's edge, where the rock is upwards of one hundred feet in height, and where a small fort might be erected at a trifling expense. From the top of this hill an open and picturesque country, of a semicircular form, from east to south and south-west, is presented to view; and, far as the eye can reach, the beautiful Gambia is seen in its upward

* On one occasion a native trader named Jacko, connected with one of the merchants at St. Mary's, who has a store at this place, was so pestered with these troublesome fellows, to whom he had made several presents, but who still demanded more, that, being unable to bear it any longer, he at length ran out to the yard, and fetched a piece of fire-wood, brought it into the store-room, and declared he would set fire to the powder-magazine, and blow himself and them all to atoms, if they did not instantly leave the premises. This bold threat, which I believe would have been put into execution, had the desired effect, and he thus rid himself of their troublesome importunity.

course. The influence of the tide is felt beyond this place, as will be seen at a subsequent period.

Fattatenda is supposed to be as far from Macarthy's Island as that is from St. Mary's, which, according to some, would make it six hundred miles from the Atlantic. But the distance is by no means so great. The latitude, notwithstanding the serpentine course of the river, is about the same at Fattatenda as at its mouth; but the longitude, I believe, has never been taken. Macarthy's Island is said to be one hundred and seventy-five miles east from St. Mary's, so that probably the direct distance from the sea-coast to Fattatenda is about three hundred miles; but, taking the river in its winding course, it cannot be much less than four hundred and fifty miles from the Atlantic, though some writers think it is not so far.

In proceeding to give some account of this journey, the writer will now have to use the personal pronoun, when giving extracts from his journal; and his remarks will be confined, in general, to what was written at the time.

Fattatenda, Sunday, April 8th.—We arrived here last evening; and being anxious to do something to-day for my Divine Master, and knowing that all days are alike to these ignorant and degraded people, I embraced an early opportunity of holding divine service, before the busy hours of trading commenced. I took my stand under some large trees on the south bank of the river, and preached to about twenty Mandingoes, from John iii. 14, 15: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." I was much thanked for it afterwards. Mr. Cupidon prayed at the close of the sermon; and who knows but that some good may result from this first attempt to benefit the sable sons of Ham in the Upper Gambia?

9th.—A great deal of trade has been going on to-day, and, as usual, a little confusion and palavering, in which I thought it prudent to take no part. I had a conversation with an old *sonninke*, as to his soul and a future world; and among a number of shrewd but irrelevant replies, he said he knew more about this world than the next, but that, if I would give him a dollar's worth of tobacco,* he would leave off drinking, and

* This is the American leaf tobacco, sent out in hogsheads, and is retailed by weight; but small quantities are sold by the number of heads or leaves. It is one of the staple articles of trade, and is purchased by the natives to be used as snuff, into which they manufacture it themselves. Very few use it in any other way.

turn to God. I have to-day engaged a man as a carrier; and the harbour-master goes with us to Madina, where I hope to obtain a guide to Bondou from the king.

10th.—This morning I rose long before day-break, and, as soon as it was light, left Fattatenda. Although I had endeavoured to take as few things as possible, yet, when we had packed all up, making three large bundles, I had to hire another carrier: the Foulah interpreter carried one bundle, and the hired servants the other two; Cupidon and myself having a few small parcels on horseback. The wharfinger arrived early, but would not conduct us to the king of Woolli, unless I gave him another *bunya* ("present"). Having at length complied with his request, we set off; and about an hour's ride—principally over low clayish ground, the foot-path being very irregular, and much rent and torn up from the excessive heat—brought us to Bantonding; having left Bajakunda, through which I passed last year, a little to the right. Here we halted: it being the residence of Walley the wharfinger, and the next town being at a considerable distance, I was told we must remain here till towards evening, the people pointing to the place where the sun would be when we should start. I felt a little disappointed at so sudden a resting-place, but knew it would be in vain to argue the matter with them, as they themselves seldom or never travel any distance in the heat of the day.

Having paid my respects to the alkaid, he presented me with a couple of *kolas*, and soon after sent us a small goat for breakfast. Walley also presented me with a fowl, which he brought me to kill, as the Mohammedans never eat anything killed by the Pagans; but this office I conferred upon some one else. About eleven o'clock breakfast was ready, which consisted of several bowls of pounded corn made into a sort of *kouskous*, but not near so well seasoned as that which is made by the Jollofs. However, I made a tolerably good meal; after which a portion of scripture was read, and prayer offered up to God for the inhabitants of the town and the surrounding country, and for the Divine protection and blessing on the journey.

Bantonding is a small town of Mandingoes, who are principally Pagans; and a few hundred yards to the left there is a Foulah town of the same size; probably both would contain about eight hundred souls; deeply sunk in ignorance, depravity, and superstition. In one of my walks through the town, three good-looking girls came and presented themselves before me, each holding in her hand a small piece of straw, which they desired me to take from the one whom I thought to be the most

handsome. Not knowing at first what they meant, I took two of the straws, at which they had a hearty laugh. Soon after this, I met with a venerable-looking Mohammedan, who said he was very glad to see me, having heard of me a long time. He asked me many times if I was well; and, when about to leave, the old man prayed that God and the prophets might preserve me: during the prayer, and at the end of every sentence, the people present said, "*Amin! amin!*" at the same time striking their hands against their foreheads. When the prayer was over, the old marraboo spit on his hand, and drew it across his face; and thus ended this ceremony.

About two P.M. there was a chase after 'an elephant by the Foulahs of the town close by, which they succeeded in capturing; but I knew nothing of the affair till I saw a number of the town's-people bringing-in large pieces of the flesh of this noble animal, which they say is very good.

The sun having considerably declined, I was anxious to proceed, and sent the alkaid a small present, wishing to know if he was ready, as he had informed me it was his duty to conduct me to the king. But an old *sonninke* from Madina being in the town, in a state of intoxication, who was very desirous of accompanying us, the alkaid wished me to wait till he was gone; but the fellow would not go till I went; and for some time I scarcely knew what to do, but at length agreed to wait for the alkaid. As the evening was by this time far advanced, it was proposed that we should start when the moon arose; but I preferred remaining till early in the morning, to which the alkaid readily agreed. To a late hour the inhabitants were engaged with their customary dancing, drum-beating, &c.

My bed consisted of a thin country mat placed upon the warm ground, my Mandingo frock or shirt was my pillow, and a *pagne* and blanket my bedding; but I was quite warm enough the greater part of the night without either of them.

11th.—At half-past four A.M. we re-commenced our journey, the old *sonninke* having started during the night. At eight o'clock we arrived at Subakunda, a Julor town, which stands upon an eminence. The huts are built with mud, covered with thatch; and two small portions of the town are walled round. The water is fetched from a valley nearly half a mile distant, where there is a well about forty feet deep, the lower part of which appears to have been cut through a rock. Many of the Foulahs were here, giving water to their cattle, and others engaged in washing their clothes. The inhabitants of this place are Mandingoes, though called Julors, from their being nearly

all traders in gold, which they obtain from Bambouk, Bambarra, and other places in the interior, and which they exchange at Fattatenda for European articles. They appear to be an intelligent, warlike race; but are nevertheless very superstitious, being half dressed with *greegrees*. They were, however, very civil to me, as were all the people we have hitherto seen; being informed that I was a minister of the gospel, and had nothing to do either with trade or with war. Here we had to halt again till evening. The few things which we are carrying, consisting of clean linen, tobacco, and a few bafts as presents, with some beads to purchase provisions, and a considerable number of Arabic scriptures to give away, are still too heavy for our three people; and I have sent back to Fattatenda every thing which I could possibly spare. This arrangement will enable the carriers to walk with more speed, and at the same time prevent the appearance of our having merchandise, as the natives naturally suppose every thing we have are articles of commerce.

A few minutes past five P.M. we left Subakunda, accompanied a short distance by Tatta Fodey, a native merchant or *slatee*, and one of the head-men of the town; and, a little before eight o'clock, arrived at Madina, the capital of Woolli, the whole of the way being through an immense forest, and the foot-path being exceedingly narrow and crooked. I was again taken to the yard of Sandi, who is a kind of secretary of state: he was, as before, the worse for liquor, as were several others who came to see us. Sandi told me that, as soon as he heard that I was coming, he immediately killed a goat,—that was my present: he was then anxious to know what I had brought for the king and himself. Being made acquainted with the articles which I intended for His Majesty, he said he thought the king would not accept of them, especially as I had brought no rum; and he was also of opinion that he would not allow me to proceed to Bondou, as there was some palaver between him and the almany, but which would be settled in a few days, and then the king would inform me whether I could go or not. Although I knew something of the palaver here spoken of, yet I did not believe *all* that Sandi said: I knew that he was all this time seeking for a present for himself, in which he was greatly assisted by those around him: indeed, he told me that he would not conduct me to the king till he had received *what he considered was his right*. I offered him the value of two dollars, which he refused; I then proposed leaving the matter till the morning, as it was now getting late; with which

he readily complied, and immediately took the king's present, which consisted of two pieces of blue baft and a little tobacco. John Cupidon accompanied him, and brought back the king's compliments; and, soon after, His Majesty sent me some *kous-kous* and fowl for supper. Between eleven and twelve we retired to rest, my bed being of the same construction as that of last evening. My people were quite discouraged; saying, if the king would not allow us to pass through his country till the palaver was settled, we had better return; to which I would not listen for a moment. Indeed, I was persuaded the king would allow me to move on without further interruption; his fear, I conceived, would be that if he prevented me from having an interview with the powerful chief of Bondou, it might be attended with disagreeable consequences to himself. However, on retiring to rest, I did not fail most sincerely, by prayer and supplication, to make my requests known unto God.

12th.—We rose early; and thinking that Sandi would like tobacco better than the beads which we presented to him last evening, we gave him two dollars' worth; but he received it with great indifference: nor would he introduce us to the king, until I had given him a piece of baft. This appeared to satisfy him, and we at once proceeded to the royal residence. We found the old king lounging upon his bed inside his hut; and I was, as on the former occasion, seated beside him: the rest of the company squatted upon the floor. Being told that I was going to Bondou, and that I called to pay my respects to him on the way, he answered, "Very good: you can go, and I hope God will preserve you." He then asked, what was the object of my visit to Bondou; and being informed that it was upon the same business about which I came to see him last year, he again answered, "Very good." I then asked if he was still desirous to have a missionary in his kingdom; when he replied in the affirmative, and said that he would give him ground, either by the water-side, or farther inland, whichever we might prefer. On taking my leave, the king said I might proceed on my journey as soon as I pleased.

This interview with His sable Majesty, after the report and annoyance of last evening, was quite refreshing, and I was desirous of leaving directly; but we could not get away till evening, and were nearly the whole day beset with a number of rapacious beggars. About five P.M. we proceeded to Barra-kunda, a large marraboo town, about a mile east from the capital, and took up our abode with the alkaid. By this time I was

very hungry, having eaten but little the last two days ; and just as I was looking out for a fowl, our landlord presented me with one ; but before it was cooked, I was glad to eat a handful or two of ground-nuts. My bed to-night was upon the *bentang*, having over it a conical roof, as I thought it would be a little more free from lizards and other reptiles, which abound in this place.

Madina, the capital of the kingdom of Woolli, lies due north from Fattatenda, about twenty-five miles distant. It is a respectable walled town, and contains about twelve hundred inhabitants, the greater part of whom are *sonninkeas*. The wall is about eight feet high, and has three entrances or gates, between each of which the ground outside is excavated several feet deep : the wells are all inside. The name of the present king is Mansa Koi : his residence and dress ordinarily differ but little from the rest of the natives. He is rather stout, and is about sixty years of age, having reigned thirteen years. His predecessor, whose name was Faring, reigned upwards of twenty years ; and the one preceding him was "the good old king" mentioned by Mungo Park, when here towards the end of 1795. But in Park's second journey, in 1805, his friend, the former king of Woolli, had died ; and having then a large escort, the new king demanded presents in proportion. Two or three of the old men with whom I conversed have a distinct recollection of that celebrated traveller.

In 1818, Major Gray took Madina in his route, in proceeding to the interior ; and he was greatly annoyed at the insults, and even assaults, committed upon some of his men. "Such a bare-faced and determined set of thieves they never met." Matters at one time ran so high, that the commander "ordered the men to load and fall in ;" and on another occasion "the bugles sounded to arms ;" but a collision was happily prevented ; and having added considerably to the presents, and at length obtained guides, they left "that nest of thieves."

I am not aware that any European has visited this place since Major Gray, which is now twenty years ago. The appearance and site of the town have not, during that time, undergone any material alteration, nor, indeed, for nearly the last half century ; for Mungo Park, in his first visit to Madina, describes it substantially as the major has done, and as it is also described by the writer of this work. The "eight hundred to a thousand houses" mentioned by Park, is probably an error of the press or of the pen.

13th.—We are waiting here (Barrakunda) for Babukar, a

man of some note, who resides with the celebrated Moham-medan priest at Jume, the second or third town in Bondou. Happening to be here, and being strongly recommended to me as a guide, I have agreed to wait till he returns from Fattatenda, which is expected to be this evening.

We are here rather indifferently supplied with provisions : the people seem very poor, which is generally the case with those towns contiguous to the capital. There are a few sheep and goats running about ; but the price they ask for them is very high, and withal we have not the articles they want in exchange for them. The inhabitants eat pounded corn, made into a kind of pudding, and very seldom taste animal food. Our landlord lives upon this, and presents us with the same ; but myself and two others of our company cannot touch it : were it not for a little tea and sugar which I have with me, I should be uncomfortable : this, with half a partridge, has been the whole of my subsistence to-day. Well, I ought not to complain ; and especially on such a day as this : it is Good-Friday ; and I have not forgotten, that on this day “for me the Saviour died.” We have endeavoured to improve it ourselves as well as we could, by reading, singing, and prayer ; and this evening I addressed a few of the marraboos upon the all-important subject of Christ crucified. One of them sprang from his seat, and went a few yards from me, saying to one of his fellows, “Mind, he is going to warn us now.” God grant they may take warning before it be too late !

14th.—During the night some strangers, or travellers, called, and asked for lodgings. The alkaid was some time before he would admit them, saying that his yard was full of strangers. At day-break we found that the principal man was a messenger from the king of Salum, (between Goree and St. Mary’s,) to the almamy of Bondou, and that he was returning from the latter place, with a couple of men from the almamy. About nine A.M. Babukar arrived from Fattatenda ; so that I was in hopes of leaving in the evening ; but was disappointed, as he said he could not accompany me till his business with the king was settled, which he would get done as soon as possible.

This town is much larger than it was when I was here last year, besides having a good clay wall built all round it, with six or seven entrances. The wells are outside, where there are also a few more scattered huts. The ground, for some distance round Madina and this place, is cultivated during the rains with corn and rice, cotton and ground-nuts : the cotton they convert into country *pagnes*, which they use, or exchange for

European goods: they also dispose of the ground-nuts, and some of the corn, in like manner, to the traders at Fattatenda. The inhabitants of this marraboo town are much more industrious and frugal than the Pagans of Madina, who live principally by begging and plunder.

The rite of circumcision has recently been performed upon a number of youths from this and the neighbouring town. They are located under the shade of a large tree, about half a mile from this place, with their mats to sleep upon; and their present residence is enclosed by a temporary fence of wattled straw or grass. They have two or three attendants, in the capacity of surgeon and cooks; and a considerable portion of their time is occupied in singing, clapping hands, and dancing. I am told, there are sixty-nine in this group, some few having left: these are remaining, until all have recovered. Dr. Winterbottom, in his account of Sierra-Leone, has some interesting remarks on this ancient ceremony: he states, that circumcision is in use among the females in some parts of the Coast, though not in the neighbourhood of that colony; and Mungo Park mentions the fact, that "both sexes, whether Bushreens or Kaffirs, on attaining the age of puberty, are circumcised." In this instance, however, they were all boys.

We have again to-day been but scantily supplied with food; but our landlord having presented us with a sheep this evening, we are quite in good spirits.

Sunday, 15th.—This is Easter-day; and I have been much interested and blessed in reading the account of the Saviour's resurrection, as given by the four evangelists. After breakfast I read and explained, in a large hut full of people, the first chapter of Genesis. In praying afterwards, I had considerable liberty; the people were very attentive, thanked me sincerely, hoped God would bless and preserve me on my journey, give me long life, &c.

Finding that our expected guide will probably have to wait several days longer, we have agreed to go on to the next town this evening, as he will most likely overtake us before we come to Jume. On leaving, I presented the alkaid with my blanket, as it was an article he very much wanted, and I stood in no great need of it. Three hours' ride brought us to Bambako, having travelled south-east by east. We passed one Foulah town about mid-way: the path was varied, principally over a hard yellow clay soil, mixed with small quartz pebbles, and much broken into deep ruts by the rains. In one place it was so steep and rocky, that I had to dismount.

Bambako is somewhat celebrated as the residence of Mantamba, the king's general, or head-warrior. He was not at home when we arrived, but was expected during the evening. Major Gray reckons this place to be thirteen miles from Madina. I thought it was not quite so far: probably mine was a somewhat nearer route than that which he took.

16th.—We rose early, and left a small present with our landlord for Mantamba;* but when we called to see him, he was in a state of intoxication, not having been in bed all night. He nevertheless received us cordially, but said I could not go yet, as he had not given me any thing; and that, if I wished to remain a month, I was welcome; and much more to the same effect. I was therefore obliged to wait the day, or a part of it at least, till this man recovers from his revelry: so I returned to my lodgings. In about an hour after this he came, to give me "compliment," as he called it, bringing with him a *griot*, with a large fiddle, and a number of attendants. He immediately commenced dancing, and put his body and features into all sorts of attitudes. Soon after this, he came a second time, and wished me to see a bullock, which he had ordered to be killed as a present for me.

Bambako was described by Major Gray as "a very miserable village, not containing more than twenty huts of the poorest description." It has, however, since that period, much improved, being now a walled town, with some good native houses and stores, and contains from eight hundred to one thousand souls, nearly all Pagans. I find that Tatta Fodey is here waiting for Mantamba to go to Madina about the palaver with Bondou, which is in substance this: Some time ago, a caravan was robbed between Bondou and Fattatenda; and the almamy having heard that some of the Woolli people were connected with the robbery, he demands the value of the stolen goods from the king of Woolli.

In this town I saw two of those rarities of the human species, called by the Mandingoes "Funne," and by the Spanish "Albinos," or white Negroes. I had seen one of these singular beings at Subakunda, in my journey to Madina last year. At St. Mary's, too, a member of our society and her husband are both very dark; yet she has had two or three children who were

* The same person mentioned by Park, in his second journey, among others to whom he gave presents, as follows:—"To Mantamba, the king's own son, amber, 5; coral, 5: 10 bars." He was then a young man, and probably resided at Madina.

perfectly *white* : one of those I also saw ; but neither of them lived long. In the two instances at Bambako, they are both females ; the one about twenty-five years of age, and the other fifteen : they are sisters, and their parents have other children quite black. They appeared sickly ; but I was told that they are healthy and strong, and as capable of work as any of the others, which I very much question. The elder I saw at the well, drawing water, and she was remarkably robust ; but they both suffer greatly from the bite of sand-flies, mosquitoes, &c. Mr. Mollien, when at Foota Jallon, speaks of “ a young Albino ” whom he saw, and was informed that the Blacks marry these women, and that they bear children, and that, when united to men of their own colour, the offspring of this union are as white as themselves. Here I was informed to the contrary. They associate, it is true, with the others in their juvenile sports ; but they are generally diseased, and of an unsightly appearance ; and the men look upon them, as one expressed himself to me, as “ a wonderful thing,” or something out of the common course of nature ; adding, very significantly, in reference to the two in this town, “ They will never obtain husbands as long as they live.”

A little before six P.M. Mantamba having awoke from a few hours' sleep, I immediately sent John Cupidon, our landlord, and Bukana, with a little tobacco as a present, and an order on Fattatenda for one piece of blue baft, stating that I wished to proceed on my journey. They found him at the store-door, seeking after more rum. He thanked me for the present ; and said I might go, and he hoped God would go with me, and preserve me, but that he should come and see me before I started. On hearing the latter part of the message, and fearing that if he came he would press me to wait till morning, I instantly saddled my pony, and off we started ; and two hours' ride brought us to Kanipe, having passed two small Foulah towns on the way.

17th.—Kanipe* is a walled town, diagonally formed with an outward fence of stakes and prickly bushes. There is also in the interior a sort of citadel or fort, within which the alkaid and a few others reside. There is one well inside the town, and another without. I was desirous of leaving the place this morning ; but our landlord and a few others entreated us so

* Mentioned by Park and Gray, both of whom found great difficulty in obtaining water, not from its scarcity, but from the people alleging that it was their property, and they must be paid for it !

earnestly to tarry a short time, that I have promised to wait till evening.

We this forenoon obtained a good breakfast of rice and fowl, and afterwards read a portion of holy writ, and offered up prayer to the God of all our mercies. Some of the children at this place had never seen a white man before, and the mothers amused themselves and frightened their offspring by bringing them to see me, when the infants especially began to scream out most lustily. The inhabitants here are mostly *sonninkeas*; and we have been complimented during the day with a couple of *griots*. There is another town about a mile and a half distant, in the neighbourhood of which there are a number of lads from this place, who have recently submitted to the rite of circumcision.

Between five and six P.M. we proceeded on our journey. After travelling about two miles we passed a village called Sutuba, and four miles further we came to Dirma, where we halted for the night. Dirma is a small dirty town, with a loose stockade fence, and the people are a mixture of Jollofs and Teucolors: how they came here they cannot tell. Here we were told that three days ago a man with his family (consisting of his wife, one son, and two daughters) left this place for the next town on his way to Bondou, where he was going with some cattle, and was attacked by some Fouta Torro Foulahs; and though he was wounded from a shot, yet he and his son succeeded in driving them off. About midnight we had a good supper of *kouskous*, and, as usual, then spread a mat upon nature's carpet, commended ourselves to God, and went to sleep.

18th.—We started at day-break for Walufarra: this place being at a considerable distance, we carried water with us. Nearly four hours' ride through an immense wood, east south-east and east, brought us to our destination. Walufarra is a small miserable-looking village, seated upon a patch of rising ground. Here we could obtain nothing for either man or beast. The cattle had been removed to better pasturage, so that we could obtain no milk; and they had neither fowls nor rice. There were a few goats; but they wanted coral or amber for them, neither of which had we in our possession. The bees had got into the water at the well, and were swimming about in such numbers that the poor horses could not obtain a drink; and the small quantity of that precious liquid which was in the town was so unpleasant, that I could not drink it. Thinking that a little tea and sugar would make it more palatable, I had

a small quantity boiled ; but even then I was foiled and disappointed ; for the bees, smelling the sugar, beset me in such multitudes, from all quarters, that I was obliged to give it up. We therefore immediately re-saddled, and pushed on to the next town, Tambakunda, having kept my mouth moist by occasionally plucking a cool green leaf from some part of the thicket through which we passed. Two hours and a half, east north-east, brought us to this place, somewhat fatigued, hungry, and thirsty. Here we were well received, and were told that we should have every thing we needed ; but it was nine o'clock in the evening before supper was ready. However, I was thankful for it then, having taken nothing all day save one kola-nut. The distance from Dirma to this place I consider to be about twenty-two miles ; but Cupidon thought it a great deal more.

19th.—We are waiting here (Tambakunda) for the arrival of a man whom I sent from Dirma to Fattatenda, for a few more goods, as I fear I shall have little or nothing worth presenting to the almamy, by the time we reach Boollibany.

Tambakunda is a respectable walled town, with four entrances. There are a number of loop-holes in different parts of the wall, and at the door-ways there is a sort of scaffolding or platform, with additional loop-holes at the top, where a flanking fire could be maintained. The people here, as in almost every place we have passed, are constantly talking about the intense heat of the sun in Bondou ; saying, *Nying tilo aning Bondou tilo ma kiling*, “The sun here and that of Bondou are not one.” Many of the inhabitants, particularly the women and children, who have never seen an European before, gaze upon me in astonishment, with their hands uplifted to their mouths ; and on my taking a walk, or moving towards them, they scamper off in all directions, as if I was something more or less than human.

The man from Fattatenda having returned, we presented our landlord and the alkaid with a little tobacco ; and at twenty minutes before five p.m. we again moved on, in company with a small *cafila*, consisting of three men and two asses, who are going to some part of Bondou. The asses started very badly at first, but afterwards went on at a tolerable rate. We have found the Mandingo language, for some days past, somewhat different from what it is in the neighbourhood of Macarthy’s Island, and lower down the Gambia, some of the words having quite a different meaning ; and Cupidon himself, who is a Jollof, is frequently at a loss. The multiplicity of languages is

a great obstacle in learning any one of them while travelling in this way. We are now nine in company ; and in the course of a few minutes no less than five languages are spoken.

The next town being at a considerable distance, we again carried water ; and having travelled four hours, which was considered little more than half way, we halted, and rested in the depth of the forest, close to the road-side. Having each taken a hearty draught of water from the *soofroo* (leathern bag), and commended ourselves to God, we lay down. A *pagne* upon the warm ground was my bed, and a bag containing some tobacco was my pillow. We had no fire kindled ; but I slept tolerably well, and without much apprehension, either from wicked men or wild animals, though both are frequently prowling about in this wilderness. Some of our party spent a sleepless night ; but whether from fear, or from other causes, I cannot say. A leopard was heard during our repose, in addition to elephants and lions, and a variety of other animals, both wild and tame, with which this locality abounds. I was told of one, though but rarely seen, which, as far as I could gather from the description, appears to be the beautiful zebra.

20th.—A little after three o'clock this morning the moon arose, and we again pursued our onward course, aided by nature's lantern, a very useful and necessary guide. Being rather sleepy, I commenced singing,—

“ In darkest shades if Thou appear,
My dawning is begun :
Thou art my soul's bright morning-star,
And Thou my rising sun.”

This disturbed a tribe of large monkeys, many of which came very near to us, and chattered most earnestly. Three hours' ride brought us to Kotehair, (probably the Koojar of Park,) where we halted under a tree near the town ; and the head-man, whom they here call “ king,” presented us with a goat, which was very acceptable. Kotehair is fortified in the common African manner, by a surrounding high wall built of clay, with several doorways or entrances, which are generally closed at night. It is the last town in the kingdom of Wooll ; and the head-man bears the name of chief or king probably from its being a considerable distance from the seat of government.

In the evening we came to Nouday, the frontier town of Bondou, and were well received by our landlord. This place is long and narrow, with large yards attached to each residence ; but, unlike most other places through which we have passed, it

has no kind of fence round it. The inhabitants are Teucolors, and were busily employed in bringing in large herds of cattle. Here I obtained as much milk as I could drink, and a good supper of fowl and *kouskous*.

21st.—About four miles this morning east by north brought us to Julangal, a large Serrawoolli town, about half a mile long. There are a few of the pastoral or wandering Foulahs close by, with their temporary bee-hive-looking habitations. The people here make the earthen jars, and here also, I was told, there is an Albino female; but I did not see her.

As our people were becoming rather fatigued, we tarried here till evening; when two hours' ride due east brought us to Jume, another Serrawoolli town, somewhat noted as being the residence of a learned marraboo priest named Kabba, who has scholars from different parts of the country. He was busy with his pupils, but immediately came to give us a hearty welcome, and soon after he sent me three fowls. Here our guide gave a history of our proceedings, from Kanipe, where he met with us, to this place. After he had done, the priest commenced a prayer for us, the people, with their hands upon their foreheads, as on the former occasions, saying at the end of every sentence, "*Amin, amin!*"

Sunday, 22d.—I rose this morning from my earthy bed a little indisposed, having taken a slight cold the previous night while sleeping at Nouday. After breakfast, a portion of scripture was read, and prayer offered up to Almighty God, on behalf of ourselves and of the demoralized inhabitants of this place, many of whom were present in our large hut. The priest was busy all the day, so that I had not an opportunity of speaking to him till the evening; when I presented him with a handsomely-bound Arabic Testament, and held a lengthy conversation with him, on the subject of experimental religion, in the presence of a large congregation; but he is, like the Jewish rabbi, an utter stranger to the new birth, and, like that master in Israel, said, in effect, "How can these things be?"

23d.—We rose early, and went to the priest, to procure a guide, which he had promised us to Boollibany, the capital of Bondou; but he was not ready, so that we waited till the afternoon. Soon after the interview I accompanied this Moham-medan scribe to see his brother, who was sick; at whose request I prayed, and was truly blessed while commending him and all the inhabitants of the town to the care of their heavenly Father. I afterwards sent him some medicine.

Jume is nearly as large as Julangal; but the people are not

so clean, nor do they appear so intelligent; yet they were equally curious to see me, and I could scarcely move without being surrounded by numbers of them. They are principally followers of the false prophet, and have a large mosque, which I saw; but I was not permitted to enter it. This place is one of the strongholds of the Mohammedan creed; and I was forcibly reminded of St. Paul's discourse at "Mars' hill," when he stood and said, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." (Acts xvii. 22, 23.) This also I have endeavoured to do here.

A little before five P.M., the guide being ready, I immediately mounted, and we were in the act of starting; but the priest thought proper first to give us his blessing, which he did by taking hold of my hands while on horseback, and saying something which I did not understand; but the people around us were all attention, and they stood looking with both their hands opened as if they expected something to fall from the clouds at the close of the ceremony; and, as before, they all said, "*Amin, amin!*" We now proceeded, upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, following us, sometimes completely surrounding my horse, wishing me to shake hands with them. I did so until I was tired; and was ultimately obliged to gallop off. We travelled about twelve miles east, and came to two straggling villages, at one of which we halted; and, for the first time since my leaving Fattatenda, I slept inside a hut, as the last day or two the north-east breeze has been rather cold during the night.

24th.—Nine miles' journeying this morning brought us to Weegi, having passed one or two villages on the way. Here we learnt, with some degree of certainty, that the almamy is preparing for war,—with whom we do not know; but twenty men left this place yesterday to assist on the occasion. In the evening our course was east-north-east and east-south-east for about ten miles. Our landlord here received us rather coolly. At length we obtained a little milk for some beads; but the people brought such miserable drops each time, that the whole of it was scarcely enough for a cat.

25th.—Being much better to-day, our travelling was pleasant. We crossed several beds of dark-coloured stone, through a diversified country of hill and dale, vast numbers of partridges and guinea-fowls being seen near to the foot-path, which was some-

times covered with loose brushwood ; and on our right and left were trees of various kinds, those of the acacia species, the tamarind, and monkey-bread being numerous : the fruit of the latter is used by the natives as an astringent, and of the former for the opposite purpose. Twelve miles east-south-east and east brought us to a small scattered town named Gallordie, having passed two or three others on the way, in the vicinity of which the people were preparing their farms, as the rainy season is approaching. At this place we took up our abode for a short time under the shade of a large tree, where a Foulah was busily employed in making small boards for the school-boys to write upon ; and some of the women were making country soap, which is manufactured with a mixture of ground-nuts, the ashes of burnt trees, water, and palm-oil. These four articles are put into an earthen pot, and exposed to the sun to melt. Whether the sun has that effect upon them or not, I am unable to say ; but I saw the materials so placed, and the water was then warm.

At half-past four P.M. we left Gallordie, and in a few minutes came into a deep ravine : to our right was the dry bed of a broad river, and for a mile our path was very steep and rugged. Ten miles brought us to Goodeerie, the residence of our guide : our course, two-thirds of the way, was east-south-east, and then by a sudden turn east-north-east. On the new moon making its appearance this evening, the Mohammedan part of our company did not fail to welcome it, by instantly turning to it as we were journeying, crossing their faces with their hands, and using some kind of prayer. On reaching home, our guide was immediately welcomed and congratulated by numbers of his friends and neighbours, among whom were two *griots*. Between ten and eleven we obtained a good supper of *kouskous*, with a little fowl, which was very acceptable ; we having had nothing last evening, and our breakfast this morning consisting of only a handful or two of roasted ground-nuts.

26th.—Here we rest to-day, waiting for Sarjo, our guide, whose father acted in that capacity to Major Gray some twenty years ago. It is a small town of Serrawoollies, most of the inhabitants being engaged in trade. The well which we passed last evening is a few hundred yards distant, near to which there is a kind of watch-box, made of mud and clay, where the hunter of wild animals fixes himself during the night ; and when these come to drink, he places his gun through one of the loop-holes, and the animal is soon in his possession.

This morning a caravan of Moors arrived here, on their way to Fattatenda. They are from Kaarta, and have with them as a

guide Bakarra, a nephew of the king of that place ; and from the almamy they obtained another to the banks of the Gambia. Bakarra is an intelligent young man, and appeared anxious that I should pay his uncle a visit ; to which I should have no objection, did time permit.

27th.—We had a little rain during the night ; and did not start till past eight o'clock this morning. We passed several Foulah villages, and rested at a scattered town named Fittinyibbe, about nine miles from Goodeerie. Here we purchased some fowls and rice, and about four o'clock sat down to a good meal ; immediately after which, we moved on, the surface of the country being more even and better cultivated. We passed through several more little villages ; and, after a journey of about eight miles, we came to Dandudy, where the head-man appeared afraid to receive us lest we should be expensive to him. Here I threw myself down upon a mat on the ground, drank a hearty draught of water, commended myself to the kind care of my heavenly Father, and went to sleep.

28th.—We rose at day-break, and again pursued our way, east north-east ; some parts of the path being exceedingly steep, and others the reverse. We passed several pits of red and white clay, two towns, and halted at a third, named Fettibooki. Here the hut appropriated to our use was occasionally used as a pen for sheep and goats ; and our landlord very unceremoniously brought one of the latter, and fastened it to a stake while some of us were inside. Having tarried here for a few hours, given the horses provender, and partaken of an humble but hearty repast, we reared the family-altar in our mean abode, and then pushed on for about ten miles, when we reached the much-wished-for Boollibany. We took up our lodgings with an uncle of our guide, at one of the small villages contiguous to the royal town, as we were informed the almamy was from home, and that, if we lodged in the capital, we should probably be much annoyed by a multitude of beggars.

Sunday, 29th.—Boollibany. This has been a singular sabbath-day ; but I hope I have discharged my duty as a herald of the cross of Christ, as far as it was practicable. The almamy (or imaum) being encamped at a small town about six miles distant, and expecting to leave to-morrow on some plundering expedition, I was reluctantly compelled to pay him a visit to-day. Having arrived at the place, south south-east, passing several small villages on the way, I waited about an hour before he made his appearance, he having, in the mean time, sent one of his priests with his compliments. On being introduced, I

found His Majesty with about two hundred and fifty of his principal counsellors, warriors, and priests, within a large square yard surrounded by a wall, a temporary tent having been erected to screen them from the heat of the sun. Being seated near the sable monarch, upon a sheep-skin, with my interpreter by my side, I made known to him, in as few words as possible, the nature and object of my journey. I stated to him that, as a minister of the gospel from England, stationed at the Gambia, I was anxious to know something of the country, people, and languages contiguous to the place of my residence, that, as soon as possible, I might commence missions among them; that I had visited the kingdoms of Barra, Nyani, Wooll, and other places, whose kings and chiefs were favourably disposed toward us; and that I had now paid a visit to Bondou for the same purpose.

The almamy said the object appeared very good; but he, with several of the elders around him, wished to know what it was that I should teach, and if it was the same religion as Mohammedanism: to which I answered in the negative; adding that I did not find such a name in my Bible. This led to a number of other questions; such as, "Do you face the east when you pray? How many years is it since the birth of Moses? And how long is it since Mohammed wrote the Koran?" &c. The almamy then wished me to state to them, without interruption, the substance of that which I taught or preached. Holding a beautiful Arabic Bible in my hand, I commenced by saying, "The contents of this book are"—I then gave an outline of the principles of our holy religion, explaining the fall of man,—the universal depravity of human nature,—the necessity of a change of heart,—God's love to men in the gift of his Son,—repentance, faith, and holiness,—future rewards and punishments, &c. The doctrine of atonement was something so new and strange to them, that, when dwelling upon that subject, the almamy himself interrupted me through the interpreter, by asking, with some degree of astonishment, *Ako di? Alla ding sa? Wo ma tonyalamu!* "What does he say? God's Son die? That cannot be true!" This great "mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh," I endeavoured to explain as well as I could, and assured them all that it was "a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance;" that I had long felt its truth in my own heart, which made me happy; and that God had given his Son to bleed and die for the black man as well as for the white, he being no respecter of persons. I felt a sacred pleasure in thus exhibiting to these desperadoes the vast superiority of the Christian religion to the absurd and demoralizing

system of Mohammedanism. The almamy then wished me to tell them what God had told them to do, and what not to do. This gave me an excellent opportunity of dwelling at considerable length upon the Decalogue; which I did, and particularly upon those parts of it that I knew to be very applicable to those around me, relating to adultery, murder, theft, sabbath-breaking, &c. When I had concluded, strange to say, the almamy answered, that what I had said was all very good and true; but they liked their own religion best. I told them that they were certainly in error in preferring Mohammed to Christ, and that it was a dangerous error: the judgment-day would prove the truth of all I had said, but it would then be too late. The almamy, in summing up his reply, in answer to the object of my visit, said, they were all glad to see me, they loved me very much, and I might visit any part of Bondou at any time; and when I was ready to commence a mission, I must select the place, and then come and let him know. "But," said he, "we cannot leave our religion: we must follow Mohammed."

It was deeply affecting to me to look upon these human beings, professing to love God, yet having their spears, firearms, poisoned arrows, and cutlasses by their sides, prepared for battle at a moment's notice, and every day receiving additions to their force: nor could I satisfy my conscience, or leave the camp, till I had told the almamy of the impropriety and sinfulness of such proceedings, and urged him, by all that was dear, to abandon the project.

It was a critical moment. I was in the midst of a band of half-savages, all armed, the almamy himself having a spear at his right hand, and a double-barrelled gun at his left; and my excellent assistant was fearful that if I said any thing against their going to war, I should not only get myself into difficulties, but very likely be at once taken out of a world of trouble by being instantly shot, or by some other means be put to death. But it seemed as if I heard the Saviour's address to the first missionaries, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do;" (Luke xii. 4;) and, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Certainly a more than ordinary degree of moral courage was imparted; and I said to the interpreter, "Be sure you communicate all that I say to the almamy; and if I fall at his feet, my blood will be the seed for the first Christian church in the kingdom of Bondou." It was the sabbath day, and I was a Wesleyan missionary; and though far away from any civilized country, I was resolved, at the risk of life, to

raise my voice against the iniquity and horrors of such plundering expeditions, the sad effects of which I had more than once seen with my own eyes. Here were two hundred and fifty warriors, who had left the royal town, with their chief at their head, deliberating what place to attack, and the plan to be adopted, and only waiting the arrival of more strength, which was daily pouring in from all parts of the kingdom, and then the inhabitants of some peaceful village or populous town, would be surprised, seized, and taken into captivity, or murdered on the spot!

Having, therefore, finished my own part of the business, and presented the almamy with a couple of pieces of baft, some tobacco, and a very handsome morocco-bound gilt-edged Arabic Bible, and thanked him for the kind reception he had given me, and for his permission to commence a mission in his territories, in the most respectful manner I said, "I have one request to make before I leave, which is this: Having heard that the almamy was preparing for war, he will very much oblige me, and I hope it will be pleasing to God, if he will abandon the idea, and return to his palace, and live in peace."

In reply to my request, the almamy asked why I did not wish them to go to war. I answered, Because it was inconsistent and sinful, to say nothing of the misery that must follow. I had just read and explained to him from the book of Moses, God's own book, the Ten Commandments; one of which is, "Thou shalt not steal," and another is, "Thou shalt not kill;" but he was about to do both. To this the almamy and his counsellors gave a half-sarcastic smile, and said, it was not the good people they should kill, it was those only who did not pray to God; and for doing this the Almighty would be well-pleased, and would reward him; and that if he himself fell in the contest, he should go to heaven, and his happiness there would be considerably enhanced in consequence! I hesitated not to tell him to the contrary, and asked him what was to become of those poor sinners whom, without a moment's notice, he was about to be the means or instrument of hurrying into eternity. This question, however, he evaded; and, soon after, I shook hands with him, telling him that I should probably never see him more, till we met at the judgment-seat of Christ, and begging of him to return home. I then left the camp, and retired to my quarters, thanking God for so favourable an opportunity of delivering my soul on these subjects before this infatuated monarch and his deluded subjects.

It was now between two and three o'clock P.M.; and having

taken no food all day, and there being nothing to be had in this village, I sent word to the almamy that I wished to return to Boollibany, for that I was hungry. He immediately sent me a calabash of honey, which was not, under such circumstances, to be despised. Soon after this, having taken a fancy to a black riband which I had round my neck, he sent a polite message to ask if I had any more like it. I knew what this meant very well, and therefore immediately took it off my neck, carefully folded it up, and sent it to His Majesty, with my compliments. In connexion with this message there was also a request from the almamy to have another interview with me; and I was again ushered into the midst of a host of superstitious and marauding banditti, who imagine that by committing deeds the most barbarous and cruel, they are doing God service! Where is the humanity, to say nothing of the morality or spirituality, of the Mohammedan system? May God make me a messenger of good to these blind followers of a blind and false guide!

In this second interview the almamy repeated what he had said before, in reference to my looking at his ground, and selecting a suitable spot for a mission; and, in allusion to going to war, he asked me if the English did not sometimes do the same. I told him, it was many years since they had any serious engagement: they generally endeavoured to avoid war as long as they could; and when necessity drove them to it, it was conducted on very different principles to African warfare. Shortly after this, I again shook hands with this chief, and several of his head-men, and once more begged of them to abandon their intended expedition, reminding them of our next and (as I then thought) last meeting,—at the bar of God.

We now proposed to return to our quarters at Boollibany, and on the way met about a score of young females, carrying cooked provisions from the capital to the camp. Whether what I had said to this deluded follower of the false prophet had really any influence or effect upon him, in deterring him from going to war, I pretend not to say; but, to the surprise of myself and many others,* in about an hour after I had reached my lodgings, the almamy, with the whole of his army, came galloping

* It had been stated to me, by my landlord and others, that the almamy having once left the palace, he would never return till he had accomplished his object; and the cooked provision, which had doubtless been ordered to be sent, was evidence that, at least, he had not intended returning so soon as he did; and I heard nothing more of that meditated expedition afterwards.

back to the royal town ; soon after which he sent me his compliments, with a good fat sheep for my supper.

30th.—I went to pay my respects to the almamy this morning ; but, owing to some repairs which are going on in his palace, I did not see him. I have had a few applications for presents to-day from the capital, with a couple of *griots* extolling the greatness and liberality of white people. This is the first day that I have felt the heat in Bondou to be intense ; and to-day it has been very warm : but having unfortunately broken my thermometer at the commencement of my journey, I am unable to ascertain the precise degree of intensity ; but am of opinion that, in the shade, it cannot be less than 106°.

May 1st.—I have concluded not to go to Fort Joseph, the French settlement at Gallam, on the banks of the upper Senegal ; for, though it is not more than one day's journey from this place, I learn from all parties that the road is rendered very unsafe by the marauding Moors, who are constantly lying in ambush to seize upon cattle, or any other property they can find. This I had heard at Fattatenda, and repeatedly on my journey ; and it appears that, two or three weeks ago, they killed a poor Foulah man, and stole all his cattle ; and, the almamy having sent for an explanation of this, there are now here two or three of these tawny, fierce-looking fellows, as messengers upon the subject. The affair, I am told, is likely to be settled amicably, by a mutual promise, or oath, upon the Koran, that the tribe of Moors contiguous to the Senegal, and the Bondou people, shall not molest each other in passing to and fro.

Intending to return home early in the morning, I this afternoon waited on the almamy. He was just going to prayers ; so that I had to wait a few minutes : on his return, he beckoned me to come to him. He was seated upon a large, rough, white sheep-skin, outside his residence, in an open space adjoining the mosque, surrounded by some scores of his subjects, counsellors, priests, *griots*, &c. One of the latter was employing the utmost stretch of his voice in singing his praises, marching up and down a space of ground left in the middle of the crowd for that purpose. I was again seated near to him ; and on this occasion he brought out and exhibited the handsome Arabic Bible I had given him, which he appeared to admire very much ; but said, he could not read it. At this I was somewhat surprised, and still more so to find that none of his priests could. A Jollof, however, who happened to be there from the Senegal, read it with ease ; and I requested the almamy to allow this man to

read a portion of it to him every day, and to go through it consecutively. He again asked me why he must not go to war, and if the English people did not frequently do so; and if it was true that when the white people from the Gambia (a year or two ago) went to destroy Kemmingtan's town, they left some of their guns behind them. Though I had little doubt upon the latter fact, yet, wishing to defend my countrymen as much as possible in that unfortunate affair, after speaking of Kemmingtan's piratical conduct in seizing a British vessel laden with merchandise, and appropriating the goods to his own use, I said I had heard, that, having broken the walls of his town, they returned, and, as I was informed, left one or two pieces of brass cannon behind them. At the close of this interview, the almany presented me with a calabash of excellent honey; and having promised me a guide to conduct me through the greater part of his dominions, I bade him farewell, wishing him health and peace.

In the evening we had rather a lengthened conversation with our *jiati*, ("landlord,") a part of his family, and a few neighbours, on the superiority and advantages of the Christian religion to that of Mohammedanism, in which Cupidon took part; and, amongst other things touching on the outward ceremonies of the latter system, he asked if God did not create all things, animals as well as man; to which they immediately replied in the affirmative. "Well," said Cupidon, "and then did not the Almighty, at the creation, pronounce all that he had made to be very good?" To which it was again said, "Yes." "Then," rejoined my assistant, "by whose authority did Mohammed take upon himself to say, that swine's flesh is not good or fit food for man?" It was then said, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." (Rom. xiv. 17.) We conversed till our landlord began to see the necessity of a clean heart; saying, "No man can go to heaven till God changes his nature, and makes him inwardly as well as outwardly holy." May the Lord have mercy upon him, and the thousands more by whom he is surrounded, who are deeply sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism!

Bondou is bounded on the north-west by Foota Torro, on the north-east by Kajaaga, on the east by Bambouk, on the south-east and south by Dentilla and Tenda, and on the west by Woolli. From north to south it is about ninety miles, and nearly as many from east to west. From its central situation

between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, it is a place of great resort, being a thoroughfare for travellers and traders going from the Coast into the interior. The surface of the country, like that of Woolli and Nyani, is very generally covered with woods; but the land is more elevated, and in some places mountainous. In the valleys there are a number of small streams and rivers, and the soil is capable of almost any tropical productions. In Park's time, the capital of Bondou was Fatteconda; but for many years Boollibany has had that honour. This place is situated almost at the north-eastern extremity of the kingdom, contiguous to that of Kajaaga, and but a short distance from the original residence of the almamy.

The people of Bondou are a mixture of Foulahs, Teucolors, Mandingoes, and Serrawoollies; and in the capital there are a few Jollofs, Moors, and Bambarras. Judging from the numerous towns and villages through which I passed, and the many foot-paths or roads intersecting each other, leading to and from other towns, I should imagine the population of this kingdom to be considerable. The prevailing language is the Foulah, though the Mandingo and Serrawoolli are also used. The physical characteristics of most of these tribes have already been given; but the following brief account of the manners and habits of the people of Bondou, which were mostly noted down at the time, may now be added:—

Boollibany, the capital, is a large, strong, clay-walled town, and is decidedly the best-fortified place that I have seen in Africa. It stands in an extensive plain some miles in circumference, having behind it, on the east-north-east, a range of rocky hills, about a quarter of a mile distant; and, to the west, the dry bed of a winding stream. It is surrounded by a number of small towns or villages, one of which has a mud wall, the others having no fence whatever. The walls of the metropolis are ten feet high, built with short turns, or in a zigzag form, with strong bastions inside, from three to four feet thick, and about double that width. It has likewise small square loop-holes in all directions, and the entrances or gateways are surmounted, like those of Tambakunda, though in a better condition, with small embattled turrets, about nine or ten feet square: these also are pierced with loop-holes. There are several wells within and without the town, the latter being dug out of the dry bed of the stream; which, during the rains, becomes a broad river, when they have plenty of water.

The residence of the almamy, and of other members of the family, has the appearance of a castle or citadel, being built of



HOLLAND, THE CAPITAL OF HOLLAND.

strong timbers, and substantial clay walls, which, crossing each other at right angles, divide it into several small courts and apartments: the way into them is consequently very intricate to a stranger. Some of these divisions are used as store-rooms for ammunition, fire-arms, &c. At several of these passages and doorways there are sentinels placed, to prevent intrusion. The roof is flat, being covered with planks of *runs*,* the most durable wood in Africa. These are placed close together, and are plastered over with a kind of mortar. It has a parapet-wall, upon which are mounted three field-pieces. The height of this building is about seventeen feet, the walls being of an immense thickness, in addition to strong bastions outside; and the whole is enclosed within another wall of the same kind.

There is a mosque, which is also built of clay, but is covered with grass: this is about thirty feet long, and twenty-two wide. It is in a separate and open space, adjoining the palace; and here public prayers are performed five times a-day, with the greatest apparent devotion. The almamy and a few of the head marraboos only being permitted to go inside, the remainder stand without in two or three rows, with their faces eastward. The sound of the people's voices, while thus engaged within this Mohammedan temple, from its protracted and mournful tone, reminded me more of a hospital during some painful operation, than of a congregation of persons engaged in worshipping God.

The habitations of the other residents of Boollibany are mostly composed of clay, some entirely so; and are square, with flat roofs. The greater part of them, however, are round, having the walls of the same material; but are covered with a conical roof of long dry grass. The population is probably about two thousand souls.

The *houses* in general in Bondou are built of mud or clay, with the exception of those of the wandering Foulahs, who, in the course of an hour or two, will construct their little tabernacles, composed of corn-stalks, brushwood, and grass. Many of them, however, erect their little hovels of the bamboo-cane, like some of the Mandingoes and Jollofs; which, being well thatched with grass, and the roof overhanging the huts, will stand the wind and weather for one or two rainy seasons. The best dwellings contain two separate clay walls, one enclosing the sleeping apartment, and the other built at the distance of a few feet from it, so as to include a narrow ring of space, which

* A species of the palm-tree, much used for building-purposes at the British and European settlements on the Coast.

serves for a piazza, or sitting-room. Some of the huts or houses are divided inside into two apartments by a thin clay wall; and as the door is generally very low and narrow, and is the only means by which light is admitted and smoke is emitted, chimneys and windows being deemed unnecessary, the interior of their dwellings is dark and gloomy. This mode of constructing their dwelling-houses may be said to be the general practice of the African nations on this part of the continent; and, as Park well observes, though with some few exceptions, "forms alike the palace of the king and the hovel of the slave."

Their *household furniture* is equally simple. In some of the best clay-built houses, I have observed that they have their beds made of the same material, a couple of feet from the ground, upon which they place a thin country mat, wrap themselves up in a country *pagne*, and thus retire to rest; but the greater part of them have a hurdle of canes, placed upon upright stakes a few inches from the ground, upon which is spread a mat, a bullock's hide, or a sheep-skin, which forms their bed. A large earthen jar containing water, with a pot of the same material, or of iron, to cook with, and a few calabashes, with one or two low stools, and a mortar and pestle for beating their corn and rice, constitute the principal of their household property.

Their *dress* is similar to that of the Mandingoes and Jollofs bordering on the coast, and is composed of cotton cloth of their own manufacture, blue and white being the favourite colours. That of the men consists of trousers, or rather roomy drawers, descending a little below the knee, with a loose frock or shirt, sandals on the feet, and a white cotton cap on the head. The more respectable part of the community have their wearing apparel made of India bafts, and English cotton and muslins, the upper garment being neatly embroidered round the neck and down the back and breasts with coloured silks or worsteds.

The marraboos, and especially those advanced in years, wear white turbans, with red or blue crowns, with a long white robe or gown, not unlike a surplice, having large falling sleeves, and occasionally a hat made of a sort of rush or grass, having a low round crown, with a very broad rim, which answers as a tolerable substitute for an umbrella in screening them at mid-day from the excessive heat of the sun.

The women are extremely neat in their personal appearance. Their dress consists of two small country *pagnes*, or pieces of cloth, wrapped round the waist, one of which reaches down to

the ankles, and a third is thrown somewhat gracefully over the bosom and shoulders. They also wear sandals; but they differ from some others nearer the Atlantic in their head-dress: the Jollofs, for instance, being fond of a number of handkerchiefs of various colours, which they tie round their heads in the form of a peak or sugar-loaf. Instead of this, the females of Bondou, like those at the Upper Gambia, wear a sort of bandage, or narrow stripe of blue cotton cloth, wrapped round the forehead, the greater part of which hangs down behind the neck, something like an English funeral hat-band or hood. Being also passionately fond of beads, they decorate their heads, necks, wrists, and ankles with these trinkets in great abundance and variety; and even round their waists several strings of beads are worn by the African females generally. The more wealthy part have the forehead encircled with a mixture of gold and silver beads with those of amber, coral, and glass; and a pair of large gold ear-rings, reaching almost to the shoulders, which are supported by a thin string of red leather over the head, completes their dress.

Their *food* is simple, but wholesome and nourishing, and consists chiefly of rice and corn, the latter being of a small kind, called millet, or Guinea corn; and in preparing it for use they employ a large wooden mortar. When separated from the husk, and beaten into meal, it is made into a kind of pudding, called *kouskous*. Their art of cookery is confined to boiling or stewing; and those who can afford the use of animal food make a kind of soup, which is poured over the rice or pounded corn; and this, when carefully prepared, is a very nice dish. They eat in general only twice a day; that is, at about ten o'clock in the morning, and about sunset, being from six to half-past six o'clock. When the meal is ready, it is placed in a large bowl, and the natives generally squat upon the ground all round it, the former part of their left fingers being placed on the rim of the bowl to keep it steady, and the other hand conveying its contents to the mouth; knives and forks being out of the question. In some cases a wooden spoon is used; but I have myself often partaken of a hearty meal in the native style, without any artificial aids, and have been thankful for it, too. In the preparation of *kouskous*, the Jollofs excel all the other nations that I am acquainted with, having a peculiar mode of cooking it, which is by a slow process; and being generally better seasoned by them, it is, after a little use, quite delicious; and very often, after a severe attack of fever, one of the first articles of food that I could relish has

been a small dish of *kouskous*, nicely prepared with a little stewed fowl or boiled beef.

Their *religion*, it will have been seen, is Mohammedan : this is the law of the land, and by many its precepts are most rigidly attended to. There are mosques of one kind or other in every town, and schools for the instruction of the young in the same creed ; but there are many hundreds in Bondou who have no respect for such an empty and unsatisfying system, and who are merely seen praying occasionally, to save their little property from plunder, and their persons from slavery.

The *government* is monarchical, the chief power being invested in the hands of the almamy, or king. It is also hereditary ; but not unfrequently the presumptive heir is defeated and overcome by some more powerful member of the royal family. This was the case when Major Gray was here, twenty years ago ; on which occasion he was detained in Bondou, owing to the jealousy of the then reigning monarch, from the 20th of June, 1818, to the 22d of May, 1819, during which period he was unable to proceed any further. While thus detained, Almamy Amady died, "leaving the succession, which, consistent with the law and custom of the country, ought to descend to the eldest male branch of the family, to be disputed by three persons ; one, his own cousin, Malick Samba Tomany, being the lawful heir ; and two of his nephews, Tomany Moody and Moosa Yeoro ; all men advanced in years, and each possessed of considerable influence in the country. Moosa Yeoro, however, was at first unwilling to oppose the right heir, and would have certainly declined doing so, both from motives of respect for the person, who was much older than himself, and want of confidence in his own popularity, had not Tomany Moody induced him to it by proffers of his support, and threats of commencing a civil war in case of his refusal. The reason which led to this line of conduct on the part of Tomany Moody was founded on a circumstance which had occurred some years before, and which was nothing less than that Tomany, who had always been a haughty, violent, and powerful prince, had, in a dispute with the brother of Malick Samba Tomany, caused him to be murdered, and feared, if Malick came to the throne, he would revenge himself on him for the death of his brother, if not by taking his life, at least by seizing on his property, and obliging him to leave the country which he was in hopes of one day reigning over himself, and which he would really now do through Moosa Yeoro, who would only be a mere instrument in his hands. Thus in Africa, as in all other parts of the world,

does self predominate, and lead men to act parts little creditable to themselves, or profitable to the cause which they pretend to support.”*

The almamy expired on the 8th of January, 1819; but, the major writes, “the election did not take place until the 20th of the month; and although the opposing parties were near coming to blows on the occasion, the whole affair was terminated in a more peaceable manner than is generally the case in Africa, where the interregnum is almost always taken advantage of by the evil-disposed, to commit all manner of crimes, and for which they cannot be punished, as, during that period, the laws are not in force in consequence of the non-existence of a king, with whom they also are considered defunct.”

The present almamy, whose name is Saada, has recently been enthroned, though an elder member of the family was the rightful heir; probably Tomany Moody. Saada is the eldest son of the deceased monarch mentioned by Major Gray, and was then a personage of some importance, judging from a list of the presents given to him on two occasions by that traveller, as also by the property left him by his father, and the respect paid to him by the then ministers of state; and having for many years acted as the chief captain or general in the army, he possessed great influence in the kingdom, and on the death of the late king in 1837 was elected and proclaimed almost without opposition. He is about forty-five years of age, of the middle size, well built, of a brown complexion, with good, though rather large, features, a fine forehead, and a pair of bright, intelligent eyes.

In my interviews with this chief, and subsequently, I was forcibly reminded of Napoleon; for though the latter was a man of education, mind, and manners, and the former a comparative barbarian, yet, in his personal appearance, stature, muscular strength, features, and military ardour, the present almamy of Bondou is not unlike that celebrated soldier.

The inhabitants of this kingdom being in general professed followers of Mohammed, and the Koran forming the code of their civil as well as religious conduct, their laws are somewhat stringent. But in all matters of grave importance, the criminals are always tried by a public palaver or assembly, the almamy being at the head, surrounded by the aristocracy of the land, his ministers and chief priests; the latter bringing the Koran with them into the court, which is read and interpreted

* MAJOR GRAY'S "Travels," pp. 175, 176.

before sentence is pronounced, against which there is no appeal: indeed, that authority is generally looked upon as sacred and decisive. They do not, however, confine themselves to the Koran in the administration of justice, as will be seen from some of the following particulars:—

1. In case of a palaver or personal quarrel, where the parties come to blows, the case is investigated before the proper authorities; and the person who has committed the assault has his house and yard broken up, and his property confiscated.

2. When two individuals come into personal collision, and one draws his knife or cutlass, and threatens the other with death, even if he does not strike his opponent, the case is carried before the king, a council is held, and the affair is considered as an assault of so serious a nature, that the one in fault is fined five head of cattle, or receives one hundred lashes.

3. Manslaughter requires the price of six slaves, one half of whom go to the family of the deceased, and the other half to the crown.

4. Theft is punished by an immediate amputation of the right hand at the wrist; and if the person be found guilty of the same crime a second time, he is put to death, generally by starvation.*

5. Adultery is punished, on the part of the male person, by the confiscation of his property; and if he have little or no property, he is severely flogged. The female too often escapes with impunity, if she be not rewarded for entrapping a victim.

6. Murder and high-treason are punished with instant death by strangulation.

Bigamy is, of course, considered no crime in Bondou, a plu-

* Dr. Winterbottom tells us that the same practice prevails at Foota Jallon; and it would appear that this punishment is inflicted very impartially; for he says, "One of the Foota king's brothers, who was a great thief, had his right hand cut off for stealing." The author was informed that at Jume, through which he passed, there is a man of some importance who had suffered in the same way; but he did not see him.

Mungo Park has rightly observed, "The Negroes are better surgeons than physicians;" and he has given some specimens of their successful management of fractures and dislocations, of cupping, &c. But it appears that the amputation of a limb did not come under that traveller's observation. In dealing with the thief according to the law under notice, the author was informed that the operator has a common knife, well prepared, and that the task is speedily accomplished; immediately after which, the sufferer undergoes another painful operation, in order to obtain a cure. This is, putting the stump of the dismembered limb into a pot of shea butter, mixed with cow-dung, which is nearly boiling hot: it is then carefully wrapped in soft leaves, and requires little or no attention afterwards.

rality of wives being allowed by the Koran; and polygamy, therefore, extensively prevails. My landlord has, at the present time, three female companions and eleven children. Three of the latter and one of the former he has buried; and one wife he has discharged because she and the others could not agree. He is advanced in life, but is still a fine, tall, good-looking man, has been in several military engagements, and bears the marks of two or three scars upon different parts of his body. He has it in contemplation to add another member to his family; and when I spoke to him upon the impropriety of his having a plurality of wives, he very quietly answered, that he should never have more than four at one time.

The *commerce* and trade of this kingdom are considerable, and chiefly carried on by the Mandingoes and Serrawoollies, who have settled in the country. The latter are natives of Kajaaga, the neighbouring kingdom, and in complexion and features somewhat resemble the Jollofs. They are proverbially a trading people, and in that capacity visit Bambouk, Kasson, Kaarta, and Bambarra, bartering corn and cotton cloths manufactured in the country, with European merchandise, such as fire-arms, gunpowder, India bafts, beads, &c., for gold, ivory, hides, and bees-wax; which they again exchange for European articles in Bondou, or at the settlements on the Senegal and Gambia.

The Teucolors and Foulahs are principally occupied in agricultural pursuits, and in the rearing of cattle. The proportion of land cultivated is small, but more than sufficient to supply the inhabitants abundantly with all the productions of the country; and, in addition to corn, rice, pumpions, and water-melons, with a variety of other vegetables and fruits, they also grow cotton and indigo: the former supplies them with clothing, and with the latter they dye their cloth of an excellent blue colour.

From the numerous travelling merchants and caravans that visit and pass through Bondou, the almamy derives a considerable revenue, besides a tenth of all agricultural produce, and the constant presents which are made to him in the shape of peace-offerings, or by persons who have any business to transact, or favour to ask from him; there being nothing done without a *bunya* or present. By this means the king's household is well supplied with provisions, as also with slaves, and horses, fire-arms, ammunition, &c.

The mode of cultivation is the same in Bondou as in all the other kingdoms in Western Africa; and such is the fertility of

the soil, that, from a very small portion of labour, they reap, upon a moderate calculation, upwards of two hundred fold. The greatest fatigue they undergo is in clearing the ground, by cutting down the small trees, which is done a short time before the rains are expected. These, with a quantity of brush-wood, are then left on the ground for some time to dry; after which they are set on fire, together with the corn-stalks of the preceding year, (the ears of the corn only being cut off at the time of harvest,) and a quantity of long dry grass which grows to the height of eight or ten feet; the whole making a tremendous blaze, and burning with great violence and rapidity, killing a vast quantity of vermin and reptiles, and driving the wild animals still farther into the forest. As the natives take no pains to remove the stumps of the large trees, such is the luxuriancy of vegetation in this country, that Job's "hope of a tree, if it be cut down," is abundantly realized,—it does "sprout again, and bring forth boughs like a plant:" and this process is repeated more or less every year. After a shower or two of rain, the ashes of the burnt trees and stubble form a kind of manure, and the corn-seed is put into a hole, and covered over with the foot, and requires little further attention till it is ready to be gathered in.

The rice-farms are in low swampy savannahs, and the seed is not sown till a considerable quantity of rain has fallen; and the earth is thus moistened and covered by a partial inundation, caused by the heavy rains and overflow of the rivers. It is highly probable that the passage in the Old Testament alludes to the sowing of rice, where it is said, "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days;" (Eccles. xi. 1;) for in some instances this "bread," or rice, is literally "cast upon the waters," and it is certainly "found after many days," with a very large per centage or return.

The commencement and termination of the rainy season, which lasts about four months, are attended with tornadoes, accompanied with thunder and lightning. The former generally comes from the east; and the violence of the wind continues for about half an hour, with streams of forked and sheet lightning, torrents of rain, and peals of thunder fearfully loud, crash succeeding crash in terrific grandeur and majesty, as if a thousand heavy pieces of artillery had exploded together. When these terrible thunder-storms, and amazing force of the elements, occur after sunset, or at midnight, they furnish to every susceptible mind an awful impression of Deity, the wielder of invisible and irresistible power; and forcibly illustrate

the words of the Psalmist: "The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world: the earth trembled and shook." (Psalm lxxvii. 18.) But the whole scene during these tornadoes, whether they take place in the day-time or at night, may be considered as one of the most awfully sublime in nature; and at the close of the rains especially, when the trees are attired in their finest drapery, loaded with rich ripe fruit, the hills and valleys smile with a fresh supply of Heaven's bounty, and multitudes of cattle are grazing in the meadows, and the forests contain domestic animals of great variety and abundance,—then the physical aspect of the country, with the power and goodness of God, is well portrayed by David in Psalm lxxv.: "They also that dwell in the uttermost parts are afraid at thy tokens: thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice. Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn, when thou hast so provided for it. Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers: thou blessest the springing thereof. Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness: and the little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing." (Verses 8—13.)

"It was not possible for me," says an eminent traveller, "to behold the fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper for labour or for food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture, and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted and honoured by nature should remain in its present savage and neglected state." Thus wrote Mungo Park nearly half a century ago; and his statement is still correct in all its particulars, in reference to this part of the continent.

Their *wars* are frequent, if so we may term them; but they generally come more under the designation of predatory excursions than of a regular campaign, or hard-fought battle; and as the almamy, and, in fact, all Mohammedan chiefs, consider they have a Divine right for making war upon the Pagans, these plundering expeditions are constantly taking place, more particularly at the beginning of and during the dry season. We have already more than once described this cowardly and dishonourable mode of attack, with its attendant circumstances of bar-

barity. On the Monday after my return from the almamy's camp, mentioned in a previous page, I was speaking to several of the people in the neighbourhood of Boollibany, as I had done to their chief on the preceding day, on the sinfulness and impropriety of these marauding parties; when one of the old men, who was a *griot*, exclaimed, *Tobaba foday ako kello amumbetti, berra, jubi ninsolu*, "The white minister says war is not good; but look at those cattle," pointing to about four hundred cows and oxen, besides some scores of sheep and goats, nearly all of which were the result of one of these so-called wars.* On these occasions the cattle are for the most part immediately bartered for other goods, when presents are made by the almamy to those who have been engaged in the robbery, which, no doubt, keeps up the unhallowed flame that caused the remark just cited. But what a strange piece of inconsistency is there in connexion with this item, in the habits of the people of Bondou! A Foulah man will have his right-hand chopped off by the law of the land, if he steal a *little* corn or rice from any one; but he may go to his next-door neighbour, and take his person, wife, and children, his corn and cattle, and all that he has; and for doing this, he is absolutely rewarded!

These plundering excursions, especially in some states less powerful than Bondou, often produce speedy retaliation, and issue in a civil war in the same kingdom; in others they lead to and end in a war between two petty states or kingdoms. Then a battle is fought with great spirit on both sides. These may more properly come under the name of wars. "Some years ago," says Park, "the king of Bondou crossed the Felemé river with a numerous army, and, after a short and bloody campaign, totally defeated the forces of Sambo, king of Bambouk, who was obliged to sue for peace, and surrender to him all the towns along the eastern bank of the Felemé." Bondou, on the other hand, has often been attacked, and has suffered greatly by its more powerful neighbours. Major Gray has detailed the particulars of a war in which this kingdom was involved for many years with the king of Kaarta, which arose in an act of aggression on the part of Bondou, and which must have been very sanguinary, as the ground, for a considerable distance round Boollibany, at the time of the major's visit and detention there, was thickly strewed with the whitened bones of the slain,

* In addition to the cattle, many human beings are taken prisoners on these occasions, who always form a considerable part of the booty. These unfortunate creatures, if not redeemed, are used as domestic slaves, or sent down to the coast, to be purchased by the *fair* European.

whose bodies had been left to putrefy on the spot where they fell, or to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey. The Kaartan army, on this occasion, succeeded in breaking the walls of the capital of Bondou, and they laid the whole town in waste, with the exception of the almamy's palace, which was so resolutely defended by a handful of men, that all attempts to reduce it proved fruitless. At this period the almamy, and his army, were on their way to Kaarta; but on hearing that Modiba, the king of that country, with his army, had actually entered Bondou, he hastened back, and succeeded in gaining possession of his own palace; soon after which he made such a spirited and determined attack on the Kaartans, that they retreated in the utmost confusion, many of them being made prisoners, all of whom, on this occasion, and in retaliation for similar conduct on the part of Modiba towards every male his army had taken, were inhumanly butchered. This affair took place in the spring of 1817.* The following year another terrible battle was fought in the neighbourhood, when the almamy was again the aggressor. He was assisted on that occasion by a strong detachment from Foota-Torro and Lower Kajaaga, and a considerable body under the command of Hawah Demba, a prince of Kasson. His opponent was Samba Congole, a chief of Upper Kajaaga. Samba's army, in addition to his own men, consisted of some of the Gedumahs and Kassons, and four hundred horse, which he had obtained from Modiba, the king of Kaarta, in all amounting to about two thousand five hundred men. The almamy's force was supposed to be double that number. They met in April, 1818, when a bloody conflict ensued, which ended in the defeat of the almamy, who made a hasty retreat to Foota-Torro, leaving upwards of a hundred muskets on the field. The Kaartan horse immediately entered Bondou, where they again laid every thing waste that came in their way, and, making some prisoners, returned to their home. The almamy did all he could to induce the chiefs of Foota-Torro to employ all their force, and oblige Samba to quit his own country, and retire to Kaarta; but they were too well aware of the impracticability of such an undertaking, and advised him rather to make peace, which was accordingly accomplished during the major's sojourn in that country.†

From what has been adduced it will be seen that the African chiefs, when engaged in a regular war, not unfrequently assist each other; and thus nation rises up against nation, and man

* MAJOR GRAY'S "Travels," pp. 202—205.

† Ibid. p. 206.

against man. It is impossible to say how many of these deadly feuds, bloody campaigns, and marauding expeditions have taken place since the period just mentioned. But it will be recollected that the present Almamy Saada was the eldest son of Almamy Amadi, who was one of the chief actors in the terrible scenes described by Major Gray, and who, amongst other barbarous atrocities, put to death the two chief messengers, sent to him on one occasion by the king of Kaarta. Saada having thus been born in the camp, and trained in the field, being at that time a spirited young soldier, and having had twenty years' practice in the same profession, he may be said to have inherited his father's propensity for a military life; and being sanctioned in his attacks, upon Pagan towns especially, by the authority of the Koran, he may be emphatically said to "delight in war." Previous to his late election as the sovereign of Bondou, he for many years occupied a position similar to that of "Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria," who "was a great man with his master, and honourable, because by him the Lord had given deliverance unto Syria." (2 Kings v. 1.) Being "also a mighty man in valour," his assistance has been frequently solicited by others. It was only a few months ago that a request of this nature was made to him by the Jollof chief at Salum, in the neighbourhood of the Lower Gambia; and he went, having received from that chief, among other things, as presents for his services, upwards of thirty horses, besides what he picked up on the way when he returned home. The same chief has again requested his help, which he has promised to render, on condition that he send him one hundred horses to Bondou: as soon as they arrive in his kingdom, he engages to start, whether it be in the wet or in the dry season.

The horses generally on the Western Coast of Africa are rather small, but spirited, swift, and sure-footed, though none of them are shod. In Bondou, Fouta-Torro, and some of the other countries eastward, they appear to be a mixture of the Arabian with the original African; and the chiefs, and some of the sons of the chiefs, as is the case with the almamy and his family, possess very fine animals, apparently of the pure Arabian breed.

"The disposable force of Bondou, from all the information I could collect," says Major Gray, "does not exceed from five hundred to six hundred horse, and from two thousand to three thousand foot. When the almamy finds it necessary to call this army into the field for the protection of the country, or with the intention of invading the territories of some of his neighbours,

he repairs, with his own immediate followers, to some village at a short distance from the capital, and then beats the war-drum,* which is repeated by each village, and in this manner the call to arms is circulated over the country." It is for the latter of these objects, that the present council of war has been held, in the camp a few miles distant from Boollibany, and which, it will be recollected, I visited. I know, from personal observation, that this "call to arms" was responded to by many of the towns and villages in the kingdom. But as these matters are always conducted with great secrecy, I could not learn with absolute certainty their intended destination; but a large Pagan town, or a number of towns, in the kingdom of Bambouk, was supposed to be their object; and I was informed that three thousand men on this occasion would be collected. The place being finally decided, each of the king's sons, with one or two favourites, commands a detachment; and away they go, "casting firebrands, arrows, and death." The circumstance of the almamy's unexpected return to the capital with his men of war, has already been stated; and though I am not so credulous as to suppose that what I said to him in the camp will have the effect of putting a stop to this brutalizing and cowardly mode of warfare, or even that the present "gathering together for war" will have been entirely frustrated through my humble efforts, yet I do hope that all I said to those desperadoes will not be lost or fall to the ground: probably some of them may be despatched in the manner we have just described, and return loaded with the spoils of victory; but nothing of the kind took place while I remained there, nor did I hear of it afterwards.

The *national superstitions* of the inhabitants of Bondou are numerous, and, with the exception of human sacrifices, may be said to embrace every item which we have described in a preceding chapter. I was myself frequently asked to write out a *greegree*, a very profitable trade to Kabba of Jume, and to many of the priests and *karonkeas*, or "leather-workers," and to others versed in the "curious arts;" as we have also shown elsewhere.

Salutations among the Africans, when they meet, are always observed. Among the Mohammedan nations this is done by saying, *Salám alaikum!* "Peace be between us!" which is returned

* This is composed of a large wooden bowl, nearly three feet in diameter, covered with three skins: one is said to be that of a human being, another a hyæna's, and the outer one a monkey's, which is written over with texts from the Koran!

by, *Alaikum salama*, "There is peace between us;" and this is probably one of the most ancient as well as scriptural modes of salutation. Among the Pagan tribes in this part of the continent, and especially with the Mandingoes and Foulahs, it is, *Abbe haeretto*? "Are you well," or "at peace?" and the general answer is, *Heare-dorung*, "Well, and nought but peace." There is a heartiness and cordiality in their salutations, repeated again and again, which is very striking.

Wednesday, May 2d.—Having accomplished the object of my visit to Bondou, and the guide promised by the almamy last evening being ready, we rose early this morning, and soon after day-break proceeded on our return. As the people had had a few days' rest, and, withal, had little or nothing to carry, we travelled more expeditiously, our first stage having occupied upwards of five hours; when, after a short sojourn, we proceeded forwards, and in the evening reached Pittinyibbi, having met during the day ten small companies, on their way to assist at the supposed or real war. The next morning we reached Goodeerie, and thus moved on from day to day, the inhabitants generally in the towns through which we again passed greeting and saluting me, as just described, most cordially; and hundreds of times I had to give the Mohammedan answer, *Alaikum salama*, or that which is in general use among the Pagans, and which is substantially the same, *Heare-dorung*. On the Friday evening we reached Weegi; and here the people flocked round me, and appeared as much pleased at my safe return thus far, as if I had been their brother or some near relative. Almost before I had time to ask, one brought me some water to drink, another a mat to sit upon; then came some water in a large bowl to wash my feet, and presently afterwards some milk. I had experienced this civility and kindness at several places on my way to Boollibany; but at this Serrawoolli town, on this occasion, it was done with so much warmth and apparent ecstasy of joy, that my feelings were almost overcome. Our good old landlord was not less pleased than the rest; and to insure me a safe journey the remainder of the way, he went into his hut, and brought out a little *sand*, which he had obtained from some far distant country, saying that all who drank the water containing a portion of the said sand, would be shielded from harm whilst on a journey; and he immediately put it into a small calabash, stirred it up, and drank some of it himself, to convince me that it was not injurious. I preferred waiting a little, however, till the sand sank to the bottom, and the water became

more clear; not forgetting to inform him that I trusted in a higher Power to bless and preserve me.

The following morning, having presented our host with a small present, and received his blessing, we renewed our journey, travelling hard and fast, taking but short intervals of rest. We had a little rain on leaving Boollibany, and during the past night there were one or two dry tornadoes; so that the wet season is nigh at hand. On the evening of the fourth day, we re-entered the wilderness, between Kotchair and Tambakunda, and travelled till half-past eleven, guided by a brilliant moon, when we again lay down by the road-side, having made a bed of some small brushwood and branches of trees. Soon after four o'clock we remounted; and, having made a hearty breakfast at the latter place, we pushed on to Dirma, which we reached late in the evening, all quite fatigued. The next morning, at Kanipe, we beheld about thirty immodest young females, fantastically dressed, with a man beating the drum, dancing, shouting, and clapping their hands, congratulating the boys and young men on their recovery from the rite of circumcision!

We tarried here only about half an hour; and, leaving Madina considerably to the right, took the nearest route to the banks of the Gambia, which from this place is a south-west course; and, having passed three small towns, Cupidon and myself reached Fattatenda about noon on Tuesday, the 8th, thankful to God for all his mercies. The three men on foot, however, did not arrive till the evening.

The precise latitude and longitude of Boollibany I pretend not to define; and whilst agreeing, as I do, with James M'Queen, Esq., in his "Geographical Survey of Africa," when speaking of African travelling, "that a few miles each day is the very utmost that any European can make out in a protracted journey," yet I am satisfied the distances I have given from one town to another through which we passed in reaching the capital of Bondou, are tolerably, if not absolutely, correct. The real time occupied in journeying to that place, exclusive of the detention at Barrakunda in the neighbourhood of Medina, one day's rest at Jume, and another at Goodeerie, was ten whole days, that is, taking the morning and evening of the day; and the number of miles about two hundred, being just twenty per day. In returning, it will be seen, I was only six days, or perhaps it should be called seven, as nearly one whole night was occupied; but the distance was about twenty-five miles less, as I had no occasion again to call at the capital of Woolli, which was nearly that

distance out of the direct route. Reckoning my journey back to Fattatenda at six and a-half days, this would give twenty-seven miles per day; and I should here observe, that the African horses are nimble walkers, and in these journeys are taught to go at a kind of amble, between a smart walk and a trot, thus keeping those on foot in the same pace, who were frequently left a mile or two behind us on our entering a town. Including the visit I paid to the almamy's camp, I travelled, on this occasion, on horse-back, nearly four hundred miles, which occupied seventeen or eighteen days, being an average of about twenty-three miles per day. But as this was not a "protracted journey," and it was in the best season of the year, that rate could not be kept up for any length of time, especially in the mountainous countries and during the rains; though in one or two special instances, and by a great effort, I have travelled just twice that distance in one day.

By the kindness of Mr. Chown, in whose vessel I had sailed to Fattatenda, his cutter, the "Fox," arrived again at this place on the 9th, and early the following morning we got under weigh, and proceeded down the river; and having left the vessel at anchor, on the fourth day, waiting for the tide, Cupidon and myself went ashore, and travelled overland; and on the afternoon of the same day, Monday, May 14th, 1838, we reached Macarthy's Island, having been absent just forty days. It was my birthday, (being thirty-two,) and in the evening I met my class, when we had a refreshing season from the presence of the Lord.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1838—1840.)

THE Author's Return from Bondou—A Hint to Travellers in Africa—The Commotions in the immediate Neighbourhood of Macarthy's Island—Happy Contrast in the State of the Mission—Afflictions in the Mission Family—Death of Mr. Wall at St. Mary's—The Author proceeds thither—Serious Illness of Mr. Swallow—A Trip to Goree—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Moss for Macarthy's Island, of Mr. Edwards for Sierra-Leone, and of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson for St. Mary's—Mr. Fleet's Arrival at Sierra-Leone—Death of Mrs. Fleet at Sea—Terrible Gales in the English Channel—Wreck of the "Columbine," with the Loss of a Missionary and his Wife bound for the Gambia—Death of Mrs. Moss at Macarthy's Island—The Arrival of Mr. Spencer, the Agriculturist—Printed Document with standing Regulations respecting that Mission—Mr. and Mrs. Swallow's Departure for England—Extract of a Letter from Dr. Beecham to the Author, on the Subject of his Return Home—Visits Macarthy's Island—On his Return, finds the Inhabitants of St. Mary's in a State of partial Insurrection—Origin and Cause of this—Moral Influence of the Mission saves the Island from a civil War—The Author visits the Kings of Barra and Combo—Mr. Spencer's Illness—The Writer's Anxiety about that Mission—Death of Mr. Fleet at Sierra-Leone—Mr. Freeman, at the Gold-Coast, visits Coomassie, the Capital of Ashantee—The Author embarks with Mr. and Mrs. Spencer for England—Arrival at Home—The Liverpool Conference—Again volunteers for Western Africa—Not hastily, but from a Sense of Duty—Missionary Meetings in England—Difficulty in saying, "No!"—Letter from Dr. Bunting—A second Letter from the Doctor, with the painful Intelligence of the Death of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson at St. Mary's—Meets the Committee in London—A Schoolmaster, with two Missionaries, appointed to the Gambia—Biographical Sketches of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson—Affecting Incidents connected with their Death—Mr. Jehu sails for Sierra-Leone—Mr. and Mrs. Mycock and Mr. Brooking depart for the Gold-Coast—The Author and Family proceed to London—Dr. Bunting—The Mission-Party embark at Gravesend—Detention at Portsmouth—Safe Arrival at the Gambia—Happy Death of a Negro—Centenary Meetings—Death of Mrs. Dove and Mr. Jehu at Sierra-Leone—And of Mr. James at Macarthy's Island—Mrs. James's Departure for England—The Author's severe personal Afflictions and Bereavements.

IN the extracts from the author's journal, detailing the particulars of his journey to Bondou, which we have given in the preceding chapter, it will be seen, that though the writer had to brave fatigue, and occasionally to suffer from hunger and thirst, and slept principally upon nature's carpet, and sometimes travelled by night, on which occasions he threw himself down

upon a few small branches broken from the trees, far distant from any human dwelling,—yet he was generally well received by the natives, as also by the almamy himself;* and, after an absence of nearly six weeks from his station, he arrived at home well in health, happy in God, and was cordially welcomed by his colleague and other friends, some of whom, he really believes, never expected to see him again in the flesh. The result of this journey into the interior it is impossible to predict; but, if followed up by his successors in the glorious enterprise of saving souls, he would fain hope that “the bread” thus feebly “cast upon the waters” may be “found after many days.”

If the writer may be allowed a hint here to future expeditions for exploring the yet unknown regions of central Africa, he would remark, that a large company, and bales of presents, are not among the best methods of conducting such an expedition to a successful result. Presents it is necessary to make,—it is the custom of the country; and to this custom all travellers must more or less submit. But one European, or at the most two, possessing the requisite qualifications,—and to those of a scientific nature must be added a good share of common sense, with prudence, patience, fortitude, and moral courage,—two Europeans of this description, with three or four faithful attendants, are quite sufficient. The less, in fact, the better,—as numbers, and especially persons of a different colour, always attract attention; and as thousands of the Africans live by plunder, the sight of the baggage is too powerful a temptation for them to resist. To avoid the latter inconvenience, I would suggest that small presents be made to the different chiefs, through whose dominions the traveller passes, by a *written order* on an agent at the upper Gambia or Senegal rivers; and in this way the commander of a government or scientific expedition might arrive at Timbuctoo, or some other and more central kingdom, in a comparatively short time, and at a moderate expense; and from thence might proceed, partly by water and partly by land, across the whole continent; an undertaking which has yet to be accomplished by some enterprising spirit of our own or some other country.

In about a week after my return from Bondou, I paid another visit to the king of Kattaba, the object of which was to ascertain the mind of His Majesty and his ministers as to the sale

* It should be stated that, during his journey, he distributed a quantity of the scriptures in Arabic, and, whenever an opportunity presented itself, failed not to “preach Christ unto the people;” in return for which, he was politely thanked, received many blessings from the people, and many prayers were offered for his safety.

of a large tract of land contiguous to Macarthy's Island, for the benefit of the Foulahs, as the six hundred acres granted by the British Government were not sufficient, either in the wet or dry season, for the pasturage of their cattle. I had a long conversation with the king and other leading men in the country, and have little doubt that land to almost any amount might be purchased or rented on behalf of these oppressed people; but *who* is to protect them from the marauding banditti? Naamang, the king of Kattaba, cannot; nor can the British Government beyond their own territories: and *want of protection* is the great difficulty in this Foulah mission.

In the early part of July we had another specimen of the unsocial and disorganized state of the native tribes in this country, and of the pitiable condition, more especially, of the pastoral Foulahs, who are generally the greatest sufferers on these occasions; which affords further illustration of the remark just made respecting their unprotected condition.

The following extract from a letter addressed to the parent committee, bears upon this subject. It was dated, "Macarthy's Island, August 9th, 1838:"—

The disturbed state of this neighbourhood renders it next to impossible to do any thing for the poor Foulahs at Brooko, or Jamalli, as they are every few weeks driven from their habitations by one marauding band or another. The notorious Kemmingtan, two or three weeks ago, made a plundering expedition through Brooko, and some miles higher up the same bank of the river, carrying almost every thing before him. The poor Foulahs, of course, fled; and many of them, with some Mandingoes, came to this island for safety. He was followed by a small party of Foulahs; but he was too strong for them, though he lost seven or eight of his men, and his own son was killed by a shot through the head. He, in return, killed many of those who attacked him: the leader of the party he split down the middle, and fastened his body to the ground with wooden pegs!

I understand he has taken with him an amazing quantity of cattle, and some slaves; and report says, that he intends to return shortly, to be revenged for the death of his son. Some of the merchants here at the time had their fears that he would attack this island; but I have no such apprehension: he is certainly very treacherous, and our mud-built fort would not stand much battering.

In the midst of these "wars and rumours of wars," and other trials arising from severe personal affliction, the illness of the wife of the writer's colleague caused him to accompany her to St. Mary's for a change of air; the assistant missionary also was absent at the same time to attend the sessions, in a vain endeavour to obtain compensation for the demolition of his house; instead of which the person who committed the outrage threatened to sue him for (pretended) defamation,—laying the amount of damages at £1,000. But, after all, it was gratifying

that the cause of God was gradually advancing. Our place of worship was well filled, and we had an increase of members. At a love-feast held about this time, it was truly affecting to hear some of the liberated Africans, with tears running down their black furrowed cheeks, speak of the demoralized, ignorant, and awful state in which their parents and friends are placed, in the country from whence they had been so cruelly torn; but how happy and thankful they were, that themselves, by a gracious Providence, had been brought into a state of civil freedom, and to the enjoyment of that spiritual liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free! What a contrast this, even to the condition of their immediate neighbours!

On the 19th of July, Mr. and Mrs. Swallow returned, both apparently the better for their trip; but my own affliction continued for some time; nor would the fever yield to the ordinary course or mode of treatment; so that, in addition to being well physicked, I was bled in the arm, blistered, and finally salivated. At the end of the following month, Mr. Swallow was attacked with fever, which assumed a peculiar type, producing a kind of stupor and insensibility; and for some time he appeared more like a dead man than a living one. In the midst of these afflictions, the painful news of Mr. Wall's death reached us; and as soon as I was able, and Mr. Swallow was sufficiently well to be left alone, I proceeded to St. Mary's, to administer comfort to the bereaved flock, and attend to the effects of the deceased missionary.

I left Macarthy's Island on the 13th of September, and arrived at the lower station on the 17th, having had fever more or less all the way down. Five Europeans, I found, had died, and one or two others were not expected to live. I was also confined to my bed for about three days, at the expiration of which period I paid a visit to the missionary's grave, and then communicated the particulars of his sickness and death to the committee in London, and to his friends.*

THOMAS WALL was a young man of a social and happy disposition, of sincere piety, and of some talents, which, had he lived to cultivate them, would "have gained other talents beside them." But his missionary career was short, and his sun went down, like that of many others in this part of the field, almost before it had reached its zenith: it only set, however, to rise with brighter lustre, and in a nobler clime. During his brief

* See "Missionary Notices," vol. ix. pp. 6, 7.

sojourn of about eight months at the Gambia, he was studious, diligent, affectionate, and faithful in his pastoral and other ministerial duties, and was a very acceptable and useful preacher. With one or two slight exceptions, he enjoyed excellent health and spirits from the time of his arrival up to the fatal paroxysm which terminated his mortal career: he appeared sanguine about getting safe through the "rains," and hoped to labour for some length of time in his Master's vineyard. But it was otherwise determined by Him "who cannot err." His lamented decease took place on the 24th of August, 1838, precisely twelve months after that of Mr. Wilkinson, who preceded him on this station; and, like his excellent predecessor, he preached on the Sunday (August 19th) previous to his death, was well on the Monday, but the following day complained of indisposition. On Wednesday he sent for the doctor; but even at that early period he appeared to be suffering more from debility than fever; consequently, stimulants were administered, but with little or no good results. He was aware of his approaching end, and frequently engaged in prayer, in which he was joined by the assistant and some of the leaders and local preachers. On Thursday he was no better, though visited several times during the day by the doctor, and other Europeans; and four or five of the native converts were with him night and day. During that evening, he was gradually sinking into the arms of death; and about six o'clock on Friday morning, August 24th, he gently breathed his last. He had expressed a wish to be interred in the burying-ground, in preference to the chapel; and he was there buried. He also requested a friend to lock the mission-house doors, &c., till the writer came down. Some of his last words were addressed to the assistants and local preachers, who were around his bed: he caught hold of the hand of one of them, whose name was Sack M'Cumba, and said with considerable energy, "Sack, do all you can to save sinners!" On Sunday, September 23d, the writer preached his funeral sermon from Phil. i. 21, "To die is gain."

Towards the close of October, Mr. and Mrs. Swallow came down from the upper station, the former having been again dangerously ill, and still very unwell; and as the author had continued in a debilitated state, and a favourable opportunity offered of taking a trip to Goree, we embraced it, and left St. Mary's on the 30th of that month. Our stay was short; but the sea-air was refreshing to us all; and we returned to the

Gambia on the 9th of November, and found things connected with the society all well. Goree is a French settlement, about ninety miles to the north of the Gambia. It is a small, rocky island, a few miles from the mainland, well fortified, and contains a population of about seven thousand souls, six sevenths of whom are slaves. There is a good-sized Catholic church in the place; but the morals of the people are at a very low ebb.

On the 30th of November, the brig "Ocean" arrived from London, bringing Mr. and Mrs. Moss for Macarthy's Island, and Mr. Thomas Edwards for Sierra-Leone. The latter proceeded for his destination in a few days, and, Mr. Swallow continuing ill, the writer accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Moss to Macarthy's Island, which place we reached on the 12th of December. About the middle of this month, Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson arrived at St. Mary's, to succeed Mr. Wall; and the writer having introduced Mr. Moss to the society and friends at the upper station, and attended to some other matters connected with the mission, he returned to St. Mary's on the 3d of January, 1839, and was sorry to find Mr. Swallow was little or no better; and, being strongly recommended by his medical attendant and others to return to England, he at length consented.

On the 7th of January Mr. Henry Fleet arrived at Sierra-Leone, having experienced the painful loss of his wife at sea, a short time before the vessel reached the coast. They had embarked at Gravesend on the 19th of November, but had to encounter severe weather in the Channel, being met by several gales from the south-west. They contended with the weather till they had suffered some damage, and had dismissed almost all hope of safety. But, by a gracious Providence, they were enabled to regain shelter off Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, where they experienced the kindest and most hospitable attentions from the friends of missions; and their vessel was again refitted for their voyage. Mr. Fleet wrote from that place on the eve of their re-embarkation; adding that, through mercy, Mrs. Fleet and himself were quite well, and felt happy in the prospect before them of being actually engaged in the arduous, yet most glorious, work of their Redeemer. But soon after they put to sea again, Mrs. Fleet was taken ill with the typhus-fever, probably superinduced by a slight cold which she had taken during the previous dreadful storms and privations in the English Channel. She never recovered, but died when within fifty miles of their destined port.

Of Mrs. FLEET's personal history beyond the preceding, the writer is unable to speak; but though she never put her feet on mission soil, it is evident she possessed a missionary spirit. It was in her heart to have laboured in the field: God saw the will, and took it for the deed; and as she was crossing the "wide blue sea," and approaching near to the inhospitable shores of Western Africa, He said, "It is enough: come up hither!" and she entered, and gained that blessed port above,

"Where all the ship's company meet
Who sail'd with the Saviour beneath."*

The effects of the dreadful gales from the south-west which occurred at this time were generally felt on the English coast; and we have now to record another and still more painful dispensation of Divine Providence, in connexion with "the perils of the sea." Mr. and Mrs. Peard had embarked for St. Mary's on the 23d of November, in the "Columbine," a small, but comfortable and good-sailing, brig, a regular trader to the Gambia, which had carried out several missionaries on different occasions. But the vessel was unable to bear up against the terrible hurricane which blew along the coast on the 27th and 28th of that month, and was wrecked on the morning of the latter date, on the Chesil Beach, off Wyke, near Weymouth, where she was dashed to atoms; and all on board, including four respectable passengers, besides the missionary and his wife, found a watery grave!

On this melancholy intelligence reaching London, Dr. Alder, one of the general secretaries, immediately set off for Weymouth, in order to ascertain whether the bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Peard had been washed ashore; and, if so, to see that all proper attention should be paid to their remains. Though nine

* The author cannot withhold a painful fact which has come to his knowledge, in connexion with the voyage to Sierra-Leone, in which this excellent female was the greatest sufferer. The sailors, it appears, had on that occasion resolved to renew the *heathenish* practice of paying respect to Neptune, when crossing the tropical line; and as this occurred at a critical time of Mrs. Fleet's illness, it proved very injurious to her health, from the excitement into which she was thrown, through fear that her husband would be compelled by the rough and unthinking crew to pass through the same barbarous ordeal. Such a catastrophe cannot but be deeply lamented. The captain of the vessel has long since been dead, and none of the parties were known to the writer; but he has felt it his duty to place it upon record, in the hope that such instances of folly and wickedness may be speedily and entirely abolished on board the British vessels; or, at all events, that those who are intrusted with the command of a ship will take care that the health and lives of their passengers shall not be endangered by such an unseemly and brutish ceremony.

vessels, with their crews and passengers, were lost during the same gales, and near the same place, Dr. Alder succeeded in identifying the body of Mr. Peard, which had been buried in the same grave with thirteen others. He therefore had it removed, and the next day it was respectably interred in the burial-ground connected with the Wesleyan chapel at Portland; and in a few days afterwards the body of Mrs. Peard was discovered, and was buried in the same place. This was some small relief to their distressed parents, and other friends. Mr. Peard was in the twenty-fourth year of his age at the time of his death, and the reader will find a brief record of him in the Minutes of the Conference for 1839; and further particulars of this fatal shipwreck are given in a letter addressed to the parents of Mr. and Mrs. Peard, by Dr. Alder, which was printed in the "Missionary Notices" for January of that year. That their death, though a painful loss to their friends and to the mission, was to them a glorious gain, there can be no doubt. But we may truly say, "How unsearchable are thy judgments, O Lord, and thy ways are past finding out!"

The author was at this time at St. Mary's, closing his accounts with that station, aiding Mr. Parkinson in the mission, and rendering all the assistance he could to his afflicted colleague, Mr. Swallow. His own health was not good; and on Sunday, January 27th, 1839, Mr. Moss arrived from Macarthy's Island with the melancholy tidings that his dear wife had expired on the 22d.

Mrs. Moss's maiden name was Mallin. She was a native of West Bromwich, and was in early life truly converted to God. She was united in marriage to Mr. Moss a short time before they sailed for the Gambia, and, as already stated, arrived at St. Mary's on the 30th of November, 1838; soon after which she proceeded with her husband to Macarthy's Island; and the author left them there at the end of December, both well in health, and happy in their work. A few days afterwards Mrs. Moss was attacked with the country fever; but no danger was apprehended, either by the doctor, herself, or her husband. But the "king of terrors" did not find her unprepared. On the day on which she exchanged mortality for life, in reply to questions on the subject of experimental religion, she gave the most satisfactory testimony that "all was well," and more than once exclaimed, "God is mine, and I am his!" Some of her last words were, "Christ is precious!" "Happy, happy!" And on Tuesday evening, January 22d, 1839, she gently

breathed her last. Mrs. Moss was an amiable, modest, and sincere Christian, holding sweet communion with God. She loved the cause of missions; and though her days of actual service in the field were few, she had expressed herself to the writer as never being so happy in her life; and in reference to the future, she could leave it with God; adding, "Should it please Him to call me hence in this distant part of the world, I have no doubt of being received into that 'house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" Her last words gave still further evidence that she is "for ever with the Lord."

The reader will probably recollect that a Mr. Fisher was expected, about twelve months previous to this, to take charge of the agricultural and civilization department of the mission at Macarthy's Island; but that he was detained by a "temporary indisposition." That affliction having proved fatal, some time was necessarily occupied in selecting another suitable person in his place; and it was not until the middle of February of the year 1839 that Mr. Spencer the agriculturist arrived. This was a great relief to the writer, who had had the whole of the secular matters of that peculiar and important mission devolving upon him up to that period. By Mr. Spencer, and the brethren who had preceded him, the author received several communications from the secretaries, among which was the following printed document from the new civilization committee, with the standing Resolutions annexed:—

CIVILIZATION OF THE FOULAHS, AND OTHER ABORIGINES, OF WESTERN AFRICA.

THE mission at Macarthy's Island, on the Gambia, Western Africa, was undertaken with the view of communicating the blessings of Christianity, and its attendant civilization, to the Foulah tribes and the aboriginal population generally. Affected especially by the oppressed and suffering condition of the pastoral Foulahs, Dr. Lindoe and his friends engaged to furnish the Wesleyan Missionary Society, for the term of five years, with the sum of £350 per annum; towards supporting one European missionary and two native teachers, who should be employed in instructing and promoting the welfare of these interesting people, and other native tribes among whom they dwell. It was also proposed to connect with the direct and proper work of the mission, such efforts as circumstances might admit for improving the temporal condition of those who might be brought under the beneficial influence of Christian instruction, and who might thereby be disposed to devote themselves to the settled pursuits of civilized life. The success which has attended the experiment, calls for the most grateful acknowledgments. Upwards of two hundred natives have already embraced Christianity, and are united together in church-fellowship; the Mandingo language, which is very generally used in that part of Western Africa, even by the Foulahs, although they have a language of their own, has been reduced to grammatical form, and a grammar and elementary books have been printed; the Gospels have been translated into that language, and that of

St. Matthew has been printed, by the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society; a good school is in successful operation; and the missionaries are encouraged to persevere in their labours, by the increasing desire manifested by the people to obtain instruction. The civilizing department of the work has been the occasion of much solicitude. Hopes were entertained that a tract of country would be procured on the main-land, and that many of the Foulahs might be induced to settle upon it in a body; which would have afforded facilities for communicating instruction to them in a more efficient manner, and on a larger scale. These hopes have not as yet been realized; but, in the mean time, the commencement of a Foulah village, called Lindoe-Morgan, has been made at Macarthy's Island; many other natives have had land allotted to them there; and the necessary implements of husbandry have been sent for their use from this country.

The term of five years, during which the Southampton Committee had engaged to make provision for the support of this important undertaking, having expired, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society having now taken upon itself the entire future maintenance of the mission department of the work, Dr. Lindoe and others have resolved to form themselves into a new committee for the purpose of carrying out such plans as may appear best calculated to promote civilization among the natives. They are anxious to follow the footsteps of the missionary; to instruct those who have been rendered docile by his teaching how to advance by useful labour the temporal welfare of themselves and their children; and to communicate, by the means which may be placed at their disposal, the blessings of social, civilized life, to the greatest possible extent. The following ministers and gentlemen have agreed to act as the new committee:—

President, Lieutenant-General Orde.

Treasurers, Robert Lindoe, M.D., Robert Howard.

Secretary, John S. Elliott.

Committee, Henry Pownall, Thomas Gurney, Thomas Farmer, Robert Heath, M.A., Jabez Bunting, D.D., John Beecham, Robert Alder, Elijah Hoole.

Corresponding Member, B. H. Draper, D.D., late secretary to the Southampton Committee.

At their first meeting, the committee agreed upon certain principles or rules of action, which they embodied in the subjoined resolutions:—

1. The committee do not commence their endeavours to promote the civilization of the Foulahs and other aborigines of Western Africa, in the spirit of commercial speculation. They regard the enterprise as a work of pure philanthropy, on which they enter solely with a view to the benefit of the natives; and disclaim all intention of seeking to derive from it any personal pecuniary advantage whatever.

2. The committee, convinced that experience has now clearly shown the impracticability of preparing the heathen for the reception of the gospel by any previous civilizing process, and being moreover persuaded that the gospel itself is the principal means of civilization; propose, in their operations, not to precede, but follow, the missionary, for the purpose of accelerating the advance of the arts of civilized life among the natives, whose minds are already influenced by the great truths of Christianity.

3. As the native members, upwards of two hundred in number, under the care of the Wesleyan missionaries at the Foulah mission-station, reside at Macarthy's Island, the committee propose, in the first instance, to afford them instruction, and furnish them with implements to enable them to cultivate the six hundred acres of land granted by His late Majesty's Government for the use of the Wesleyan mission in that island.

4. To prevent abuse, and to preserve the agents who may be employed in this

undertaking from the temptation of seeking to advance their own interests to the neglect of the natives, a sufficient salary shall be paid by the committee to all the hired agents; and they shall not be left, as was at first proposed, to obtain part of their salary from the produce of the soil.

5. The senior missionaries who may have charge of the Wesleyan stations at St. Mary's and Macarthy's Island, with Charles Grant, Esq., shall be requested to act as a local sub-committee, who shall correspond with the committee in London, and by whose counsel and advice the superintendent of the civilization department shall be expected to act. If considerable difference of opinion should arise on any question between the superintendent and the local sub-committee, the case shall be referred home to the committee for decision.

6. That a suitable person be immediately engaged to proceed to Macarthy's Island for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements for commencing operations on the six hundred acres of land; and that the committee postpone the consideration of the question respecting the number of agents which shall be employed, and the future extension of their plans, until his report shall have been received.

The committee embraced an early opportunity of submitting a sketch of their undertaking, with a copy of these resolutions, to the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, Her Majesty's principal secretary of state for the colonial department; with which his lordship was pleased to express his entire satisfaction, at the same time assuring the committee that he would instruct the lieutenant-governor of Her Majesty's settlements at Bathurst, in the Gambia, to cause every facility to be afforded to the establishment of the Wesleyan Missionary Society at Macarthy's Island, with a view to give effect to the intentions of this auxiliary institution.

In pursuance of the last resolution, the committee engaged an individual of excellent character, whose mechanical skill, combined with a practical knowledge of agriculture and gardening, eminently fitted him for the task, to proceed to Macarthy's Island, in order to take the management of the civilization department, and form plans for a more extended system of operation; but they regret to state that his departure has been prevented by a severe lingering illness, with which he was attacked when on the very eve of embarkation. The committee, however, have determined to send out, as speedily as possible, two other individuals, one an agriculturist and the other a mechanist; being persuaded, from recent communications, that the services of both are necessary to give effect to the existing arrangements for instructing the natives.

A proposal has also been made to the committee to commence an Institution at Macarthy's Island, for the purpose more especially of educating the sons of the native kings and powerful chiefs, as well as others. The plan has been submitted to competent persons well acquainted with Western Africa, by whom it has been pronounced as admirably adapted to promote the instruction and improvement of the people; and the committee are prepared to make the experiment of commencing such an Institution, on a limited scale, should they be encouraged to do so by the liberality of their friends.

Having made this brief statement of their views and objects, the committee confidently appeal for support to all those who are interested in the welfare of Africa; and especially to those who have already, by their contribution to the Southampton Committee, practically manifested their approval of this very undertaking. It cannot be, that a work which has been so prosperously begun, shall be left to languish through want of necessary support. Adequate means for its prosecution will, it is trusted, be provided; and the missionary and civilization establishment on the

Gambia, under the Divine blessing, cannot then fail to be of the greatest good to many of the present generation of the sable sons and daughters of Western Africa, and to transmit its benefit to numbers yet unborn.

Signed, on behalf of the committee,

ROBERT LINDOE,
ROBERT HOWARD, } *Treasurers,*

JOHN S. ELLIOTT, *Secretary.*

Subscriptions and Donations will be thankfully received by Robert Howard, the Treasurer, at Tottenham; at the bank of Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, 1, Lombard-street, London; and by any member of the Committee.

London, July 16th, 1838.

From the preceding the reader may form some idea of what was now contemplated; and Mr. Spencer, who had also written instructions, having arrived at St. Mary's with the necessary implements for cultivation, &c., proceeded in a few days to Macarthy's Island, accompanied by Mr. Moss.

On the 25th of February, Mr. and Mrs. Swallow embarked on board the "General Brock" for England, on account of the protracted and peculiar sickness of the former. He had with him a medical certificate, and was followed by the sympathies and prayers of all his brethren, and many other friends. It was gratifying to find that his health so far recovered, that he was able to take an English circuit at the ensuing Conference.

By a reference to the Minutes of the Conference for 1838, the reader will find a note under the appointments for Western Africa; namely, "N.B. William Fox is returning home;" and in a letter which he received shortly afterwards from Dr. Beecham, one of the general secretaries, this was communicated to him in the following very respectful and kind manner:—

You would learn from the printed Stations that we had determined on relieving you by sending an additional missionary to Macarthy's Island, to enable you to return home. We cannot think of keeping you any longer at your post, in such painful circumstances as you have latterly been, separated from your wife and child.* We earnestly hope you will come home safe and well, and that many years of domestic comfort and useful public labours will be vouchsafed to you.

It is almost needless to add, that, from his dear wife and friends, he received equal or still more pressing letters upon the subject; and that, owing to the note in the Minutes above alluded to, he had been almost daily expected, though he did not fail to write, stating the cause, or rather combination of causes and circumstances, which detained him. These will probably have occurred to the reader in perusing the preceding pages. Mr. Wall, it will be recollected, was removed by death at the very

* A son and only child, whom, though at that time more than three years old, his father had never beheld.

time that the Minutes of the Conference were going through the press; and Mr. Swallow's peculiar sickness, which obliged him to leave the Coast, had rendered him, for some months previous to that, incapable of doing much work; and Mr. Moss had scarcely entered upon his labours at Macarthy's Island, ere death removed his excellent wife, which wounded him so deeply, that he instantly came down to St. Mary's for a change of air and scene. Besides, there had been no one till now to take charge of the civilization department at the upper station.

But though the Gambia mission had sustained a succession of losses at this period, and previously in the death of Mr. Wall and Mrs. Moss, and in the melancholy and fatal shipwreck of Mr. and Mrs. Peard, as also in the removal of Mr. and Mrs. Swallow; yet as the station at St. Mary's had now a married missionary, (Mr. Parkinson,) and Mr. Moss had returned to his station with his health and spirits recruited, and having the benefit of the society of Mr. and Mrs. Spencer, with the valuable aid of the former as a local preacher, and of the latter in superintending domestic matters, as well as assisting in the female day-school, the way appeared to be opened for my return; and in a few days after Mr. Swallow's departure for England, I proceeded to Macarthy's Island, with the remainder of the implements, tools, &c., which had been brought out by Mr. Spencer. I arrived there on the 13th of March; and to my regret found Mr. Spencer was ill with the country fever. This detained me longer than I had intended to remain; but,—having improved the death of Mrs. Moss, closed my accounts with that station, rendered all the assistance in my power to the mission and the brethren there, (Mr. Spencer having partly recovered from his attack of fever,) and having taken my farewell of the society, many of whom gave practical proofs of their Christian affection,—I returned to St. Mary's, which place I reached on Thursday, April 18th.

On arriving there between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, the writer was met on the beach by an European gentleman, who said, "Mr. Fox, I am glad you are here; you have just arrived in time!" On asking what was the matter, he was informed that the town was in a state of insurrection, and that the soldiers and militia were to be called out early in the morning, as some liberated Africans and discharged soldiers had taken forcible possession of a small vessel, said to belong to a Mr. H.; and though a warrant had been issued, and the Riot Act read, the parties had refused to give it up. Having a few letters to deliver at one or two places, where he heard in sub-

stance the same statement, he hastened to the mission-house, and found it was even so; indeed he met, on the way there, a military officer with a small guard of soldiers patrolling the streets, and the excitement was general. The origin and cause of this disturbance the author recorded at the time; but as he took some part in allaying it, and happily succeeded in preventing an open rupture,—to avoid even the appearance of egotism, he prefers giving the particulars of this affair in the words of Mr. Parkinson, who communicated them to the committee in the following document, here transcribed from the original in Mr. Parkinson's handwriting. It is headed,—

EXTRACTS FROM J. PARKINSON'S JOURNAL.

Thursday, April 18th.—This has been an eventful day. Going accidentally into the town, I met Mr. G., (a magistrate,) who told me the colony was in a state of partial insurrection, and had been so for two or three days. At this I was much surprised, as I had neither seen nor heard any thing of it, and our evening services were attended as usual. He said a vessel belonging to Mr. C. II. had been forcibly taken out of the river by J. G., an Eboo, assisted by an armed party of Eboos and Calabars, and carried round into a creek just beyond Half Dye, where these people resisted the civil authorities, sent to take possession of her under a magistrate's warrant for felony. As many of our people belong to these nations, I was afraid that some of them might be implicated; and immediately proceeded to the place where she was lying, to try if I could persuade them to give her up, and retire peaceably to their homes. As I was going, I met a party of men, some of whom I knew, (although they were not members of society,) going quietly enough in an opposite direction to that in which the vessel lay. I spoke to them, and they told me that the people would not allow any one to go near her. They also said the vessel did not belong to Mr. II., but to J. G.; that Mr. II. had taken her fraudulently from him, and he could obtain no justice from the magistrates. I returned home, and hearing that the people in the neighbourhood of Soldiers'-Town* were in a high state of excitement, I went there, and found three magistrates, Messrs. I., P., and G., and the queen's advocate, endeavouring to disperse the people, and persuade them to resign the cutter. This they refused to do, unless the magistrates or myself took possession of her personally, or gave security that she should not be injured. Whilst we were speaking to them, a mob, apparently from the neighbourhood of the vessel, rushed down upon us, and would, I doubt not, have seriously injured the magistrates, if the very people, whom they afterwards took up and punished as ringleaders, had not formed a line across the street and kept them off. For myself I had no fear. Having gone up on the horse, I jumped upon him, and rode a few steps into the mob, and they never attempted to injure me. The magistrates, finding they could not prevail upon the people to comply with their wishes, returned to their homes, and I accompanied them. On our way back, they proposed to see the commandant, and request him to call out the military, expressing, at the same time, a doubt as to whether they would act against the people.† I

* J. G. resides in Soldiers'-Town.

† Many of the soldiers in the barracks, and some of the discharged soldiers who composed the militia, being of the same nation or tribe as J. G.

suggested the propriety of complying with the wishes of the people, by a magistrate taking the vessel personally. This, however, the queen's advocate said would create a bad precedent, and therefore ought not to be done. Of course, I was then silent. Being very anxious to prevent a collision between these poor people and the military, I went there a third time, when I was again told, that if I would take possession of the vessel, it should be given to me then, or that J. G. would bring her into the river opposite the court-house on Saturday morning following, when the right of property was to be decided. It appears that, shortly after J. G. was arrested for feloniously taking the vessel, he was let out of prison on bail, and the case appointed to be tried on the Saturday morning. His seizure and detention of the vessel alone compelled them to try the right of property to her. For, previously to J. G.'s taking her by force, he had been to the governor to complain of Mr. H. depriving him of his property. The governor told him to go to a magistrate. He went to Mr. S. Mr. S. referred him to Mr. I., the clerk of the courts. Mr. I. directed him to obtain a summons for Mr. H., and carry it to Mr. S. to sign. This J. did, when Mr. S. refused to interfere. Afterwards J. sought the advice of Mr. F., one of the first merchants in the colony, although not a magistrate, who told him to go and take his vessel. And, of course, J. concluded that, if he had a right to take her, he had a right to keep her, until the court decided otherwise. In the evening I preached at Soldiers'-Town chapel, to a very large congregation. About eleven o'clock the brethren Fox and Moss arrived here from Macarthy's Island. I gave them the particulars of the affair, when brother Fox proposed to go and see the people, to which I assented. We sent a servant to inform them that we were coming, and in about fifteen minutes J. G. and two more came to the mission-house to see brother Fox. Brother Fox told them they had better give the vessel up, and disperse the people, or it would lead to serious consequences.* This they promised to do. And, at the request of Lieutenant S., who called at the mission-house in the interim, brother Fox, J. G., and myself, went to the commandant, (the governor being at Macarthy's Island,) to tell him the people would give up the vessel, and disperse. The commandant thought that we had better go to the magistrates early in the morning, and tell them, as he was acting under their orders. We retired to rest soon after twelve o'clock, praising God for his varied mercies to us, both spiritually and temporally; that he had not only preserved us, but made us, especially brother Fox, instrumental in preventing bloodshed; for such, I am certain, must have been the case, had he not wisely exercised the influence he possesses over them.

19th.—I rose soon after five, and accompanied brother Fox to see if the people had really dispersed. All was quiet, and not a soul about. We called upon Mr. G., and informed him. He could not credit the statement, and said we were deceived. He seems determined to have the people severely punished. About eleven o'clock we saw the military and civil force moving in the direction of the vessel, accompanied by three magistrates, Messrs. I., B., and P. Brethren Fox, Moss, and myself procured horses, and rode up with them. On arriving there, not a person was to be seen about her. It appeared their object was to seize the vessel.

* The reason of this message being sent was, that the author was taking supper; so that, before we had time to proceed to them, they, as above stated, came to us, when the writer promised them he would attend the court-house, and do his utmost to see they had justice done to them. They paid a deference to his advice, no doubt, from the fact of his being the senior missionary, and Mr. Parkinson being a comparative stranger.

However, a difficulty arose. She was in the bush some distance up the creek, and none of them liked to venture on board, not even the directing magistrate, although he was heavily armed. A consultation amongst them was held, when they decided to send the constable in the first boat, and directed him to make a sign if he found any resistance.* To show that we had a complete assurance of their dispersion, brother Fox requested permission to go with the constable in the first boat, I did the same, and brother Moss came without it. We had nearly arrived at the vessel, when we beheld Mr. I., and some other Europeans, just setting off from the bank to *accompany* us. He followed very cautiously. Brother Fox and myself were the first to jump on board the vessel. All was still, for she was entirely deserted. In a few minutes after Mr. I. came; and, as soon as he decently could, left her, expressing his thanks to us for our conduct, and requesting us to stay until she was out of the creek, until, in fact, there was no danger. We did so, and landed in about an hour and a half at Half Dye.

Our servants had brought us the horses, and, as we were riding leisurely back, we saw the soldiery and the militia parading the town to capture what they termed the ringleaders. One gentleman requested Mr. Fox to show him the residence of one of them, which he did; and we then rode round with them to the houses of some of the others, in order to allay any excitement that might be produced by their foolish and unnecessary conduct, in bringing out the entire military and civil force of the colony, to arrest about a dozen men, although, so far as we could perceive, there was no attempt made to resist the execution of the warrant by the civil power.

20th.—I attended the court-house all day, along with my brethren; and so monstrous a perversion of justice I never saw. The ownership of the vessel was first tried. It was clearly proved she belonged to J. G.; Mr. H., in the first place, having obtained possession of her by fraud. It appears he hired her from J., and then sought to detain her on the ground that J. owed him a debt, and gave him a bill of sale of the vessel to liquidate it; although I heard Mr. P. myself on the part of Mr. H. offer J. G. the difference between the value of the vessel and the debt, *after* J. had taken her. This instrument, which was drawn up by a Mulatto named T. L., on the part of Mr. H., was meant to give him possession of a vessel for 150 dollars which was well worth 600. After much equivocation, this man confessed that, although it was considered now by Mr. H. a *bonâ fide* bill of sale, it could hardly be termed one when it was drawn up. And one of the signing witnesses (a European) confessed that he did not see J. G. sign it, and knew not what he signed himself.

In consequence of this the vessel was adjudged to J. G., and Mr. I. told him, that he had a right to take her by force.

The magistrates afterwards proceeded to try and punish these poor men for doing that which Mr. I. said J. G. had a right to do. Originally they were committed for felony; but afterwards that charge was abandoned, and they were punished for a misdemeanour. I was the first witness called upon to prove what the magistrates conceived to be the charge. I most respectfully declined to give my testimony, as I had assisted the magistrates with my influence and entreaty as much as I could,

* The magistrates were of opinion, that probably some of the party were in the hold of the vessel, and that, on the near approach of any one to take possession of it, they would instantly rise and cut them down; or, if not in the vessel, that they were lying in ambush close by, and, from their hiding-place, would fire upon them.

and told them I thought they had not acted towards us with that delicacy which they might have done, especially as I saw several persons present whose attendance had been required to prove the charge. They were, however, peremptory, and I proceeded to give my evidence. I briefly narrated the circumstances detailed on a preceding page; explicitly declaring, that I saw none of the men under examination engaged in riotous proceedings. I only heard some of them remonstrating with the magistrates about J. G. giving her up unreservedly to the constable, and saying that she would be given up either to the magistrates or to myself, because we would take care of her; and also that, so far from these men attempting to injure the magistrates, they kept off the mob when it rushed down upon them, and in all human probability saved their lives. Other evidence to the same effect was given. But, in despite of all this, some of the people were fined 5 dollars each, others, 2 dollars; and a parcel of women, who were merely looking on, 10s. each; and J. G. and four or five more remanded until the Monday.

22d.—I again went to the court, when J. G., and the others who had been remanded, were brought up. After adducing evidence of a similar kind to that on Saturday, J. G. was fined £10 sterling for doing that which Mr. I. told him on the Saturday he had a right to do, namely, taking his vessel and keeping her,* and three or four others were imprisoned. One of these poor fellows, J. C., was imprisoned for a fortnight, simply because Mr. I. demanded a knife from him, which he refused to give up. The poor fellow had been cutting wood in the bush with this knife, which he had by his side. Hearing the disturbance, he came to see what was the matter, knew nothing about the Riot Act being read, and had no connexion with the people; and under these circumstances, naturally thinking that he had a better right to his own knife than Mr. I., he refused to give it up.† Had it not been for the presence of three missionaries, I am convinced the poor people would have been much more severely handled. As it was, I could scarcely restrain my indignation at the abominable proceeding of these men passing a definitive sentence on the poor people, when all they ought to have done, even if the crime had been proved, was to commit them to the sessions. And it is the opinion of many, that, had they done so, the people must have been acquitted. "Surely there is a God that judgeth in the earth!"

In the publication of the preceding statement, the author has no other object in view than truth and justice: he totally disclaims any feelings of acrimony against any person, or number of persons, who took part in those proceedings. He has given the facts of the case by an eye-witness; the principal part of which came under his own observation; and he thinks them too important to be withheld from the public. His chief reason for placing the whole matter upon record, is to show, what must have already appeared to the reader's mind, that wherever the

* Here the author thinks Mr. Parkinson is a little in error: the magistrate stated that J. G. had a right to take possession of his own property, as it proved to be his; but that he acted wrong in *not* giving up the vessel to the jailer, on the authority of a warrant; and for *that* he was fined £10. But was there no mistake or blunder committed, we may ask, in issuing a warrant to take by force, from a man, his own property of which he had regained rightful possession?

† This he stated in court, and could not be contradicted.

gospel is preached and Christian missions are established, there is, in connexion with them, a powerful moral influence, which is felt even by the masses of the unconverted part of the native tribes, and which is superior to the constable's staff, the magistrate's warrant, the reading of the Riot Act by the queen's advocate, or the clangour of military arms; and that Wesleyan missionaries are quite willing to exercise that influence for the peace and welfare of the community, even when they have reason to fear that the poor Blacks are the injured party.

The Europeans at the Gambia on this occasion witnessed these two facts, and the magistrates could not but acknowledge them, though not in a formal manner. One of them, it will be seen from Mr. Parkinson's journal, on leaving the vessel, "expressed his thanks to us for our conduct, and requested us to stay until she was out of the creek; until, in fact, there was no danger." And another magistrate, who thought "the missionaries were deceived" when one of them informed him that the natives had dispersed, was heard to say while on the bench, or at the close of the proceedings, "*That* Fox possesses amazing influence with these darkies." The result is not attributable to the missionaries, but to the Spirit and presence of their Divine Master. But we all felt thankful that He had used us as his instruments in preventing bloodshed, and in saving the colony from a civil war, which, in all probability, would have ensued.

A few days after this affair was settled, the writer, accompanied by Messrs. Parkinson and Moss, who had gone with him down to St. Mary's, paid a visit to the king of Barra, at Berrending, about two hours' ride inland from the opposite bank of the river; and, after an agreeable interview with him and several of the old men of the capital, we proceeded on horseback to Jillifree, through a most delightful and fertile champaign country, studded with beautiful trees, shrubs, plants, and flowers of various descriptions. Shortly after, a similar journey was undertaken to the king of Combo, on the south bank of the Gambia, not far distant from St. Mary's. The object of these visits was to ascertain the intentions of the chiefs, and whether they would be disposed to place their children at the institution, which we intended to erect at Macarthy's Island, for the education of the sons of native kings and chiefs. We found both of them well-disposed towards the project; and on a subsequent visit which the writer paid to the king of Barra, he promised that as soon as the building was erected, he would place some of his children under our care to be educated; and on

leaving, the missionary was presented with a fine young bullock, as a token of friendship.

In about three weeks after the author's return from Macarthy's Island, Mr. Spencer, the superintendent of the agricultural and civilization department, came down to St. Mary's in a very weak state; and as his return to England seemed the only way of saving his life, the writer was greatly distressed; and at one time had almost determined, in the event of Mr. Spencer's removal from the island, that he would himself remain another year, as he knew the return of the agriculturist, so soon after his arrival, would be an additional disappointment to the praiseworthy exertions and princely liberality of some of the members of the committee of that department of the mission. But as he was now only waiting for a favourable opportunity to embark, and as it was desirable that he should have an interview with the committee in London on several matters connected with the Gambia mission, his own health also requiring a change, to say nothing of the claims of his dear wife, and as yet unknown child, and as his brethren strongly urged him, for these reasons, not to remain, he at length decided, feeling satisfied that it was the path of duty; and at the end of May he engaged a passage for himself and for Mr. and Mrs. Spencer on board the "Fame;" but we did not embark till about a fortnight afterwards.*

The mission at Sierra-Leone about this time sustained another loss in the death of Mr. Fleet.

HENRY FLEET died at Sierra-Leone on the 30th of May, 1839, just one week less than five months after his arrival there, under the peculiar and painful circumstances which we have already narrated. But though he bowed with humility to the afflictive dispensation in the loss of his wife, it appears that he never rallied after that melancholy event: the loss of his beloved partner under such circumstances was more than his sensitive mind could bear. He was a deeply pious and devoted man, and had anticipated much pleasure in preaching to the sable sons of Ham "the unsearchable riches of Christ:" but after a few short months he was seized with the country fever. His last illness was brief, but accompanied with much consola-

* It is due to Mr. Spencer to say, that he would gladly have remained had his health permitted; that he had two medical certificates, recommending his return to Europe as the only probability of his recovery; and that both he and his excellent wife wept with grief, at being obliged so soon to leave the honourable post assigned to them.

tion. His confidence never failed in the prospect of dissolution; and with a full and blessed hope of eternal happiness, he entered into rest, in the twenty-second year of his age.

The mission at the Gold-Coast had been gradually rising under the energetic exertions of Mr. Freeman; and it was in the spring of 1839 that he paid his first enterprising visit to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, the interesting particulars of which the reader may find in the "Missionary Notices" for January, 1840, with some brief historical notes by Dr. Beccam.

On the 12th of June the author embarked on board the brigantine "Fame," with Mr. and Mrs. Spencer, bound for London, accompanied some distance by Messrs. Parkinson and Moss, several other friends, and many of our people, some of whom were on board the cutter "Crown," which had been kindly lent for the occasion. He had received every mark of Christian respect and affection from the society, both at Macarthy's Island and at St. Mary's, with many expressions of desire for his return, both from his brethren in the ministry, the assistants, and members, some of which were addressed to him in writing. On this subject he finds it recorded in his journal as follows: "My time and talents are the Lord's; and if He again says, 'Go,' by his help I will do so. Our dear little boy will be an obstacle; but if we have to leave him, I trust that the same kind providence which has preserved his father in a sickly clime, will also preserve the son in a more favourable one."

We anchored that evening in the channel, and our friends returned in the "Crown;" when the author wrote, "May the God of missions bless and preserve them! If I am not permitted to see them again in the flesh, I trust I shall live to hear of the Gambia mission abundantly prospering, and meet them all at last in our Father's house above."

The particulars of the voyage we pass over. It is sufficient to say that we arrived at Weymouth on the evening of the 24th of July, and on the morning of the 26th the writer reached London, and was cordially received at the Mission-House by the Rev. Elijah Hoole, the other secretaries being then absent at the Conference. Early on the following morning, Saturday, 27th, he arrived at Smethwick,* where his reception may be more easily conceived than expressed. Tears of joy and gratitude ran down many cheeks; and that meeting will not soon be forgotten. Here

* Near Birmingham, though in the West-Bromwich circuit.

was a husband and a father, who had long been separated from his beloved wife, and who had been mercifully preserved in a sickly clime, and throughout a perilous sea-voyage, brought, by the good providence of God, to behold once more, in peace and safety, in his own native land, all that he held most dear on earth; and the emotions of his heart on that occasion will never be erased from his memory. What he felt, when, after the first warm greetings from his wife, he gazed upon the fine bright eye and lovely features and form of his dear child, now beheld by him for the first time, although nearly four years old, can only be understood by those who have been placed in similar circumstances, and can never be adequately described.

On the author's return and safe arrival at home, he found that the Stationing Committee had kindly appointed him to a respectable circuit in the immediate neighbourhood of Smethwick; and as the annual Conference commenced its sittings on the following Wednesday, he proceeded to Liverpool to enjoy the society of his fathers and brethren in the ministry, and to derive instruction and profit from their deliberations and prayers, their addresses and pulpit discourses.

As he was aware that, immediately on his arrival in England, he would be prevented from having any lengthened interview with the general secretaries or Missionary Committee, on account of the Conference being close at hand, or actually assembled, he had, during the voyage, prepared a lengthy statement or report of the Gambia mission, which he left at the Mission-House in London.

On reaching Liverpool, the writer was sorry to find that there was no additional missionary appointed to the Gambia; in fact, there was less help now than at the previous Conference, independent of his own presence there during the year; and, taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of the station at Macarthy's Island, with the unexpected return of the agriculturist, and there being no immediate prospect of any missionary of a few years' standing being sent out, he once more volunteered his services for Western Africa, and was appointed accordingly.

This was not a hasty offer: it had occupied his serious consideration, with much prayer to God, for some time. His friends generally did not think with him upon the subject; but his dear wife nobly responding to it, he was satisfied. There was, however, one difficulty—in their dear child. They had buried one infant on the banks of the Gambia; and to take the present one there, who had been born in England, would be

running a great risk. The father proposed leaving him behind ; but the mother thought she could not consent to that. This matter was, therefore, left for a time ; but in either case it was a trial of our faith and love to God.

At this Conference the author, with a number of other returned missionaries, was publicly recognised and received as a Wesleyan minister ; and on this occasion he gave expression to his views and feelings upon the subject of missions : that, though it required much self-denial, it was a glorious cause ; that he had felt it to be so, and still did ; that when the great Head of the church said, " Go ! " he felt it his duty again to obey that call, and to take up his cross, however unfriendly the clime, or degraded the people ; and that the salvation of the Heathen is an object for which the missionary sacrifices, and is willing to sacrifice, every thing to which the heart clings on earth : and, catching the sentiment of an American author, during this address, I observed, " For this object I will live, for this I will die ; nay, if I know any thing of a missionary spirit, ' I would live any where, and die any how,' that the precious souls of the Heathen might be converted to God."

This solemn service was held in Pitt-street chapel, on Sunday afternoon, August 11th. Several other brethren gave interesting and affecting narratives of their missionary toils and triumphs ; and the whole service was not the least interesting of the many religious and devotional meetings that were held during the sittings of the celebrated Centenary Conference of 1839.

Shortly after the close of the Conference, the writer proceeded to London, being anxious to have the state of the Gambia mission brought before the executive committee as soon as possible, in order that he might re-embark, and thus have the advantage of the whole of the dry season, for the erection of some contemplated buildings. But some time elapsed before this could be done ; and in the mean time he was well occupied in preaching and attending public meetings. In this respect a returned missionary differs from an officer in the navy or army : on his return from foreign service, the latter, if he does not retire, has at least a few months' relaxation from active duties, and is thus enabled to recruit his health and exhausted strength.

The voyage to England, with a rest of a week or two during the Conference, had been of essential benefit to the writer ; but he was subject to ague, and had several attacks, though happily they were of short duration. One of the general secretaries, in one of his letters to him, said, " You must not let the people

overwork you. Use your own judgment, and learn to say, 'No!'" Of course, this referred to applications that were made to him, in addition to the demands upon him by the Mission-House; and it was said in kindness to him, and from a due consideration for his health. But as his personal appearance was rather healthy and flourishing, he had some difficulty in persuading the people that he was not well, or that he had ever been ill. And, even to this day, the writer is repeatedly complimented with, "The climate of Western Africa seems to have agreed very well with you, Mr. Fox;" and by others, "Did *you* EVER have an attack of the African fever?" On arriving at some places, to attend a missionary meeting, while in the vestry for a few minutes, he has been gazed at with a mixture of astonishment, almost implying a doubt as to whether he had actually been to "the white man's grave" or not, simply because his "earthly tabernacle" had not been "dissolved," or reduced to a mere skeleton. However, those friends who honour the author with a careful perusal of this book, will have sufficient proof (and more he could easily give) that though his constitution may be considered as thoroughly good, yet his bones and sinews were not made of iron, nor his muscles and flesh of brass. He attributes the preservation of his life, in that land of death, as much to moral courage, as to physical strength; but more especially to God's goodness, and the prayers of His people both at home and abroad.

But to return: From the following kind letter, addressed to him by the senior secretary, Dr. Bunting, the reader will have a tolerable idea of what is expected from a returned missionary during a short sojourn in England; that is, where health and strength will permit:—

LONDON, *October 22d*, 1839.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—We readily agree to your assisting our friends at West-Bromwich, at their anniversary on Sunday and Monday, November 3d and 4th, according to your and their request; of which you will be pleased to inform them forthwith.

But, in consequence of various circumstances, we are so extremely pressed for help in many quarters, that we are obliged to give you rather hard work, after your service at West-Bromwich. The cause, however, is glorious; and you have given proof that you love it. As a returned African missionary, you can materially aid it; and we trust that grace and strength will be given you for the work. Our plan for you is as follows:—

Tuesday, November 5th, Wednesday, 6th.—Travel from West-Bromwich to Portsmouth, and, if possible, get there in time to go over, the Wednesday evening, to the meeting at Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

Thursday, 7th.—Meeting at Cowes, Isle of Wight.

Sunday, 10th.—Preparatory sermons, in conjunction with the Rev. George Osborn, at Portsmouth and Portsea.

Monday, 11th.—District anniversary meeting at Ditto.

Tuesday, 12th.—Meeting at Gosport.

Wednesday, 13th.—There is to be a meeting at Fareham. If time and strength will allow, you can attend it; if not, they must excuse you.*

Thursday, 14th, Friday, 15th, Saturday, 16th.—Travel to Leeds.

Sunday, 17th, Monday, 18th, Tuesday, 19th, Wednesday, 20th.—Attend, and assist at, the Leeds anniversary for the Leeds district.

Soon after your work at Leeds shall be finished, a visit to town may possibly be desirable. But about that we can correspond hereafter. Only do not engage yourself anywhere without consulting the secretaries.—You see we want to make the most and best use of you, while you remain in England.

With kind regards to Mrs. Fox,

I am, my dear Brother,

Yours very affectionately,

The Rev. William Fox.

J. BUNTING.

At the close of the Leeds district anniversary, the author received at that place another communication from Dr. Bunting, requesting him to proceed “to London immediately after the meeting at Leighton, on the 28th instant.” This was to “make immediate arrangements respecting the Gambia mission.” “Not a week more should be lost,” the Doctor observes, “especially after the intelligence just received of the lamented death of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson.” Having attended several meetings between the 20th and 28th, the author proceeded on the 29th to town, and met the general committee, and subsequently the committee for the civilization department of the mission at Macarthy’s Island. The latter now fully decided, among other things, on the erection of an Institution for the education of the sons of the native kings and chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, the venerable Dr. Lindoe having presented the munificent sum of £1,000 for that and other objects connected with that mission. The Wesleyan Missionary Committee also authorized the building of a school-house at St. Mary’s, and an European schoolmaster and two missionaries were appointed to the Gambia. We were in hopes of sailing at the end of December, our passage having been taken on board the “Sea-Witch,” but were detained two or three weeks longer.

“The lamented death of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson” now demands our attention. The author had left them in excellent health, and happy in their work, about the middle of June; and in three short months after that, they were both removed to a better world, and the St. Mary’s station was once more left without a missionary. This painful intelligence had been communicated to the committee by Mr. C. Grant, who visited them

* The author attended that, and an additional one the next day.

in their illness, from whom, and from other friends, the writer subsequently gathered some of the following affecting particulars connected with their last days on earth. He is also indebted to the Rev. William Parkinson, brother of the deceased missionary, for some account of both Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson previous to their union, and embarking in the glorious cause in which they both so soon fell.

JAMES PARKINSON was born at Liverpool, on the 17th of August, 1809 ; and, being blessed with parents who feared God, he had the advantage of an early religious training. His mother died when he was comparatively young ; but his father lived to see him go out as a herald of the Cross, and to mourn his early removal ; but he shortly after joined him in the rest remaining for the people of God. Mr. Parkinson's early religious associations were connected with the established church ; and, by his previous course of reading, his mind was strongly biassed by the peculiarities of the Calvinian scheme : but during the years 1830 and 1831, he frequently attended the ministry of Dr. Bunting, who was then stationed in Liverpool ; and under his rich evangelical and powerful "handling of the word of life," and by reading some works on Wesleyan theology, he became a decided Arminian ; and shortly afterwards joined the Methodist society. Having "given himself to God, and to His church by His will," he sought for opportunities of usefulness ; and during the agitations that disturbed the societies in Liverpool soon after he became a Wesleyan, though every member of the class to which he belonged seceded, he remained faithful, "steadfast, and unmovable." In the year 1836 he began to preach ; and by his diligence in reading, meditation, and prayer, he soon became a very acceptable and useful local preacher.

In March, 1838, the late Rev. Theophilus Lessey proposed him to the quarterly meeting as a suitable candidate for the ministry, by which he was unanimously recommended to the district meeting, and to the Conference ; and the same year he was appointed to St. Mary's on the Gambia. Though he was aware of the unhealthy climate of Western Africa, he cheerfully received the appointment as from God ; adding, "Liverpool has inflicted deep wrongs upon Africa : it is right that her sons should make reparation by carrying to that injured land the glorious gospel of the blessed God." Animated by these sentiments, he left his native home and country ; and on the 22d of October, 1838, set sail for his destination ; but, having an

unusually long voyage, he did not arrive until the 13th of December.

The annual Reports for 1839 and 1840 contain interesting letters from Mr. Parkinson; and in a communication to his brother, soon after his arrival, he writes: "With my work as a missionary I am truly delighted. Never have I felt so happy as when proclaiming the message of salvation to the perishing Heathen. Difficulties there are connected with it; responsibilities too, which an experienced missionary (much more one so raw as I am) trembles to encounter. But still it is a glorious work; and the highest archangel before the eternal throne might well envy the lot of the most humble missionary." In all his other letters to his friends, he wrote in the same delightful strain; and in the last communication to his brother, written only a few weeks before his death, he says, "It is a delightful work; and I hope that, in eternity, I shall bless God for sending me here."

The rains had well-nigh passed over, without materially affecting the health of either Mr. or Mrs. Parkinson; but at the close of August, they were both unwell. Mr. Parkinson, however, preached on Sunday, September 1st, but was the next day confined to his bed; and, though every attention was paid to him, he gradually sank under the influence of the fever, until the following sabbath, September 8th, 1839, when he expired, his faith reposing upon the atonement of Christ.

In person, Mr. Parkinson was a little under the middle size, rather stout, with apparently a good constitution. Though his connexion with Methodism was comparatively of recent date, his mind was well stored with Christian theology; he loved our doctrines and discipline, and, in the discharge of his duties, faithfully and affectionately administered them. He was a good man, a zealous and useful minister; and his death was a great loss to the Gambia mission.

MRS. PARKINSON, wife of our deceased brother, died four days after her dear husband. She was a native of Scotland, and was born in Glasgow about the year 1810. When little more than twenty years of age, she removed with her parents to Liverpool; soon after which she united herself to the Wesleyan society, and became a diligent and useful Sunday-school teacher in connexion with Brunswick chapel. In this interesting department of the Lord's work she continued until her marriage with Mr. Parkinson, on the eve of their embarkation for Africa, when her associates presented her with a handsome

writing-desk, with a suitable inscription, as a token of their regard. On their arrival in Africa, she was truly a help-meet to her husband, heartily co-operating with him in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom; and in the schools she took a very lively interest, devoting to them all her time and strength. She was eminently a woman of a meek and quiet spirit, equability of temper, unobtrusive and retiring in her manners, yet possessed with a lively zeal, the offspring of a well-principled piety, with a perseverance in doing good that seemed to know no fatigue. The writer has seldom known a more amiable and excellent female than the late Mrs. Parkinson. To her husband, as well as to the cause in which he was engaged, she was devotedly attached; and their union, though brief, was a happy one. She was spared the pangs of separation; for at the time of her husband's death, she was herself very ill in another room; and the painful fact was therefore withheld from her. It being the sabbath-day, however, when he died, she was surprised at hearing a noise, like some people at work, and asked what it was. The fact was, some carpenters were preparing her husband's coffin in the immediate vicinity of the mission-house; but the question was evaded, and the friend of whom she asked what the noise was took care instantly to remove it; so that he was buried before she was aware of his death. On Tuesday, September 10th, two days after her husband's death, Mrs. Parkinson gave birth to a daughter, and on several occasions inquired how Mr. Parkinson was going on. Fearing, even now, to communicate the real fact to her, the answer was, "O, he is doing very well indeed," or words to that effect. But the most affecting part of the story remains. On Wednesday, September 11th, she was able to sit up in bed, and there was the appearance of her ultimate recovery. Having again asked most eagerly how her husband was, and receiving an answer similar to the preceding, she said, "Then, if he is doing very well, and is so much better, why does he not come to see me and the dear babe?" On being told that, "though doing well, he could not be removed," she became almost frantic, and exclaimed, "Then, if he cannot come to see me, I must go to him, *and I will*;" and, suiting the action to the word, she was with difficulty kept in bed; nor could she be pacified until the gentleman, at her request, took in his hand a cup of coffee, with her kind love, and went out of the room, to that at the opposite end of the house, where she supposed her husband was! The sequel is now soon told. The next day, September 12th, she gently breathed her spirit into the hands of the God that gave

it, and joined her dear partner in the skies; and *then* the mystery was unravelled, and the declaration of David emphatically verified, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." Their dear infant died on its passage to England; and *then* our departed sister was in a far better position than "*yonder* great and good Shunammite woman," to whom the three-fold question was asked, "Is it well with thee? Is it well with thy husband? Is it well with the child? And she answered, It is well." (2 Kings iv. 26.)*

Towards the close of October Mr. David Jehu sailed for Sierra-Leone, in the "Captain Cook," and arrived safe at his destination on the 23d of December. Mr. and Mrs. Mycock and Mr. Robert Brooking embarked by the "Osborne" on the 20th of November, for Cape-Coast Castle, where they arrived on the 13th of January, 1840, heartily welcomed by the people and Mr. Freeman, who up to this time had been toiling alone.

On Tuesday, January 14th, the author, with his little family, once more left Smethwick, and repaired to London; and the following sabbath afternoon, an interesting valedictory service was held in the Wilderness-row chapel, when Mr. William James and Mr. William English, appointed to accompany the writer to the Gambia, together with himself, were affectionately and appropriately addressed by Dr. Beecham; the other three secretaries also taking part in the service.

During our short stay in town, we were very comfortably entertained at the house of Dr. Beecham, whose family felt a deep interest in our welfare, and whose kindness on that, and on all other occasions, the writer feels it but an act of justice to acknowledge; and he does so with sincere feelings of respect and gratitude.

Late on Wednesday evening, January 22d, we received instructions to join our vessel at Gravesend the next day at one o'clock. This was a somewhat unexpected call, being a day or two earlier than we had anticipated; but missionaries must be like soldiers, ready, at the sound of the trumpet, to

* Some of my readers may possibly call in question the propriety or judiciousness of keeping Mrs. Parkinson ignorant of the death of her husband in the first instance, and subsequently doing so by a species of deception. All that the writer has to say is, that he has given the facts of the case as they actually occurred; having received them from the European gentleman himself, who for many years was a firm friend to our missions, and, in cases of sickness, particularly kind and attentive; and he fully believes, that the course he adopted on the above distressing occasion was dictated by sincere respect for the departed husband, as well as by real kindness to his afflicted wife.

“stand to their arms,” to take up their cross, and follow their Lord.

“ Who bow to Christ’s command,
Your arms and hearts prepare :
The day of battle is at hand :
Go forth to glorious war ! ”

The writer, therefore, though he had some doubt as to the real necessity for the hurry and bustle which this sudden call occasioned, having an appointment the next forenoon of some importance, rose early; and, having finished his business before day-break, soon after breakfast proceeded with his companions to Gravesend in the steamer, being accompanied thither by Dr. Beecham.

We had breakfasted with Dr. Bunting the day before, when we had been benefited, cheered, and encouraged by his wise counsels and prayers; and on that occasion had bade him farewell. But yet, soon after leaving the house of the kind family where we had been entertained, our cabriolet-driver suddenly pulled up, when, on looking out, we saw the venerable Doctor, who had hailed him to stop, in the act of running to catch us; and, coming up to the conveyance, almost out of breath, he said he “was anxious to have another look at us, and again to wish us every blessing.”*

On arriving at Gravesend about the middle of the day, on Thursday, 23d, we found, as the writer had half expected, that the brig had not come down the river: we therefore had to wait till the Saturday afternoon, at which time she came; and on the evening of that day we went on board, as the captain and pilot said we should get under weigh at five o’clock in the morning. Having erected the family altar, we turned into our berths, and during the voyage performed divine service as often as we could; but for some days all our little band, with the other passengers, (except the writer,) suffered more or less from sea-sickness; and having very severe weather in the Channel, some of our party experienced this distressing sensation to a great extent. In putting in off Ryde in the Isle of Wight, we narrowly escaped shipwreck, having got upon a sand-bank.

* Dr. Bunting “is yet alive;” and long may he live! For that reason, the writer is prevented from saying more than, that, in all his intercourse with this venerable and venerated man, both in public and in private, for nearly twenty years, he has ever found him to be the wise, the good, and the great, but, at the same time, the kind, the condescending, the affable, and the fatherly man; indeed, the little incident recorded in the text is sufficient to contradict a thousand assertions to the contrary.

This was between nine and ten o'clock in the evening of February 2d: it was then very dark, and blowing hard from the south-west. Several guns were fired for assistance; but before human help could come to us, a gracious Providence interposed, and our ship got into deep water, and we immediately anchored.

Our departure, in connexion with that of several brethren to other parts of the Heathen world, was announced in a subsequent Number of the "Missionary Notices," as follows:—

WESTERN AFRICA.—On the 25th of January, the Rev. William Fox embarked, by the "Sea Witch," on his return to St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, after a residence of a few months in this country for the establishment of his health, which had suffered by his labours in Western Africa since the year 1833. He is accompanied by Mrs. Fox and child, the Rev. William and Mrs. James, the Rev. William English, Mr. Walter Crowley, a schoolmaster, Kakonta Souko, a native youth, the son of the late king of Barra, who is placed under the care of Mr. Fox, and by two other natives. They were also detained at Portsmouth until the 18th of February; and as the winds have since been favourable, it is hoped that, before this time, they have reached their destination.

During our detention at Portsmouth, the author and his colleagues preached several times in that town and its immediate neighbourhood, and also attended several other meetings; and the friends of missions there "showed us no little kindness;" among whom must be mentioned, with feelings of gratitude, the family of Mr. J. Keet, and the late venerable Rev. Jonathan Edmondson. The severe gales from the south-west having subsided, and a fine easterly wind having set in, we prepared for our re-embarkation; on the eve of which we wrote to our friends, the author closed his letter to the committee as follows: "And now, Rev. and very dear Sirs, fathers, brethren, and Christian friends, I hasten to a close; for

‘The soft swelling breezes are nigh,
They beckon us down to the shore,
And swift will they bear us away,
From the land we may never see more.’

But the cause, though arduous, is honourable and glorious; and the reward will be crowns of glory. God grant we may all be faithful till death!" The postscript announcing our departure was dated March 18th, and, three days previous to that, we had all arrived safe at the Gambia, thankful to "the God that rules on high" for having "calmed the roaring seas," and given to us, after our re-embarkation, a speedy passage to our destined port.

On arriving at St. Mary's on the 15th of March, we were

cordially welcomed by the people, and by Mr. Moss, whom we found at that station in tolerable health. William Juff, one of the native assistants, had expired in the faith and hope of the gospel on the 1st of that month, after a severe affliction of three months' duration. Mr. Moss improved this event by a sermon addressed to a very crowded congregation; and the reader will find a brief record of this excellent and useful native teacher in the Minutes of the Conference for that year.

Mr. James being appointed to Macarthy's Island, he, with Mrs. James, proceeded to his station in about ten days, accompanied by Mr. Moss; and the writer was in the mean time engaged in purchasing materials for the erection of the new school-house, having already some carpenters at work. Obtaining a suitable lot of land adjoining the chapel, we commenced with the building at the close of April.

On the 24th of this month one of our members named John Dunn died under the following circumstances: he had been ill only a few days, and on the day of his death there was nothing that indicated immediate danger. He was, however, very happy; and on one of the native teachers asking him if he had not better take a little more medicine, he said, "No, he did not wish for any more, for at five o'clock he was going home." This was about the middle of the day; two hours after which he got up, and walked in his yard and garden, contemplating the bright heavens above, and adoring the wisdom and goodness of God. He said, "he loved God and all his brothers and sisters, and that about five o'clock he was going to glory." Strange to say, he went into his little thatched cottage, lay down, and a little before the barracks clock struck five that afternoon, he fell asleep in Jesus! The writer felt a melancholy pleasure, early the next morning, in committing his body to the grave in the presence of a large concourse of people, when we sung with peculiar emotion that beautiful hymn commencing with,

"Hark! a voice divides the sky,—

Happy are the faithful dead," &c.

Having set the masons and carpenters fairly at work with the new school, and arranged some other matters connected with the mission, on the 21st of May, the author proceeded to the upper station. He remained there about a fortnight, during which period the foundation for the Institution was laid, and the new village commenced; and as the rains were rapidly approaching, in fact, had begun, more in the way of building could not be prudently proceeded with till they ceased. He

returned to St. Mary's on the 11th of June, and found his dear family and the brethren tolerably well. The Europeans as well as natives subscribed liberally towards the erection of the Institution, as well as for the school at St. Mary's; and so much progress was made with the latter, that we succeeded in getting the roof on before the heavy rains fell, though it was not finished for some months afterwards. Centenary Meetings were held at both stations during the months of May and June, in which the members took a very lively interest. It was truly pleasing to witness the liberality of our poor people, who came forward and said, "Massa, you put me down two dollars, two dollars for my wife, one dollar for my child, and one dollar for one child him gone to heaven." This was said before the writer had fully explained how these meetings had been conducted in England, thus proving that "Methodism as it is" is the same all the world over. Nearly £100 were raised at the two stations; and we could and did adopt the dying language of the immortal Wesley, "The best of all is, God is with us!"

Soon after the author's return to Africa, he was again appointed acting colonial chaplain; so that his time was fully occupied. But the rains had now set in, and the effects of these periodical torrents soon became visible on the health of the Europeans generally, several of whom, especially the white sailors, had died. This was also the case at Sierra-Leone; and one of the first victims this season was the wife of Mr. Dove; and it is now the writer's melancholy task again to place upon record several deaths in the mission families, which occurred during this unhealthy, and by him never-to-be-forgotten, season.

Mrs. DOVE accompanied her husband to the Gambia early in 1833, and for three years cheerfully shared with him in all the afflictions and toils connected with the Macarthy's Island mission, and was most indefatigable in her attentions to the instruction of the young females. After a residence in England of little more than twelve months, she a second time nobly responded to the call of God and his church, and in company with Mr. Dove sailed for Sierra-Leone, where they, with Mr. Badger, arrived in safety on the 19th of November, 1837. Here she was no less diligent, faithful, and successful in the same department of the work of God, with occasional interruptions from sickness, up to the period which terminated her valuable life. Mrs. Dove was a pious woman, a good wife, and a sincere friend; and was highly respected by all who knew her. She died at Sierra-Leone of the country-fever on the 7th of June,

1840, after an illness of five days, leaving a blessed testimony behind her that "to die" was eternal "gain."

Soon after this event Mr. Edwards, who had been preparing to leave the colony, returned to England on account of ill health; and shortly after the Sierra-Leone mission met with another loss in the death of Mr. Jehu. On the 7th of July the author received a letter from Macarthy's Island, with the melancholy tidings that Mr. James had expired six days previously. This was very distressing news, Mr. Moss being at that time at Goree for the benefit of his health; so that that station was left without a missionary; and Mrs. James, a young widow, was there alone, or rather now on her way down to St. Mary's.

The writer has been kindly furnished, by two of his brethren in the ministry, who were intimately acquainted with Mr. James "from his youth up," with interesting memoirs of him, which are alike creditable to the heads and hearts of the writers; but they are too long for insertion. The substance of them, however, he will endeavour to embody in the following sketch, with some additional remarks from his own personal knowledge of him.

WILLIAM JAMES was born in Liverpool, in the year 1815, of pious parents. His father at an early age received the appointment of captain in the merchant-service, trading to the Coast of Africa, where, soon after William was born, he met with an accident, which, together "with Africa's cruel climate, shattered his whole system." For years he was confined to his house after his return to England, but murmured not: he said, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good." At length he was so far recovered, as to be able to take a situation in His Majesty's customs.

At the age of fourteen his son was articled as an apprentice to a respectable bookbinder and stationer in Liverpool; and, two years after, he became truly converted to God. This happy change took place in Mount-Pleasant chapel, one sabbath evening. The officiating minister was the late Rev. Joseph Hollingworth, who, at the close of the service, conducted a prayer-meeting. Pointed and powerful were his appeals to the unconverted: the word reached the heart of young James, and he found himself at the communion-rail, he knew not how, with his father by his side, pleading with God on his behalf. That night he was filled with joy and peace in believing; and there is

good reason to think that he never lost his sense of the Divine favour, but continued to walk in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, to the day of his death. In five months after William's conversion, his father passed in holy triumph from earth to heaven.

Mr. James now devoted himself fully to God, and was desirous of being useful to others. He soon became a sabbath-school teacher and prayer-leader, and subsequently a local preacher. The latter office was not undertaken in haste, but at the request of others, from a conviction of duty, and a love to souls. At the March quarterly-meeting of 1839, the late Rev. John Anderson proposed him as a candidate for the ministry, to which proposal the meeting cordially responded; and having passed the district-meeting with great credit, he was accepted by the Conference.

Mr. James was at first intended for the ministry at home; but this was in deference to the wishes of his widowed and beloved mother, who was greatly afflicted. But his heart was in the mission work, and had been from the beginning; and when, a few weeks after he had passed the quarterly-meeting, God was pleased to take his dear mother to himself, he, without a moment's hesitation, offered himself for that service in which his soul delighted, and for which he believed his way to be providentially, though painfully, opened; and he was, soon after the Conference of 1839, appointed by the Missionary Committee to Macarthy's Island.

It was at this place that I last saw him, on the 5th of June, 1840, only three weeks before his death. He was then in excellent health and spirits, and accompanied me to the river's bank on my leaving that station for St. Mary's, where we heartily shook hands, after which he stood waving his hand for some time. I had cautioned him against undue exposure, or too much labour; but being alone, and breathing as he did the self-sacrificing spirit of a devoted missionary, who "scorns his feeble flesh to spare," he was intent upon doing his utmost in spreading the common Saviour's fame.

On the sabbath-day previous to his illness, he preached three times, travelled six or seven miles in the hottest part of the day, and afterwards went and watched the dying bed of a native till near midnight. The following morning he went to the burying-ground, and committed that same individual to the dust, returned home and wrote me a few hasty lines, then went to bed, and in eight days "ceased at once to work and live!"

Mr. James was a young man of more than ordinary promise. His bright genius, noble soul, and moral fortitude, gave indica-

tion of his rising to considerable eminence as a minister of the Lord Jesus. He was a most amiable, open-hearted, kind, and affectionate colleague. Cheerful and happy in his disposition, he was "the friend of all, the enemy of none." But though lively in his manner and demeanour, and extremely buoyant in spirit, he was never light or trifling. His character was distinguished by an entire transparency, and in him there was "no guile." His appearance in the pulpit resembled that of "Timothy the Young;" but "the common people heard him gladly," and, his sermons being well arranged, and delivered with great propriety of tone and manner, and with considerable power, "his profiting appeared to all." The late venerable Jonathan Edmondson, who heard him at Portsea during our detention there, spoke of him to the writer as a young man of superior endowments. How mysterious that a man of such promising talents, sincere piety, and ardent zeal should have been so soon removed by death! Mr. James died at Macarthy's Island, happy in God, July 1st, 1840, aged twenty-four years, after a residence in Africa of only three months and a half.

DAVID JEHU, whose death was mentioned in a preceding page, expired the day after Mr. James. He was a man of deep, uniform, and consistent piety; and possessed in an eminent degree a meek and quiet spirit. He had enjoyed the advantages of the Theological Institution for a year, when he nobly offered himself to supply a vacancy that had occurred at Sierra-Leone, which place he reached on the 23d of December, 1839. But though he had willingly filled up a breach caused by "the last enemy," and thus joined the surviving brethren in the front ranks of this moral field of battle, he was not permitted long to continue. Having laboured for about six months with diligence, zeal, and success, he was attacked with the African fever, and died, not only in great peace, but "in the full triumph of faith," on the 2d of July, 1840, in the thirtieth year of his age, and the first of his missionary labour.

On the 2d of August, Mrs. James embarked on board the brigantine "Maas" for England. His Excellency the governor kindly presented her, through the writer, with a donation of £20, which three other friends made up to £50, as an expression of sympathy with her, and as a mark of respect and high regard for her late excellent husband.

On the 14th and 15th of the same month the author wrote to

the committee at some length, reporting the state of the mission, with the progress made in the new buildings, &c. Up to this period the remaining part of the mission family at St. Mary's had been preserved in tolerable health; but from that time a series of personal and domestic afflictions, with heart-rending bereavements, together with other trials, followed in rapid succession upon the writer, so that, though nearly ten years have passed away since that time, he almost shudders at the bare narration of those painful and mysterious dispensations of Divine Providence. But though that same Providence has graciously smiled upon him again, and blessed him with "wife and children dear," he cannot omit placing upon record some account of those dark and bitter days.

Some time elapsed after his bereavements before an opportunity offered of writing to England; and on his communication reaching the Mission-House, there was only time to insert a postscript in the "Notices;" but his letter was published in the "Watchman" of the same date, with a few prefatory remarks similar to the following announcement by the general secretaries:—

ST. MARY'S, GAMBIA.

THE Rev. William Fox, our respected missionary in Western Africa, has been called to pass through very severe affliction. On the 30th of August, he was bereaved of his only son, in the fifth year of his age, after two days' illness: and in eight days afterwards he was made a widower by the death of his very amiable and excellent wife. The Society sympathize most deeply with Mr. Fox, under this heavy affliction, and commend him to the kind remembrances and earnest prayers of the friends of missions; and with him all who labour "in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ."

MISSION-HOUSE, ST. MARY'S, *November 23d, 1840.*

REV. AND VERY DEAR SIRS,—Having finished some other letters and documents, I now sit down to a more melancholy task. I made several attempts some time ago; but my heart was too full, and tears flowed too fast; so that I was obliged to postpone the effort to another, and then to some other, period, till I have arrived at a day, or a day and a half, before the vessel sails. I must therefore proceed to inform you, that, on the 30th of August, my dear little boy breathed his last, after two days' illness; and, in eight short days afterwards, my dear and much-loved wife followed him to the paradise of God, leaving me a poor widower, with an infant motherless babe, only four days old. This will be enough, I know, to awaken your Christian sympathies, and probably will call forth an ejaculatory prayer, that the God of missions may be my "help in the time of need." I assure you, my dear Sirs, I have felt this stroke to be almost more than I can bear; and I have frequently been led to exclaim, with Job, "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends: for the hand of God hath touched me!" Well, though my heart bleeds afresh while I write, I must beg leave, on this mournful subject, to particularize a little.

My late painful bereavements were preceded by a very serious and protracted bilious fever on myself. You may, perhaps, recollect that, in my letters of August

15th, I complained a little. I was that very evening violently attacked with vomiting and burning fever. I continued for three or four days, and my friends were very fearful as to the consequences. My dearest Ann, and another kind friend, thought proper to call in additional medical aid, partly unknown to me; for I was too ill to know what was going on, though I was remarkably happy and composed. Having been blistered and leeches, and well physicked, with God's blessing attending the means, I began to recover, though it was but slowly; yet I was soon able to go about the room and piazza with a stick. I was thus far recovered when, on the 28th of August, our dear little boy was taken poorly; and it so happened that his dear mother became ill on the same day. We apprehended nothing serious from our dear boy's sickness; indeed, we were thankful he had not been ill before, as he had enjoyed uninterrupted health since our arrival. He was a little worse the next day, though nothing serious. On the following morning he was much better; the doctor saw him, and pronounced him so; and the little dear, as I approached his bed, eagerly kissed my hand, and, in answer to my question how he was, spoke quite cheerful and quick, saying, "Better, thank you, pa." Scarcely an hour had elapsed, when he suddenly became convulsed. I had the doctor as soon as possible; and every means that could be adopted was tried, but to no purpose: he sometimes partially recovered, and then fell off again. He thus continued till about half-past three on Sunday afternoon, August 30th, when, with his little hand in mine, lying on the sofa by his dear mother, who was ill in bed, he escaped the storms of this life, and was safe lodged in a better world. My dear wife and myself felt this stroke very severely. She had thus far reared him, under somewhat peculiar circumstances,—I not having seen him till he was nearly four years of age, and having now only had his society on earth for a few months. But we endeavoured to console each other, knowing that, if we continued faithful, "we should go to him, though he should not return to us."

My dear Ann continued poorly; and, being so near her confinement, I felt exceedingly anxious that she should be able to get out of bed and gain a little strength before that event took place. But the Almighty's ways are not our ways: she continued feverish and poorly till Wednesday evening, when she gave birth to a lovely little girl, whom I immediately recognised as my "little Ann," thanking God for his kindness and present help to the dear mother in the time of need. This was about half-past three on Thursday morning, September 3d. My dearest wife was remarkably well, all things considered, that day: indeed, she said it was the best she had had, but probably she would not be so well the next day. It so happened that she was not; and early on the following morning, which was Saturday, she was taken ill. She took very strong medicine; but the disease continued unabated in its course all day on Saturday; and on Saturday night stronger medicine was given, but it appeared to have little or no effect. At this period I perceived a little stupor, (which I thought was the effect of the medicine, as she had taken a great quantity; but I afterwards learned it was weakness,) and she wandered a little on that day. She was wandering a little on the Sunday afternoon; yet it was quite evident that her heart was right with God, as she was continually repeating some portions of hymns, and on one occasion appeared as if she was conversing with the children, or meeting her class, as she was heard to say, "Come to Jesus, come to Jesus; Jesus is the sinner's friend.".....On the Monday morning I plainly saw that nature was exhausted, though I had given her port-wine, with other things, during the night. Two or three kind friends sat up with me, and every thing was done that medical skill, kindness, and affection could suggest; but it was evident she was sinking into the arms of death. I went to her bed-side

about an hour before she died, and, though she could not speak, I believe she knew me; for she gently turned or moved her lips towards me, and received the last salutation.

O, my dear Sirs, my heart is almost too full, and tears will flow; but, thank God, they are not the tears of hopeless grief. No! I sorrow not as those without hope. I have a delightful prospect of, ere long, meeting with my dear wife and lovely boy in a nobler clime. About an hour after the above circumstance, she "who had done me good and not evil all the days of her life," without the slightest struggle or movement, gently breathed her spirit into the hands of her heavenly Father, at half-past one o'clock on Monday afternoon. I felt unutterable things that day and scores of times since, and have had great difficulty to write this letter. You will, I know, pardon me for giving you so minute a statement; it has cost me some painful feelings, but will probably be a relief to me afterwards. My dear Ann was interred the following morning, under the communion-table in the chapel. Our dear little boy is lying at her right side, and a dear infant that we lost in 1834 is at her left side; and "there their flesh shall rest in hope."

His Excellency the governor, the colonial secretary, civil and military officers, merchants, and many other respectable people, attended the funeral; and I believe I may say, I had the sympathy and condolence of nearly the whole colony. Even the very Pagans and Mohammedans, as I passed the street, would look serious, and salute me with, "Ah, massa!" or, "Poor Mr. Fox get plenty trouble." The governor wrote me a condoling letter, as did the secretary and several others, some of them members of society, both here and from Macarthy's Island. But my loss is great. I would not attempt to augment it, or to "charge God foolishly." No. There is, however, a peculiarity in it, which makes it heavy. I am called to part with a dear little boy, a blooming and much-loved wife, in the short space of eight days; and am left in charge of a dear helpless babe four days old!

The lady of Mr. Ingram (colonial secretary) kindly offered to take charge of the dear infant. I have a wet-nurse for it, but she is at Mrs. Ingram's with the baby; and I am happy to say, that, under the superintendence of this kind lady, it is doing well. I managed to baptize it some weeks ago in the chapel, before the congregation. Judge what I felt, while standing over the remains of its dear mother, brother, and infant sister. I gave a short exhortation, as well as I could for weeping, and baptized the only-surviving child of my dearest wife, naming it after its departed mother.

I have always been very fond of that passage: "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God;" but, I assure you, these late heavy and complicated trials have almost staggered my faith, though I dare not disbelieve the passage: indeed, I received a gentle reproof, and at the same time derived encouragement, a few weeks ago, while perusing the Rev. J. Crowther's Sermon on Divine Providence, and especially from the following paragraph:—"On the same principle, we find nothing above the character of the plainest and most obvious truth in the scriptural assurance, that 'to them that love God, all things shall work together for good.' It has sometimes been thought, that a little ingenuity was requisite to show the perfect truth of this assertion; but any one disposed to call its truth in question, would find it a much heavier tax upon his ingenuity, were he required to show under what circumstances, to one whose heart is perfect towards God, the contrary can be possible, or how any thing can really harm him who is a follower of that which is good."

On Sunday last I endeavoured to benefit the people, as well as get my own faith strengthened in the promises and providence of God, by preaching from Mark

v. 36: "Only believe." The Lord helped me, and "it was good to be there." I shall have your sympathies and prayers, I know, as well as the sympathy and prayers of many of the friends of missions.

The following kind, Christian note from the governor really did me good:—

"MY DEAR MR. FOX,—Be assured none of your friends will more sincerely sympathize with you than myself in these sad afflictions and severe deprivations with which, for purposes concealed from our penetration, it has pleased Almighty God to visit you. You have, however, my dear Sir, the consolation of feeling that you have served Him with such truth, that in this your time of melancholy trial, you may confidently look for His support, while He receives the immortal souls of your late excellent wife and sinless child into His care and blessedness. Should it not be intrusion, I should be anxious to show the respect I have to you, and the regard I have as well to both, by attending the sorrowful duties of to-morrow morning.

"Sincerely praying for your relief in these afflictions, ever believe me,

"My dear Mr. Fox,

"Most faithfully yours,

"H. V. HUNTLEY.

"*Government-House, September 7th, 1840.*"

I must now, my dear Sirs, hasten to a close, casting myself afresh upon the "Rock of Ages." He who has been with me, has promised "to be with me always."

"Credence to His word I give;
My Saviour in distresses past
Will not now His servant leave,
But bring me through at last."

With my kind love to yourselves, the committee, and all friends,

I am,

Rev. and dear Sirs,

Your afflicted, bereaved, and tried, but willing and obedient, servant,

WILLIAM FOX, *Wesleyan Missionary.*

To the General Secretaries, &c. &c. &c.

Mrs. Fox was the third child and eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Middleton, of Smethwick, and was born in that locality January 2d, 1808. At her father's house the Wesleyan ministers have for many years found a hearty welcome, and most of the members of the family are annual subscribers to our missions. She was brought to a saving knowledge of the truth when about sixteen years of age, through the instrumentality of the late Rev. George Smith, who was then stationed in Birmingham, and immediately joined the Methodist society at Nineveh, there being at that time no Wesleyan chapel at Smethwick. The genuineness of her conversion was evidenced by "the fruits of the Spirit," and by making herself useful in that sphere of life in which it pleased God to call her. This was demonstrated in various ways, for some

years previous to our union, both at Nineveh and Smethwick, in instructing the rising generation in the sabbath-schools, delivering tracts, and collecting for the missions, and subsequently in meeting a class of young females, both in England and in Africa. Being a person of retired habits, she undertook the important office of class-leader with diffidence and fear; but the numerous and affectionate letters which she received when abroad from those dear "lambs of the flock," were not only gratifying to her feelings, but at the same time afforded evidence of the esteem which they had for their leader, and of the benefit which they had derived from her pious instructions, and her exemplary and consistent conduct. Her religious experience generally evinced a calm, unshaken confidence in God, through the precious blood of Christ, and hence she enjoyed a sweet peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, with a glorious hope of immortality. The Bible, our excellent Hymns and periodicals, and a few biographical works, were the principal books which she perused; and these she read frequently with pleasure and profit. The Life of Mrs. Fletcher of Madeley, and of Mrs. Judson of Burmah, she highly prized. She was a lover of the means of grace, and almost invariably came from them refreshed and blessed. Many a time has she said to the writer, on coming out of the chapel, "There appeared to be a very gracious feeling:" a proof this, that she felt it good to be there. Her class of girls was the last meeting she attended, as she was taken ill the next day; and deeply did they deplore her death, all of whom, with many other members of the society, even down to the school-children, for a long time after the funeral, wore marks of mourning, out of sincere respect to her memory, and that of our dear son.

To the cause of missions Mrs. Fox was warmly attached. She gave proof of this, when, after a few weeks' residence in England in 1835, her husband felt it his duty to return alone to the Gambia, as she was unable to accompany him; and nothing but supreme love to God, and the deep interest she felt in that mission, could have enabled her to submit to the painful separation, for painful it was to us both. The writer having remained in Africa much longer than was contemplated, during which time many deaths occurred in the mission families, she was necessarily the subject of much painful anxiety as to the preservation of his life; and when he returned in 1839, and Divine Providence seemed to point out again the Gambia as his path of duty, she cheerfully responded to the call, and frequently spoke of going to St. Mary's as though she was going home, from her previous

knowledge of the place, and love to the people. Nor was she at all deterred or discouraged when, a short time before we sailed, the painful intelligence arrived of the death of Mr. and Mrs. Parkinson, with their orphan child; but calmly and heroically replied, on its being made known to her, "Well, this is painful news indeed! But if the Lord sees fit, he can preserve us, and make us useful; and if not, he will take us to himself in heaven." Nor could the last sickness with which she was visited, with all its withering effects upon her beautiful countenance and lovely form, quench the spark, or rather flame, of missionary fire and holy ardour that still existed in the falling tabernacle; for, only a very short period before she expired, on being asked if she regretted coming again to Africa, she, with great energy and emphasis, replied, "No, my love!"

In all the relations of life, Mrs. Fox was most exemplary and amiable. As a mother, she gave a striking instance of a mother's love on the bed of death. As already stated in the preceding letter, we both felt most keenly the loss of our dear boy; but as the father was once more raised from "the margin of the grave," she bore up tolerably well, saying it was "a matter of thankfulness that the Almighty had spared the tree, though he had cut off one of its branches." In this Christian philosophy he could not but acquiesce, though he little thought of what was so soon to follow. But the day before she died, suffering at the moment from temporary delirium, she asked, "Where is Johnny?" And only a few hours before she breathed her last, referring to the dear infant, she exclaimed, with a peculiarity of tone and feeling which I shall never forget, "O where is my child?" Being assured it was doing well with the nurse in the next room, she was then easy; and shortly after she became unconscious of all sublunary things, and died "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ," on Monday, September 7th, 1840, in the thirty-third year of her age.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1840—1843.)

LETTERS of Condolence to the Author—His other Trials—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Swallow—The Judge drowned, and the Sessions postponed—Departure of Mr. Moss for England—The Gold-Coast—Mr. Freeman in England—His Embarkation for Africa with a noble Band of Missionaries—Their safe Arrival—Return of Mr. and Mrs. Mycock—Death of Mr. Thackwray and Mr. Walden, and Mrs. Freeman and Mrs. Hesk—Mr. Hesk's Return Home—Messrs. Freeman and Brooking enter Coomassie—Sierra-Leone Mission—Liberated Africans and condemned Slave-vessels—The Niger Expedition—Dr. Madden—The Arrival of Mr. Symons for the Gambia, with Messrs. Raston and Annear for Sierra-Leone—Messrs. William Allen, Wyatt, and Rowland arrive at the Gold-Coast—Death of Messrs. Wyatt and Rowland—The Gambia—Extracts from the Author's Journal—Institution—The Author's Interview with the desperate Chief Kemmingtan—Moral Influence of the Mission—Fidelity of a Negro Servant—A Visit to Sierra-Leone—Call at Bissao—Contrast between the two Places—Mr. Dove and Mr. Badger return to England—The Gambia—Rainy Season—Prince de Joinville—The Author visits the Upper Gambia in Company with the Acting Governor—Extracts from his Journal—Cantalicunda the highest Trading-port on the Gambia—Influence of the Tide—Return to Macarthy's Island and St. Mary's—Sickness and Death of Mrs. Swallow—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Watkins, with Mr. George Chapman, at the Gold-Coast—And of Mr. and Mrs. Quick and Mr. Amos at Sierra-Leone—Death of Mr. Shipman and Mrs. Watkins at the Gold-Coast—The Gambia District-Meeting—Arrival of Mr. Lynn, the Schoolmaster—The "Madagascar" Frigate—Commodore Foote—Letter from an African Chief on the Subject of the Slave-Trade—The Arrival of Messrs. Godman and Parsonson at St. Mary's—Extracts from the General Report, showing the State of the Missions at each Station, with the Statistics—Annual Subscriptions—The Author's Residence in Africa drawing to a Close—Testimonial from Europeans—Farewell Sermon—The Missionary's Grave—The Author embarks for England with Mr. Swallow, by Way of France—Reflections on leaving Africa—Incidents on the Passage—Arrival in England.

THE communication from the author which appeared in the "Watchman," called forth many letters of condolence and sympathy from his friends in England, with fervent prayers to "the God of all grace" on his behalf; and those letters proved a source of comfort and encouragement to him, during the dark and mysterious dispensations of Divine Providence. But though these circumstances are indelibly impressed upon his memory, he has no wish to dwell longer upon them, as others of his bre-

thren were called to pass through similar scenes of suffering, though none of them, perhaps, under such peculiar circumstances as those detailed at the close of the preceding chapter. Indeed, his friends in England could not know the whole of what he had to suffer for Christ's sake at this period, and for some months afterwards. On a previous page, he has hinted at "other trials," in addition to the "wave after wave" that rolled over him at the time of his wife's death; and the letter in the "Watchman" commenced with a reference to "some other letters and documents," received at the same time. As he conceives it right that the friends and supporters of missions should know what their agents and servants have sometimes to endure in Heathen lands, he will now refer to those "other trials," though it is a painful subject; but a faithful history of the mission requires it, and it is demanded in justice to himself. This unwelcome part of his duty shall be treated, however, as briefly as possible, and with as gentle a hand as the circumstances of the case will admit.

It has been already stated that in the cause of missions the writer expected to suffer, as he had done; that it was a cause which required the exercise of self-denial; and that he embarked in it the third time on the same principle, "not knowing the things that should befall him there."

As a missionary to Western Africa, he knew that trials and afflictions awaited him, but that the cause was great and glorious, that it was dear to his heart; and he made not the slightest pretensions or claims to being any thing more than a sincere Wesleyan missionary. *Purity of motive he does claim*; and, in all his transactions with the parent committee, and with others, from the commencement to the close of his missionary career, he is bold to say, that he remained sincere and faithful, that he was an honest, upright man, and did his utmost to forward the views of those by whom he was sent.

But he had not been at St. Mary's on this occasion many months, before a person then recently connected with the mission, indulging in a spirit of envy and jealousy, thought otherwise of him; and by almost every vessel was writing, to different friends in England, a number of unfounded statements, most prejudicial to his character. At the very time he was suffering, and when he needed the soothing balm of real sympathy, and the supporting hand of genuine kindness and brotherly love, *then* it was that this young man, secretly and unknown to him, penned a long letter to the Missionary Committee, full of misrepresentation, slander, and falsehoods; and, amongst other

things, charged him with being "a betrayer of the trust reposed in him." The first intimation which the author had of it, was in October, when he received from the secretaries in London a copy of the letter. At that time he was ill in bed through severe inflammation in his eyes, and was unable to read it; but Mr. Moss, being then at St. Mary's, read it to him, with a feeling of surprise and indignation at conduct so unbrotherly, unchristian, cruel, and sinful, as most of the statements were known to Mr. Moss to be either gross misrepresentations or palpable untruths.

The reader will now perceive, that though the author had, in connexion with the Gambia mission, in former years, been "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, and in perils in the sea;" and though he had, in a memorandum to a friend, on this occasion "counted the cost," and in that account had enumerated many probable causes and sources of severe trial, not forgetting that which frequently occurs in foreign countries,—an opposition from "unreasonable and wicked men;" yet he had omitted *one* item in the catalogue of "perils" mentioned by the apostle. In fact, in such a land of sickness and death as Western Africa, he had never dreamt of "perils among false brethren."

After some unavoidable delay, the whole matter was laid before the proper authorities at the Mission-House in London, and the author received a communication from the general secretaries, in which it was stated, "they were led to believe that he had acted with integrity on the late trying occasion, and that therefore there was no sufficient reason why they should withdraw their confidence from him." This was a great relief to him, though not more than he had expected, having "the testimony of a good conscience," and the full confidence of his other brethren, as well as the respect and sympathy of all who knew him. But in all personal disputes it is a common saying, "There are generally faults on both sides." As a rule, it may be substantially correct; but there are exceptions to every rule; and it is presumed the reader will give the author credit for not having been a great deal in fault, when he is informed, that, within the last two years, the very person who charged him with such flagrant inconsistencies, wrote to the Missionary Committee and to himself, and made a voluntary confession of his former imprudence and folly, acknowledging his deep repentance for it, and craving forgiveness!

In his letter to me, after admitting that nothing could justify

the conduct which he then pursued, he pleads as an extenuation "his youth, he being then but twenty-one years of age;" that "he had ill advisers: had it not been for that, he should never have penned a line against me." "No one can more sincerely regret it than I do myself. I am sorry for it; I repent, most heartily repent." "I have suffered much in consequence." "In a moment of strange infatuation, and under the influence of strong feeling, I wrote." Both at the commencement and close of the letter he says, "I beseech you to pardon me." To that penitential appeal the author listened, and not only forgave him, but, as it appeared that he was then suffering from personal and domestic affliction, he performed towards him another act of kindness.

Far be it from me to injure my then youthful traducer: his name is withheld, and will probably never be known by the public in connexion with this matter; and had he confined his misrepresentations of me and of the mission to the Missionary Committee, I should never have introduced the affair into this work. But having recently learnt that he wrote in the same strain, and that repeatedly, to certain friends in the south of England, and that those communications produced, as well they might, very unfavourable impressions upon many minds respecting me, I have felt bound, in justification of my own conduct, and in vindication of my character, to say thus much.

Thus, after upwards of seven years had passed away, was that passage of holy writ literally fulfilled: "Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day." (Psalm xxxvii. 5, 6.)

As soon as the author's health and spirits were a little recruited, and the rains had closed, he again directed his attention to the new school-house. This was a fine stone building of sixty feet by twenty-five, which was completed and opened by the middle of December; and on that day he sailed for Macarthy's Island, to proceed with the erection of the Institution. His stay there on this occasion was necessarily short; and on his return to St. Mary's, he was happy to find that Mr. and Mrs. Swallow had arrived from England some ten days before. Our meeting was very affecting. They had been on this ground before; and deeply did they sympathize with the writer in his varied and painful trials. Having remained a short time at St. Mary's, Mr. Swallow proceeded to Macarthy's Island, his appointed sphere of labour, about the middle of January.

In the beginning of March, 1841, His Honour Chief Justice Flintoff arrived from England, and preparations were soon after made for holding the annual sessions of the colony. Application was made for the loan of our new and excellent school-house for that purpose, which was readily granted. But, a day or two before the time fixed upon for holding the sessions, His Honour, with Mrs. Mantell, wife of the acting queen's advocate, met with a watery grave, by the upsetting of a boat, in returning from Cape St. Mary's. Mr. Mantell was riding on horse-back along the beach, and was almost frantic when he saw the boat capsized, about a quarter of a mile distant, and the passengers struggling in the water. Before help could be obtained, they had both sunk. The bodies were afterwards found, and interred in the burying-ground. The next day was the Christian sabbath; and as the sessions were to have commenced on Monday morning, when the writer had engaged to read the church service; and as many of the jurors, and some of the magistrates and assistant judges, were at our chapel on the Sunday forenoon; he endeavoured to improve the sad catastrophe by preaching from Heb. ix. 27: "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." The *certainty* of the future and final judgment of God was dwelt upon at some length, contrasting that with the uncertainty and mutability of every thing of an earthly nature; and especial reference was made to the postponement of the expected sessions that were to be held on the morrow; for though the court had been fitted up, jurors summoned, witnesses collected and brought from two or three hundred miles' distance, and the prisoners were looking with intense anxiety to the events of *that* day, yet these trials could not now take place, *because the judge was dead!* But there would be *no postponement* when "the great archangel's trump shall sound." It was a solemn time; and it is hoped good was done.

On the 28th of this month Mr. Moss embarked for England, having been at the Gambia upwards of two years, during which he had suffered repeatedly from the country fever and ague, in addition to the loss of his amiable wife. The author's motherless babe was sent to England in the same vessel, with an African nurse; Mr. Moss kindly taking charge of them to London, where they were met by friends from Smethwick. There being a medical man on board, and a European lady, with some other passengers, all of whom felt an interest in the welfare of the child, it was a most favourable opportunity; and it will be gratifying to many friends, both in England and in

Africa, to know that the dear child, deprived of its mother at such a tender age, is still living.

At the ensuing Conference Mr. Moss received an appointment to an English circuit. It was his intention to have returned to the Gambia; but after residing in England for little more than twelve months, he was appointed to the West Indies, where he has been labouring ever since.*

Soon after Mr. Moss's departure for England, the author proceeded to Macarthy's Island, and he took another journey there in June, which was the fourth since his last arrival in Africa. But our attention must now be directed for a short time to the other stations.

During the year 1840 considerable interest was excited in England in favour of the Gold-Coast mission, occasioned by Mr. Freeman's visit to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantec. We have already referred the reader to Mr. Freeman's Journal, containing the particulars of this visit. And on his arrival in England in the month of June, with Mr. William De Graft, a native local preacher, that feeling was greatly increased, and became almost universal.

A special appeal was made to the friends of missions; and Mr. Freeman and Mr. De Graft having visited several of the principal towns in Great Britain and Ireland, the noble sum of £5,000 was raised in a few months, to enable the committee considerably to augment the number of missionaries in that interesting and important part of the society's field of labour. It is gratifying to add, that towards this sum of money raised on that occasion, some generous donations were presented by members of the church of England, and of other religious denominations.

Mr. Freeman, and the party appointed to accompany him to the Gold-Coast, embarked at Gravesend on the 10th of December. In addition to Mr. De Graft, it consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Hesk, Mr. and Mrs. Shipman, with Messrs. Watson, Walden, and Thackwray. In announcing their departure, the committee remark:—

Never was a missionary party dismissed from the shores of England with a more intense feeling of interest and sympathy. All acknowledge the very arduous and difficult character of the mission, as well as its important bearings on the welfare of the human race, and one of the boldest efforts yet made by the church in modern times, to introduce Christianity and its attendant blessings to the independent Negro states of interior Africa. Thousands of prayers have been offered

* Till the summer of 1850, when he returned home, and is now labouring in England.

in behalf of these missionaries and their undertaking; and we do not doubt that they will be constantly remembered at the throne of grace by those who are concerned for the prosperity and extension of the kingdom of Christ.

This noble band of missionaries were favoured with a safe voyage to Africa, and landed at Cape-Coast Castle on the 1st of February, 1841. But the pleasing prospect which this large addition to the missionary staff afforded, was soon blighted by the withering effects of this deadly climate. The first reduction in their strength was in the return of Mr. and Mrs. Mycock to England, occasioned by the failure of their health. They had been on the coast little more than twelve months, when, from a sense of duty, they were compelled to embark for their native air. This was in March; and in about six months after the mission-party arrived at Cape-Coast, four of them were numbered with the dead, and a fifth had to return home to save his life. It is therefore once more our painful duty to dwell upon the ravages of death.

WILLIAM THACKWRAY died at Annamaboe, May 4th, 1841, three months and three days after he landed in Africa. He was a young man of amiable disposition and manners, and of entire devotedness to God and his work. He had nobly volunteered for this part of the Heathen world, and "on African ground" wrote to the committee in the spirit of a devoted missionary. During his brief sojourn on the coast, he had gained the affections of the people amongst whom he was appointed to labour; and deeply did they lament his loss. His illness was of about eight days' duration, which he bore with great fortitude and resignation to the will of God. His remains were removed to Cape-Coast, and buried in the chapel-yard. The loss of a missionary so promising and faithful, and so well qualified for the peculiar duties of his station, was deeply felt by the society, and by all who knew him.

CHARLES WALDEN was the second who fell on this occasion. He addressed a letter to the committee, dated Cape-Coast, May 26th, at which time he was in excellent health and spirits. But he was not permitted long to labour in his Lord's vineyard. Soon after this date he was attacked with the seasoning fever, from which he partially recovered; but a relapse proved fatal, and his valuable life terminated on the 29th of July, 1841.

MRS. FREEMAN was a native of Bristol, from which place Mr. Freeman married her, a few weeks before the mission-party

embarked for the Gold-Coast. Soon after their arrival in Africa, it was feared that Mrs. Freeman would not be able to endure the climate, and preparations were being made for her return to England; but before an opportunity offered, she was seized with an illness which terminated fatally, and she expired in the Saviour's arms, on the 25th of August, 1841.

Mrs. HESK died on the 28th of August, three days after Mrs. Freeman. This event took place at Annamaboe; but the body was interred at Cape-Coast, by the side of others who, with her, had "fallen asleep in Jesus."

Thus the whole four "died in faith," and, though happy and delighted with the mission work on earth, they soon proved that "to depart and be with Christ is far better."

Mr. Hesk's health failed him soon after he landed in Africa; and though he tried the effects of one or two short voyages on the coast, he continued in a very debilitated state, and in September embarked for England. He arrived in London on the 6th of November, with a shattered constitution; but after some months he recovered, and has since, together with Mr. Mycock, been employed in the ministry at home.

The mission party at the Gold-Coast was now reduced more than one-half; but, notwithstanding these heavy afflictions and mysterious bereavements, Mr. Freeman, early in November, in company with Mr. Brooking and the two Ashantee princes, started for Coomassie, which place they reached about the middle of the following month, and were favourably received by the king, who granted them a piece of land on which to erect suitable mission-premises; and the nucleus of a Christian church was speedily formed in the blood-dyed streets of the capital of the sanguinary kingdom of Ashantee. Having made the necessary arrangements for prosecuting the mission, Mr. Freeman returned to the Coast, leaving Mr. Brooking in charge of one of the most important undertakings of modern days.

As the Journal of Mr. Freeman's second visit to the capital of Ashantee, with that of his first journey thither, has been for some time before the public in a separate form, I must refer my readers to that most interesting little volume, and to the "Missionary Notices," for further details respecting this mission at the time of which we are now speaking.

Messrs. Dove and Badger at Sierra-Leone were mercifully preserved in tolerable health, under the heavy burden which devolved upon them, in consequence of their having been

deprived of the assistance of their two colleagues, one of whom, it will be recollected, was obliged to return to England, and the other had been removed to a better world in the course of the preceding year. Some very interesting communications from this thriving station, bearing the date of June and July of the year 1841, the reader will find in the ninth volume of the "Missionary Notices," at pp. 609—615, and also in the annual Report for the following year. Two striking features and interesting facts may be here recorded in connexion with this mission. The first is, that some of the liberated Africans of the Aku tribe, who were members of the society, had purchased a condemned slave-vessel with the fruits of their industry, and had proceeded to Badagry, on the borders of their own native country; and, having carried their religion with them, were anxious to have a missionary. One of these, in a letter to Mr. Dove, asking for help, entreats for that help in the following most impassioned terms: "*For Christ's sake, come quickly. Let nothing but sickness prevent you. Do not stop to change your clothes, to eat, or drink, or sleep, and salute no man by the way. Do, for God's sake, start this moment.*"

The other fact is, that several of the chapels and mission-buildings in the colony had been partly erected by means of "*the masts, spars, and planks of condemned slave-ships.*" What a glorious change was this! The slave-ship, that floating dungeon, where many of the poor creatures had been so closely packed that they had scarcely room to breathe, and were on their way to a life of suffering more terrible than death,—that same ship is captured, the slaves are liberated, the vessel is broken up, its materials converted into a house of prayer, and the slaves, in the mean time, having experienced another and far more important liberty than that of civil emancipation, are rejoicing in that liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free; and, in that house of worship, with glad hearts and free, are declaring the wonderful works of God! Surely "this is the Lord's doing," and "it is marvellous in our eyes."

It was about the middle of the year 1841 that the late Niger Expedition called at Sierra-Leone, and excited considerable interest in the colony. Monday, the 28th of June, was a day set apart for special prayer to Almighty God for the success of that noble and philanthropic undertaking, when suitable addresses were delivered by several of the missionaries; and on that day the colonial chaplain, the Rev. D. F. Morgan, preached an appropriate sermon from Zechariah iv. 10: "For who hath despised the day of small things? for they shall rejoice, and

shall see the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel with those seven; they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth."

That Expedition unhappily proved a partial, though not an entire, failure, which was a source of deep regret and disappointment to thousands, but to none more so than to the late great and good Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, with whom the plan mainly originated.

The writer, when in England for a short time in 1839, had the honour of a few interviews with that noble-minded Christian philanthropist; and from a brief correspondence with him, as well as from personal observation, he knew the deep anxiety and interest which he had felt in the benevolent enterprise. He knows, too, that Sir Fowell looked to a Higher Power than that of royal patronage, backed though the scheme was by the British Government, and the countenance and support of hundreds of the most influential, intelligent, and pious of his countrymen. He looked to "the King of kings and Lord of lords" for His blessing to rest upon the object, and endeavoured that the officers and agents selected for the Expedition should be, if not decidedly religious and God-fearing men, at least persons of good moral character, who would embark in the cause from principle, and from a sincere desire to benefit the Negroes: and in this he succeeded to a considerable extent. But there were not wanting men, professing to be well-wishers to Africa, who uttered the bitterest invectives against the originators and counsellors of the unsuccessful enterprise, and even against some of those who volunteered to carry out the intentions of Government.

It is not my design in this place to investigate the various reasons assigned for its failure; but I hesitate not to give it as my decided opinion, that one of the principal causes which led to that issue was the withering and blighting effects of the climate: and against that what human power or skill can contend? What arm save that of Omnipotence can control the elements? The Polar regions, with their mountains of ice, and perpetual wastes of snow, are not more difficult to navigate than are the unfriendly and inhospitable shores of the Western Coast of Africa; and are less dangerous to the health and lives of a large party of Europeans who have just landed fresh and fair from the balmy air of Great Britain's healthy isle. In the former of these countries the words of the Psalmist are peculiarly appropriate: "He giveth snow like wool: he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who can stand before his cold?" (Psalm cxlvii. 16, 17.) And in reference to

the latter, though the opposite extreme in the heat or temperature of the climate is not the primary cause of the great amount of mortality which takes place there, yet it must be acknowledged to be one of the causes: for, during the periodical rains which prevail in these latitudes, when the rivers are overflowed, and the surrounding country is covered with water for scores of miles, vegetation is so rapid and rampant; and the action of the sun pouring its fiercest rays upon those stagnant pools and low swampy savannahs, filled with a mass of decayed vegetable and animal matter, which soon becomes putrid, causes the whole atmosphere to be strongly impregnated with a deadly malaria. It may then be asked, What European lungs can inhale these pestilential and poisonous effluvia, and yet survive or withstand their effects? The preceding pages will furnish abundant proof that those who can are the exceptions to the rule. It is well known, that Mungo Park's whole retinue was annihilated; that Captain Tuckey, in 1816, died with nearly one-half of his officers and crew, and all the scientific men, with but one exception, perished. Captain Owen also lost nearly two-thirds; and Laird, by the time he arrived at the confluence of the Niger, had buried half his white crew, and more than half his officers.

In the noble undertaking for the benefit of Africa, of which we are speaking, every thing was done which prudence and foresight could dictate, or that skill and science could invent, to guard the members of the Expedition against the prejudicial effects of the climate; and ten thousand prayers were offered to the Most High, that He would be pleased to preserve them from "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," and from "the destruction that wasteth at noon-day." But, for reasons unknown to us, it seemed good to Him, "who ordereth all things according to the counsel of his own will," to disappoint the high hopes of those who had interested themselves in a mission, so merciful, so gracious, and so generous. There was indeed a physical impracticability, not to say impossibility, in the present natural aspect of that country, for so large a party of Europeans to "breathe in the tainted air" of that land of death, and "pass unhurt;" and therefore, like other large expeditions, they sickened and died, or returned home invalided: and, in reference to many, what were those beautiful and well-built vessels, the "Albert," "Wilberforce," and "Soudan," in which our brave countrymen embarked with their wide-spread canvass and flags waving in the breeze?—what were they but the biers and palls in disguise, bearing away scores of their unsuspecting victims to

“the white man’s grave,” and “to the house appointed for all living?”

But there is still hope for Africa, and even in that Expedition some good seed was sown, which may produce fruit after many days. It is pleasing to add, in reference to many of those who fell victims to the climate on this occasion, that they not only died in a good cause, but “died in the Lord,” and their record is on high.

It was during this year also that Dr. Madden was sent to Western Africa by the British Government, on a commission of inquiry. He visited the Gold-Coast, Sierra-Leone, and the Gambia; and his Report of the state of the British settlements, with some account of the missions and schools connected with the Church Missionary Society, as well as our own, was published the year after in the Appendix to the “Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the West Coast of Africa.”

The doctor, during his short stay on the Coast, though at the best season of the year, suffered considerably from the effects of the climate; and on his arrival in May at the Gambia, the last place he called at, he was in ill health. He is too well known to the Christian public to need any commendation from the writer, who, however, felt happy in having him under his roof. The following lines by a poet of the present day will be interesting, perhaps, to the reader, from which he will see the object of his visit, as well as the character of the man. They were kindly written in the author’s “Scrap-Book” during the commissioner’s brief sojourn with him at St. Mary’s.

Lines Addressed to Dr. Madden, on his Departure
for Africa.

By Dr. William Beattie.

God speed the herald on his way,
To whom the task is given
To check oppression’s iron sway,
That mocks at earth and Heaven!
The word he bears from Britain’s Isle
Shall nature’s rights restore,
And Freedom’s long-forgotten smile
Revisit Afric’s shore!

Strike off those fetters from her hand!
Break off those withering gyves!
Then see how native mind expands,
How the crush’d heart revives!

The blind shall see, the dumb shall sing,
 The Slave forget his woe :
 And freedom, like a fountain-spring,
 That land shall overflow.

Borne forward on the wings of time,
 A glorious scene appears !
 O'er man of every class and clime
 Her standard Freedom rears !
 Go prosper in that hallow'd cause
 Which men and angels plead !
 Restore to Nature's trampled laws
 Her charter and her creed !
 God speed the ship with wave and wind !
 Our herald's life defend !
 In him the captive's sure to find
 A brother and a friend.

January, 1841.

W. BEATTIE.

The truth of some of these "lines" has been illustrated and confirmed in the preceding pages, especially in the liberated Africans; who having had their "fetters" and "gyves struck off" their hands and feet, the "crushed heart" has "revived," and the "native mind" has "expanded;" and, in hundreds of instances, the oppressed and persecuted Negro has speedily become an useful member of civil and religious society.

At the close of the year, the writer was at St. Mary's, having finished the Institution at Macarthy's Island; and as Mr. English had some months before removed to the West Indies, and Mr. Crowley, the schoolmaster, had, previous to that, resigned his office, and gone to Sierra-Leone, with the expectation of a situation under Government, he was anxiously waiting the arrival of additional help. In December the "Charlotte Wylie" entered the Gambia from London, and the writer was speedily on board to give the brethren a cordial welcome; but was grievously disappointed at the small supply for the Gambia. This will be seen from the following brief extract from the "Missionary Notices :"—

With much thankfulness to Almighty God, we learn, by letters from Mr. Fox and Mr. Symons, that the missionaries, Symons, Raston, and Annear, arrived safe and well at St. Mary's, on the Gambia, on the 20th of December, after a passage of thirty-nine days from London. Mr. Symons remains at the Gambia mission. Messrs. Raston and Annear, with Mr. May, a native schoolmaster, sailed for Sierra-Leone, on the 1st of January.

Great disappointment and regret are very naturally expressed by Mr. Fox, on finding that, on account of the Society's want of funds, *only one* missionary, instead of the three desired and expected, had been for the present sent to the Gambia stations. We deem it an act of justice to give his own words.

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. William For, dated Gambia,
January 13th, 1842.*

I HOPE that poor Gambia will not be forgotten by the committee amidst their very numerous applications for help. I know that Sierra-Leone and Cape-Coast need assistance; and I deeply sympathize with Mr. Freeman in all his bereavements and trials. But the River Gambia, too, *is in Africa*; and I still maintain that it is one of the most important, direct, and safe entrances into the interior of this vast, and as yet comparatively unknown, continent. Send us sufficient help, and, ere many years have elapsed, you will, I trust, have a missionary station at the great emporium of Africa, TIMBUCTOO.

The mission at the Gold-Coast about this time received a re-inforcement of labourers, the committee feeling it to be their imperative duty to send at least three individuals to supply, in part, the vacancies which were so soon created by the four deaths we have already noticed, and the unexpected return of Mr. and Mrs. Mycock. The three brethren were Messrs. William Allen, Henry J. Wyatt, and Thomas Rowland. Mr. Allen arrived at the Gold-Coast on the 27th of January, and the other two brethren on the 4th of February; and thus the little band who had still been enabled to maintain their post was strengthened,—strengthened, alas! but for a short time; for two out of the three just mentioned, in five short months, were summoned to “the rest that remains for the people of God.” These were Messrs. Wyatt and Rowland.

HENRY J. WYATT, by the fervour of his spirit, and his devotedness to God, had excited the hope of his being made a great blessing among the oppressed and degraded sons of Ham, whose deep wrongs he had felt, and for whose salvation he had fervently prayed. But he entered into rest in the morning of his day, having been permitted to preach only two or three times before he was seized with the illness which proved fatal. He had presented his body to God “a living sacrifice,” and without a sigh fell asleep in Jesus, on the 6th of April, 1842, in the twenty-third year of his age, after a residence in Africa of about nine weeks.

THOMAS ROWLAND, (2d,) was from the Uttoxeter circuit; and, immediately after the Conference of 1840, was received into the Theological Institution at Hoxton as a missionary candidate. He had not chosen any particular part of the mission-field as the scene of his labours, but left himself at the disposal of the Missionary Committee. The circumstances connected with his appointment to Western Africa are interesting,

and have been kindly forwarded to me by a brother minister, who was at that time a fellow-student with him at Hoxton.

It appears that, during his residence in the Institution, he not only improved his mind, but "made rapid progress in piety;" thus becoming more fully prepared for the great work which awaited him. For some time before his call to Africa, he had set apart Friday in every week for fasting and prayer; and it was on one of those memorable days that he received his call to that part of the world. On the day in question, he seemed to be more than ordinarily intent upon offering himself afresh to God; and a little before dinner-time he borrowed from the friend alluded to a copy of the *Covenant-Service*: the reason why he wanted it just then, it was afterwards learnt, was, that while the rest of the students were at dinner, he might solemnly renew his covenant with God. While he was engaged in that solemn act, Dr. Beecham came to the Institution, wanting two young men for Western Africa; and as Mr. Rowland had been thought of for one, but was not at dinner, a messenger was sent to his study, to call him. He had got as far in the *Covenant-Service* as the fourth direction in the first part, "That He appoint you your work," &c., when a knock was heard at his study-door, calling him down-stairs to see Dr. Beecham, who asked him, "Will you go to Western Africa?" He was, of course, surprised at this question; but most cheerfully and emphatically said, "Yes, Sir; I will go!" His heart was set upon this interesting part of the Heathen world; and he said, that he would not give up his appointment to Western Africa for the best circuit in the Connexion.

In this spirit he embarked at Gravesend, with Mr. Wyatt, towards the close of December, 1841; and, as already stated, arrived at Cape-Coast early in February. About the middle of May he started for Coomassie, to join Mr. Brooking, who had charge of that very important part of the Gold-Coast mission; but his illness commenced on the journey; and though he several times so far partially recovered as to awaken hopes of his entire restoration, these hopes were cut off, and this devoted and promising young missionary entered into the joy of his Lord, on the 10th of July, 1842, at Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee. He was the first missionary who died there, and there his mortal remains were interred.

We must now return again to the Gambia. A few extracts from the author's journal, originally published in 1843, in the "Report of the Institution for benefiting the Foulahs," will

show that the commencement of the year 1842, as well as previously, was occupied by him in visiting several of the native kings and chiefs, for the purpose of inducing them to send their sons to the excellent Institution which had been erected principally for that purpose, and which was now finished, and used as a suitable place of worship, as well as a place of residence for the mission family :—

January 20th, 1842.—Arrived at Macarthy's in the schooner "Fame." Talked over our proposed visits to the kings of Kattaba and Woolli with Mr. Swallow, who wishes to accompany me. It was suggested that it would not be prudent to visit king Kemmington, as he is reported to be both a treacherous and desperate character.

February 1st.—Brother Swallow having been urged to leave for St. Mary's, on account of his boy's illness, both for change of air and medical advice, I set out this morning for Kattaba, and returned in the evening, a distance of about twenty-eight miles. I was much gratified by the interview with the king, his wife, and their sons, with whom I conversed for several hours. The parents appeared willing to part with two of their sons, but they must first consult with one who is entitled to a voice in such matters. Accordingly he came, and, after sitting down for a short time, rose and left us, saying he would never consent to the project; when one of the young princes also declared that he would not go. After reasoning, however, with him on the numerous advantages that would accrue both to his offspring and his subjects from his accepting my offer, and pointing out the folly of allowing his wishes to be thwarted by one individual, especially as his brother, who is heir to the throne, was favourable to the measure, the king, pointing to two of his sons, said, "They shall go." It was consequently determined that I should either go or send for them when all was ready.

4th.—Mr. Richard Lloyd having kindly offered to accompany me on my visit to Santigeba, the chief of Lower Nyani, in Kattaba, we set sail in his canoe, and reached Yanimaroo about two o'clock, A.M. At daylight we despatched a messenger to the king, who immediately sent us horses, with an escort and a band of music. Nyabantang, the residence of Santigeba, is a good-sized, mud-walled town, surrounded by three large Foulah, or Mohammedan, towns, with three or four others in the distance. The inhabitants of the royal town are a mixed race of Mandingoes and Jalloofs, who speak both languages. They seem to be a brave and intelligent race of people; the children, who appeared both numerous and healthy, were running about without any clothing. I was impressed with a conviction that, could we establish a mission here, some valuable native agents would soon be raised up, to aid in the great work of evangelizing this vast moral desert. I was much pleased with Santigeba's quickness of perception and enlightened views: no sooner had the object of our visit been opened by Mr. Lloyd, who kindly interpreted for me in the Jalloof, than he replied, "I see through the thing at once—it is a most disinterested object." He then proceeded to eulogize me, or, more properly, the excellent Dr. Lindoe, who originated so noble a design. He added, that he thought I might depend on having one of his sons, who was very desirous of being taught; but there were those whom he must first consult. On my sounding him on the subject of founding a mission in or near his town, he immediately answered, "That you may do as soon as you please; there can be no possible objection to that;" then, referring to the immediate object of our visit, he told me that he only wished he was younger himself, that he too might enjoy the privilege. His

dwelling in which he received us was a mud hut, about twelve feet in diameter, with two narrow entrances, but without window or chimney, whilst vast crowds stood within, and surrounded the doors. He shook hands with us at parting, and we were conducted into one of the king's yards, where was a comfortable *bentang*, and some *kouskous*, beef, and fowls prepared for us. Shortly, Santigeba came in to see that all was right; he also paid us a second visit, when, sitting down to smoke his pipe, we rehearsed all that had passed, and he repeated his former assurance. He pressed us much to stay all night; but as the morrow was Sunday, I declined. Fresh horses were instantly got ready, and we rode to Yanimaroo, accompanied by the king's brother, his head servant, and one other, whence we returned by vessel to Macarthy's. Naman is, in fact, the *mansa*, or king, of Kattaba; but Santigeba is looked up to by the people as such, who generally flee to him for protection against an invading or marauding force. The country round Nyabantang is more elevated, and consequently more dry and healthy, than most places I have visited. Within a circle of eight or ten miles there are not less than ten thousand precious souls; and although composed of many different tribes, they all speak the Mandingo, and are not merely open to, but disposed cordially to welcome, the harbingers of gospel tidings. What an important field for missionary culture is here presented, and how favourable the opening for obtaining a footing for the gospel of peace on this desolate and blood-stained continent!

8th.—This afternoon I set sail for King Kemmingtan's town. Messrs. Chown, Lloyd, and C. Grant, with a military officer, kindly accompanied me to Fatota, where they saw me on board, and left me with warmest wishes for my safety and success. The following day we passed Broko and Barsan-sang; and on the morning of the 9th we landed Laming at Foolatenda, to proceed as my messenger to Kemmingtan, at Dunkaseen, and then to return and meet me at Woolli.

13th.—I spent the sabbath, as I have often been compelled to do, on board a small vessel, making little way, but well engaged with reading, meditation, and prayer.

14th.—We reached Fattatenda this afternoon; but I was strongly advised by some old traders whom I met to defer my visit for some days, the country being agitated by wars and rumours of wars. Great numbers of people, principally women and children, had fled and were fleeing from Woolli to this port, bringing with them their mats, calabashes, &c., and as much corn as they could carry. There are now twenty or thirty groups sheltered under the branches of trees, with fences or enclosures of brambles and corn-stakes. This warfare commenced in the following manner:—A band of *sonninkeas* from Madina fell upon a Foulah town near Bambako, (in the same kingdom,) took a number of cattle, and about twenty of the natives, whom they sold for slaves. Most of the large towns have Foulah villages contiguous to them, as the Foulahs pitch their tents near fortified towns, to be out of the reach of still more merciless enemies; although they are obliged to give their protectors milk, butter, and even their cattle, when they are demanded, or they would be taken by force. In this case the Bambako people, in order to be revenged on the Madinas, fell on a Foulah town near the royal residence, took many head of cattle, and fifty-five free people, whom they immediately sold into slavery. These people and cattle the king of Woolli, who resides at Madina, has demanded them to restore. The Bambako people have applied for help to the almamy of Bondou, and there are now about two hundred horse and one hundred foot stationed at Bambako. A palaver has, however, been proposed; and it is to be hoped the matter will be settled without having recourse to arms.

To-day the messenger returned and brought me word that Kemmingtan would be

happy to see me, and that he had sent one of his servants to conduct me from Woolli to his residence; but he, having had tidings of the war whilst on the road, returned to acquaint the king. About noon, three men arrived from the king of Woolli, with horses to convey us to Madina.

17th.—Early this morning I started for Madina, accompanied by Laming Buri, the interpreter, my servant Wassa, and the three men sent to me by the king. Taking my former route through Bantonding, we halted at Subakunda, where we took refreshment, and proceeded to Madina, distant twenty-four miles from Fattatenda. Here I was soon recognised by great numbers as the *tobauba-fodey*, or “white priest;” and numerous were the salutations of *Abbe-haeretto* and *Salam-alaikum*, with which they accosted me. My quarters were, as formerly, at the house of old Sandi, the prime minister. Fatembirang, the heir presumptive, with several influential persons, came to pay me their compliments; and after resting a short time, we were introduced to His Majesty, Sandi’s servant carrying the present I had brought for him. I explained the nature, design, and advantages of the Institution to the hoary-headed king, who listened with great attention, and answered, “It is very good indeed, and you shall have one or two of my younger sons;” adding, “You have come at an unfavourable time; but when the palaver is over, I will fulfil my promise.”

On leaving, the king shook me cordially by the hand. I next spoke on the subject to his two eldest sons, and urged the heir-apparent to send his children. He allowed it was an excellent thing, and assured me that as soon as Mansa Koi, the king, had sent his, he would follow the example. After conversing further with the people, and concluding with singing and prayer, I threw myself on a mat in the warm sand, amidst the din of dancing, drum-beating, and noisy merriment.

18th.—This morning I started with my interpreter to Dunkaseen; the latter terribly afraid of an interview with Kemmingtan, Laming not having as yet joined us; but he came up shortly after, and we reached Dunkaseen, wearied and hungry, about three o’clock. Although the place and circumstances conspired to make me serious, yet I felt not only composed, but happy. I felt convinced, were my life the forfeit, it would turn out to the furtherance of the gospel, and that, if called to make the sacrifice, I could willingly die in such a cause. After resting awhile, I was shown to the king’s residence, and had an interview with that hardened sinner; his looks were depraved, determined, and malignant. Whilst I was addressing him, he scarcely looked towards me, but amused himself by playing with a double-barrelled gun; and truly I was not sorry when I saw him lay it down. He made me no reply, which I am informed he rarely does until a second interview.

About eight o’clock the king sent some rice and goat-mutton, with a mess of milk and *kouskous*, the first meal I had partaken of during the day, for we could get nothing on the road.

19th.—We rose at day-light, and, as soon as we could be admitted, waited on the king. He received us very civilly, and even condescended to look at me. He said that too much talk was not good, but what he said he meant; adding, he was glad to see me; that the object I came for was very good, but it was so new and strange, that he could not promise me to send his children; however, he would think of it, and whenever I liked to send a messenger to him, he should be treated with the same respect as myself. I then gave him an Arabic Bible, and other presents, and, after some further conversation, took my leave. The king provided us with horses, and sent two men with us to bring them back from Fattatenda. On our return through Madina, I had another interview with the king, who repeated

to me his promise of yesterday, and then made for Fattatenda, which we reached about six o'clock, P.M., hungry, faint, and exhausted, having been for nine hours on horseback, and ridden during the day upwards of forty miles.

20th.—The vessel not being ready for Macarthy's, I paid a visit to the chief of Bodori, ten miles distant on the south side of the river. The country is very fine, most of it elevated, and under cultivation. I had an interview with the chief, who appears to be an ignorant, depraved old man; consequently, little, if at all, interested in the object of my mission. As, however, he made no objections, he may be brought to a better mind.

26th.—I arrived in safety at Macarthy's, in indifferent health, and much fatigued; but truly thankful that God has been with me, and brought me back in peace. May his blessing prosper this humble effort to promote his glory and benefit my fellow-men!

In a few weeks after these visits, we had several royal pupils in the Institution, under the care of Messrs. Swallow and Symons, of which something more will be said anon.

From the preceding extracts, and especially from that under date of February 18th, it will be seen that, on the writer approaching the town of Dunkaseen, his feelings were of a peculiar kind, as he knew not the issue, as to himself, in seeking an audience with so desperate a chief as Kemmingtan, whose very name, from his ferocious deeds, had spread terror for many miles round and beyond his own locality. This much-dreaded chieftain usurped the throne of Upper Nyani, by putting to death two of his brothers, whose bodies he gave to the eagles; and he has ever since maintained it by the same hardihood in cruelty. More than once, when a messenger has brought him some evil tidings from a distance, he has instantly seized his musket, and shot the unhappy reporter dead on the spot; and on one occasion, being enraged against some marraboo, whom it is not lawful to kill, he cut off his hands and feet, and allowed him to bleed to death; saying, "It was God who killed him, not I; for I only cut off his limbs." His hands, as well as his "feet," have ever been "swift to shed blood."

But that which rendered my interview with the despot on this occasion one of considerable hazard, was the following circumstance:—Kemmingtan had not only frequently been in the immediate neighbourhood of Macarthy's Island, on his marauding excursions, "scattering firebrands, arrows, and death," but a few years previously he had also seized upon a British vessel in the upper river, and pillaged it of all its merchandise. Several attempts had been made by the local authorities to gain restitution, and to bring the matter to an amicable settlement. These, however, failed; and a late lieutenant-governor, being determined to chastise him for such an outrage, proceeded for that

purpose in a man-of-war, accompanied by a few native troops and volunteers from Macarthy's Island. They anchored at a creek in the upper river, by which they proceeded in boats as far as they could towards Dunkascen; and the rest of the journey they pursued by land, cutting their way through the bush, having with them several field-pieces. At length they came within sight of the town; and so eager were they to be avenged for the piratical deed, and so sure were they of success, that, without stopping to take refreshment, or make provision for water, they at once commenced an attack upon the capital; and, having expended a quantity of powder and shot upon its mud-walls, they succeeded in making a breach. This brought the lion from his den, and a sharp fire was returned, when several of the native soldiers were killed, and two Europeans were wounded. By this time our countrymen and the troops were exhausted from want of food, but especially of water; and some native allies from Woolli, with Mantamba at their head, having failed to enter the breach according to promise, they made a hasty retreat, having left two or three pieces of brass cannon behind them; and had it not been for Mantamba, with about five hundred Mandingoes from Woolli, who protected them in their retreat, they had probably every one perished. As it was, it was a total failure; and Kemmingtan, having unspiked the guns that were left on the field, had them mounted upon his own mud fort, and now bade defiance to the world.

Some time after this, a succeeding governor, on a visit to Macarthy's Island, anxious to have a good understanding with Kemmingtan, as well as with the other chiefs, sent a friendly message to him, to ask him to come to Macarthy's Island, that the late affair might be settled amicably. The bearers of this message were a military officer and a European merchant; but Kemmingtan declined the invitation: he would meet the governor on his own territory, but would not come to Macarthy's Island. Almost immediately after this, a misunderstanding arose between Kemmingtan and the king of Kattaba; and as the latter was looked upon as a kind of British ally, about thirty soldiers were sent from Macarthy's Island to his assistance, with the same military officer at their head. Kemmingtan could not understand this, and was now more than ever incensed against the English, and swore he would have the first white man's head he could obtain, and make a *greegree* of it. The matter, therefore, was never settled, and for some time the trade in the upper river was suspended, as it was feared the

goods on board the vessels would be seized, and probably the crews murdered or taken into slavery. But though no further outrage was committed by Kemmingtan, all intercourse between him and the local authorities was at an end; and the writer was the first European who ventured upon an interview with this chief after the threat which he had uttered.

It will now be seen that in this visit there was considerable personal risk: it was some time before I could obtain an interpreter and guide to accompany me; and various were the opinions as to the result of the journey: the prevailing one was, that I should never return. There is something in such a situation that for a moment startles human nature. The place of this interview was in a kind of citadel, in an open square of about twelve feet each way, surrounded with a high wall; and Kemmingtan sat on a stool at the door-way leading into a part of his residence, with a double-barrelled gun in his hand, the writer being seated directly opposite to him, about six feet distant, with his interpreter close by, and half a dozen old men and warriors seated all round. To escape, therefore, was out of the question; and he knew not but the next moment the contents of the gun would be lodged in his breast. But He who said, "Lo, I am with you alway," was present; and nothing but his almighty power could give composure and equanimity in such a scene as was this. Kemmingtan knew that the writer was neither a military man, nor a merchant engaged in commerce; but that he was a minister of the gospel, whose business it was to proclaim "peace to them that are afar off and to them that are nigh:" he, in fact, referred to this in the brief conversation which ensued, with an intimation, that, had any other white man come to Dunkaseen, he would have met with a different kind of reception.

It will be seen, from the preceding extracts from the author's journal, that he was not only unmolested, but treated with great civility and respect; nay, this "barbarous people showed him no little kindness;" for Kemmingtan himself furnished him with a good supply of provisions during his stay, and gave him horses and guides back to Fattatenda. Nor was this all; for in about eighteen months afterwards, a royal pupil was sent to the Institution at Macarthy's Island, from Dunkaseen!

Another fact in connexion with this visit deserves to be mentioned. The author, in going to Fattatenda, did not take the direct route to the residence of Kemmingtan; and the acute old chief had asked me why I had not come to his town direct from Macarthy's Island; but, being informed that I had

business at Woolli, and preferred going by water as far as I could, he was satisfied. My interpreter, Laming Buri, "was terribly afraid of an interview with Kemmingtan;" and, "not knowing the things that would befall me there," and not wishing unnecessarily to bring others into trouble, I had proposed to my servant Wassa, that he should remain at Madina, and take charge of a few things I was leaving there, and that I would call for him on my way back the next day. But to this proposal the faithful Negro nobly replied, "No, Massa; I must go with you: suppose Kemmingtan make you slave, he make me slave; suppose Kemmingtan kill you, he kill me too!" I told him I did not think he would kill either of us; for I looked to a Higher Power than that which can kill the body. He might possibly keep us as hostages for the breaking of his town by the English some time ago, and then it would require a good price to redeem us all. However, Wassa was determined to go and share with his master, whatever the fate might be; and go he did; and, without further comment, this little incident is left to speak for itself.

Having held our annual district-meeting at Macarthy's Island on the 9th of March, when all was peace and harmony, the writer proceeded in a few days to St. Mary's; and on the 14th of April a favourable opportunity offering for Sierra-Leone, he embarked on that day for a short visit to that interesting British colony and mission-station. The vessel in which he sailed was the "George Dean," with Mr. Ritchie, a respectable young European, as supercargo. On the passage down we called at Bissao, in the Rio-Grande; for which I was not sorry, as, though but two days' sail from the Gambia, I had never before visited the place. But I had soon enough of it. It is well known that this Portuguese settlement has long been a noted slave-depôt. Many of the poor creatures I saw in irons, and the natives generally were in a state of almost perfect nudity. Fresh supplies were coming in from the interior, and a large slaver was lying in one of the creeks, waiting for a cargo of human beings. I was introduced to the governor at the fort, and to Cactanio, a merchant and notorious slave-dealer, who has amassed considerable wealth, at the expense of the life, liberty, flesh, blood, bones, and sinews of his fellow-creatures! On the morning of the 19th, Mr. Ritchie having finished his legitimate trade, we left this foul place; and heartily glad I was; for, considering it as an European establishment, Bissao is the most filthy, uncivilized, and barbarous spot I ever saw. And how can it be otherwise, when the staple article of trade consists in the buying and selling of the rational part of God's creation?

On leaving this modern Sodom, we had a good run to a far different European colony; for, about ten A.M. on Saturday, 23d, we discovered the mountains of Sierra-Leone, distant about twenty-five miles, the scenery of which, as we approached "nearer and nearer still," was most enchanting. When we consider the philanthropic principles on which this British settlement was founded, and the vast benefits which it has conferred on tens of thousands of Negroes who have been rescued from "the man-stealer," and who, on touching this colony, lose their shackles, and that moment become free,—we perceive how beautifully it contrasts with the miserable, dark den of slavery at Bissao!—the one, the land of Egypt; and the other, the promised land of Canaan!

We anchored in the harbour of Free-Town between two and three P.M.; and the writer soon found his way to the mission-house, where he met with a cordial reception, and was happy to find the brethren were all tolerably well.

During this short visit the writer went to Wellington, Hastings, Gloucester, Regent, and several of the other villages, composed principally of re-captured Negroes, where we have interesting societies and good congregations, to whom he preached with pleasure and profit, as well as in the capital; and during his stay he was treated with great respect by all classes of the community, having by invitation dined with His Excellency at Government-house, with the military at the barracks, several of the merchants, and two of the Church missionaries. It was about this time that a more systematic plan was commenced for the training of native agents; and subsequently a very large and commodious building being offered for sale at King Tom's Point, it was purchased during the next year, and fitted up as an Institution. This building, for situation, convenience, and magnitude, was every thing that was desired, being sufficiently large for a mission-family at each end, and for the students in the middle. It was formerly a naval depôt, and is said to have cost £7,000; but was bought at public auction by the Society for three hundred guineas, several friends in England having liberally contributed for that specific object.

It was also during this year that the operations of a printing-press were begun at this station, when upwards of £120 were raised in the colony for printing purposes; and, in connexion with this, a monthly periodical, or religious newspaper, was commenced, which was called, "The Sierra-Leone Watchman."

On the 17th of May, the author re-embarked for the Gambia. At this time, Mr. Dove and Mr. Badger were preparing to sail

for England, having been at this station upwards of four years : they intended, however, to return, after having recruited their health ; which they accordingly did, as will be seen in due course. They left Sierra-Leone on the 27th of May ; but, having a long and tedious passage, they did not arrive in England till after the middle of August.

On the 29th of May, the writer arrived at St. Mary's, having had to beat up most of the way from Sierra-Leone. The rainy season was now drawing nigh ; and the tornadoes, with their accompaniments, thunder and lightning, were terrific. On the 21st of June we were visited by a tremendous one, with heavy rain, when several vessels in the harbour were driven ashore, and the roof of one house was partly blown away.

The writer was again engaged in the locality of St. Mary's, in visiting some of the native chiefs ; and in the month of July he took a journey to Macarthy's Island and its neighbourhood, for the same purpose. On his return, he was attacked with fever, which continued more or less severe for several days : fifty leeches applied to his chest gave him considerable relief. About the middle of August, Dr. Goheen, from Liberia, arrived at St. Mary's, on his way to America, and took up his abode with the writer at the mission-house. On the 19th Mr. Symons came down from the upper station, very unwell : Dr. Goheen kindly attended him. The next day Mr. Swallow and family sailed for Boavista, one of the Cape Verd Islands, principally on account of the illness and weakness of his child.

The colony at this time was in a state of considerable excitement, owing to some personal disputes and law-suits among the Europeans, and some of the authorities. The author kept aloof from these as much as possible, except that in one or two cases he acted as a kind of arbitrator ; and his efforts to promote peace were not in vain.

Towards the close of October, Mr. and Mrs. Swallow returned from the Cape Verd Islands, having lost their dear child, who had been ill for eighteen months. In a few days they proceeded to Macarthy's Island, and Mr. Symons passed through the rains tolerably well. But, as usual, the author had several attacks of fever during this season.

On December 18th, His Royal Highness Prince de Joinville, son of the king of the French, arrived at the Gambia, on board a French steamer, and immediately fired a royal salute, which was returned by our guns. Soon after this, His Royal Highness landed, and took a walk through the town, and visited the barracks and other places. He also honoured the mission-

house with a short visit, went into the chapel and school-room, and asked me several questions respecting the mission. In the evening I had the honour of dining with him at Government-house, with a large party of naval, civil, and military officers, merchants, &c.

Prince de Joinville appeared to be from twenty-eight to thirty years of age, was rather tall, easy and agreeable in his manner, though but imperfectly acquainted with the English language. He wore the uniform of a captain in the navy, with a star at his breast. His frigate, "*La Belle Poule*," was at Goree; and he was paying a temporary visit to the small French establishment at Albrada in the Gambia, and to the Casamanza, in the steamer, and then returned to Goree, and proceeded down the Coast in the vessel just mentioned. Since that day, "how are the mighty fallen!"

At the end of December the writer was once more at Macarthy's Island, and was delighted with the services conducted in the lower part of the Institution, which he attended on Christmas-day, the watchnight, and on the first sabbath of the new year.

The acting-governor from St. Mary's, T. L. Ingram, Esq., was on a voyage in the upper river, for the purpose of having an interview with the head-men at the different trading-ports, and of visiting most of the chiefs within his reach, in order to promote trade and commerce; and, being respectfully invited to accompany him, the writer gladly availed himself of this opportunity of taking a fourth journey among the natives, hoping that the benefit would be mutual. We left Macarthy's Island January 3d, 1843, on board the cutter "*Emma*." On the 4th and following days His Excellency tried to obtain an interview with Kemmingtan; but the crafty old chief, with fair speeches, avoided all personal communication with the British. I subjoin a few brief extracts from my journal:—

7th.—We waited at Foolatenda all day; but neither Kemmingtan came, nor any message from him; and what can be the cause of this, we are at a loss to conjecture, unless it be that he cannot forget the attack upon his town by a late lieutenant-governor, and therefore will not trust himself near the white men. After breakfast we rode to Bankobata, a large Julor town nearly two miles from the port, containing about fifteen hundred inhabitants. The land for some distance is cultivated; and ground-nuts, indigo, corn, and rice are grown in great plenty. We saw some date and pappa trees near the town; and, having

remained about an hour, we returned to the vessel. A considerable trade is carried on at this place, an European trader being now here with a vessel from St. Mary's, whose transactions amount to nearly fifteen hundred dollars per month.

The governor entered into a treaty with the head-men of Bankobata and Chakunda, about a mile further up the river, relative to trade, and prohibiting any dealings with slavery; but at the mention of this I saw several of them smile. In fact, they think as little of buying and selling their fellow-creatures as they do of exchanging cattle; and though the British merchants do not directly participate in this nefarious traffic, yet, in carrying on their trade in the upper part of the river, they become indirectly connected with it. For instance: a few days ago we were told that thirteen slaves were sold by the Bankobata people for country cloths, and these were immediately sold again to the European trader for English goods.

12th.—To-day we saw some of Kemmingtan's people from Dunkaseen, but could learn nothing satisfactory as to why he did not come to see the governor; and the latter is not disposed to venture a visit to him. The next day we proceeded to Madina.

17th.—Cantalicunda. We have been some time in deciding upon the best mode of proceeding higher up the river; but it was agreed we should proceed in the boat, and start with the tide at two o'clock in the morning. Soon after this arrangement was made, we heard a noise at the village ashore; and on going to see what was the cause, we found that some people had seized and carried off one of the Kroo-men belonging to our vessel, because, as we were told, the governor had not given them any presents, and the ground belonged to them. We were for some time in great excitement. Several persons, however, were immediately despatched after the stolen sailor, and a messenger sent off to the old chief. But before he arrived, the old man had sent a large party to take the prisoner back to the vessel, and expressed his regret at what had happened, though as yet they had not brought the Kroo-man. We sat up to a late hour; but were happy to be disturbed about two o'clock with the joyful news that John Freeman had come back, the king's people having rescued him out of the hands of his enemies. The poor fellow had fought hard before they could take him, in the first instance, from the village close to the shore: he had been cruelly treated on the road, and was afterwards tied by the neck, hands, and feet, to prevent his escape. This circumstance induced the governor not to proceed any further up the river,

as Cantalicunda is the highest trading-port in the Gambia; and we had heard that some of the dissatisfied people had hoped for an opportunity of catching either himself or me, saying they should have a vessel full of goods for our redemption.

The trade just now is not great at this port, owing principally to a war with Bondou and Bambarra. The river is here one hundred and forty yards broad, and three fathoms deep, and the rise and fall of the tide at this season of the year is about three feet. Early on the following morning we weighed anchor on our return; and having no places to call at, and being favoured with a fair wind, we reached Fattatenda that evening. Two days after we anchored at Bannatenda on account of the tide; but the governor and I procured horses, and rode from that place to Macarthy's Island, which we reached near midnight on the 20th, having been absent seventeen days.

On reaching Macarthy's Island, the writer found that Mr. and Mrs. Swallow had gone down to St. Mary's, for medical aid and change of air, on account of the serious illness of the latter. Having, therefore, arranged some matters connected with the mission, he proceeded after them as soon as possible; and, having a good run down the river, arrived at that station on the 25th. Mrs. Swallow, on the previous day, had been prematurely confined, and, on the 26th, I baptized their dear infant by the name of Africanus, one hour before its death; and in a few hours I had to commit it to the silent tomb. Two days after, the mother followed her babe to the paradise of God.

Mrs. SWALLOW was a native of Leeds, where she was born on the 12th of December, 1816. In the sixteenth year of her age she was awakened to a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and of the necessity of securing the favour of God, under a sermon preached by the late Rev. Thomas Galland, M.A.; and shortly after, at a prayer-meeting held in her father's house, she found "redemption in the blood of Jesus;" when, on rising from her knees, she instantly threw her arms round the neck of her parent, and exclaimed, "O my dear father, praise the Lord! I feel that he has blotted out my sins! I am happy! O praise the Lord, I am happy!" About five years after this she was united in marriage to Mr. Swallow, on the eve of his embarkation for the Gambia, in the autumn of 1837; and she continued to labour with her husband, most zealously and successfully, until ill health obliged him to return to England in the early part of 1839. In the latter part of the following year she a

second time most cheerfully accompanied him to Africa, though she was then a mother, and brought with her their interesting little infant boy, aged only six months. She, however, found time to attend to other duties besides those of a domestic kind, and was often seen teaching and instructing the black children, with her own dear child playing at her feet. But the blighting effects of the climate were soon felt by this European infant; and after several months' gradual decline, the parents were called to mourn the loss of their first and only child. This, together with the fatigues and anxieties occasioned by its protracted illness, greatly affected Mrs. Swallow's health and spirits, and she was advised to return to England; but she positively refused, until Providence should point out the path for her husband's return also. She therefore resumed her duties, and, as far as her health would allow, was not weary in well-doing. On the 21st of January she arrived at St. Mary's, with Mr. Swallow, hoping the change would prove beneficial; and the writer, having arrived there from the upper river a few days after, had an opportunity of visiting her in her affliction, when some profitable seasons were spent in spiritual conversation and prayer. But she gradually sank under the effects of her previous affliction, followed as it was by her confinement, and that by other diseases; so that, though every thing was done that skill or kindness could suggest, it was to no purpose.

The day before she died, she expressed herself as having peace, but not joy; but soon afterwards she said, "Christ is precious;" and, in answer to some interrogations by her husband, respecting her father, she said, "Tell him not to regret having given his daughter to be the wife of a missionary." Shortly after this, the writer having engaged in prayer by her bed-side, she expressed herself as being greatly refreshed; and on my asking, "And what shall I tell your father?" "Tell him," said she, "that I can go to heaven just as soon from the banks of the Gambia as I could from Leeds in Yorkshire." The earthly tabernacle was now rapidly falling, and her weakness was so great as to amount to positive suffering. Her husband, feeling this most acutely, had left the room, and she requested me to call him in shortly after. When he came to the bed-side, she looked at him, and very sweetly said, "William, I am going." He replied, "To heaven, my love?" when she said, "Yes, yes;" and in a few minutes the writer closed her eyes in death.

She died at St. Mary's early in the morning of January 28th,

1843, aged twenty-seven years, and was interred the same evening at the common burying-ground. Mrs. Swallow was a pious, amiable, intelligent, and excellent woman, full of kindness and affection, ardently attached to our beloved constitution and to the cause of missions: in that she lived, laboured, suffered, and died. A more ample account of this admirable female may be found in the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine for April, 1846, written by her husband.

On the 23d of January, Mr. and Mrs. Watkins, with Mr. George Chapman, arrived at the Gold-Coast; and the following month Mr. and Mrs. Quick, with Mr. Richard Amos, landed at Sierra-Leone. But the staff of standard-bearers at the Gold-Coast was again reduced about this time, by the death of Mr. Shipman, and of Mrs. Watkins, who were soon added to the list of "those who had gone before."

SAMUEL A. SHIPMAN was the son of a Wesleyan missionary, and was born in Jamaica, November 2d, 1818, where his father was then stationed. From a child he was amiable, courteous, and conscientious; and such was his regard for the sacredness of the ministerial office, that a recollection of his being the son of a minister operated considerably upon his mind as a restraint from sin. His conversion to God was striking and manifest. His preaching was solid, yet simple, chaste, and clear; and his discourses were delivered with zeal and energy. Being born in the mission-field, and the son of a missionary, he had early in life felt a great interest in the cause of missions; and when he became a candidate for the work, he nobly offered himself for Western Africa, being anxious to "preach the gospel to the regions beyond." His arrival at the Gold-Coast, with Mrs. Shipman and others, early in 1841, has already been mentioned. After a few weeks' residence at Cape-Coast Castle, Mr. Shipman proceeded to British Akra, to take charge of that important station, where he continued to labour, with some slight interruptions from ill health, up to the time of his death. In a letter to his father from this station, about two months before his lamented removal, he expressed his thankfulness that he and his dear wife were both in the enjoyment of good health, though surrounded by sickness and death. At this time, in addition to his other work, he was employed in compiling a vocabulary of the Fantee language, and had then completed a translation of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and part of the Conference Catechism. Here he had also several native converts under a

course of training, preparatory to their becoming native teachers and subordinate agents in the mission. But, in the midst of usefulness, this faithful and zealous herald of the cross was removed from earth to heaven. He died at British Akra, February 22d, 1843, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the third of his public ministry. His last words were,—

“ In death, as life, be thou my Guide,
And save me, who for me hast died ! ”

Mrs. Shipman felt this stroke very severely, and embraced an early opportunity of returning to England.

Mrs. WATKINS died at Cape-Coast Castle, on the 1st of March, 1843. She, with her husband, and Mr. George Chapman, had landed there on the 23d of the previous January, having had a long and tedious voyage. A fortnight after their arrival, Mrs. Watkins was attacked with a disorder, which defied human skill; and she gradually grew weaker, until she exchanged mortality for life, after a residence in Western Africa of only thirty-nine days.

Early in February we held our annual district-meeting at St. Mary's on the Gambia, when we were all of one heart and of one mind, but found considerable difficulty as to the future appointments of the stations, from the paucity of missionaries, and my contemplated return home. Two days after, the “ Union ” sailed for England, carrying our accounts, district minutes, &c. On the 29th of the month, the “ Sea Witch ” arrived from London, bringing Mr. Lynn, a schoolmaster, for St. Mary's, who had had some months' training at Glasgow; and, being a local preacher, he was a valuable acquisition.

On the 8th of April, Her Majesty's frigate the “ Madagascar ” came into the harbour from the leeward, with the commodore, Captain Foote, on board. In the evening I dined with him at Government-House; and the next day, being the sabbath, went on board, and attended divine service, and was much pleased with the decorum and solemnity manifested by all parties. About three hundred, including the officers and sailors, were present. Two days after, I dined on board the frigate, and gave back to Captain Foote the two letters which he had kindly allowed me to copy, and which he, or rather one of his officers, had received from two chiefs at Calabar, relating to the Slave-Trade. One of these letters I introduce here, as a specimen of African correspondence and phraseology, of their views of the utility

and importance of the British squadron, and of their desire to have Christian teachers and others to instruct them in the arts of civilized life.

TO COMMANDER RAYMOND, MAN-OF-WAR SHIP.

I AM very glad you come up and settle treaty proper, and thank you for doing every thing right for me. Yesterday I have been look for some man-of-war long time; and when French man come here, I sent, I think, last December, our canoe to let you know; but too much wind live to catch Fernando Po; and not we come for help, me keep treaty all same. Mr. Blount promise; and when I no give slaves, French man-of-war come here and make plenty palaver; but I no will.

One thing I want for beg your Queen Victoria. I have too much man now I can't sell slaves, and don't know what for do for them; but if I can't catch some small cotton-tree and coffee to grow, and man to teach me, and to make all sugar-cane live for country, come up proper and sell for trade side, I very glad.

Mr. Blyth tell me England glad for send man to teach book, and teach for understand God all same as white man. If queen do so, I glad too much; and we must try to do good for England always. What I think I want for dollar side is proper India red romalls, and copper rod. I no want fool thing: I want thing for trade side for England.

I must try to do good thing for Queen Victoria, and all Englishman, and hope queen and young prince must live long time proper.

I am, Sir,

Yours friend,

(Signed) KING EYO HONESTY,

Creek-Town, Calebar.

I thank you again for comme and done all things proper for we, and glad to see you very often.

Creek-Town, 1 December, 1842.

On the 5th of May we were cheered by the arrival of Messrs. Godman and Parsonson. A few days after, we held a special district-meeting, in reference to the appointment of the brethren, the secretaries having left it with us to arrange in the best manner we could. We were united in sentiment and affection; and it was decided that Mr. Swallow should return to England with me, though he would have risked another rainy season, had only one missionary been sent. The state of the missions at this period, at each of the districts on the Coast, may be seen in the "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, for the year ending April, 1843."

There were several native agents, at each of the stations, actively co-operating with the European missionaries in preaching and teaching the sublime truths of our holy religion; and each district had an Institution for training others to be ultimately employed in the same work.

The Europeans generally on the Coast feel a pleasure in annually subscribing to the support of these missions; and the printed Reports will furnish many names of the highest respect-

ability, as well as not a few natives, who, having been benefited temporally as well as spiritually by the gospel, feel it no less a duty than a privilege to contribute towards sending "the gospel to the regions beyond."

From these sources the following sums were remitted to the parent Society during the year, in addition to the regular weekly and quarterly payments and other collections:—Sierra-Leone, £154; Gambia, £184. 15s. 3*d.*; Gold-Coast, £132. 6s. 8*d.*: total, £471. 1s. 11*d.*

The author's residence in Africa was now drawing to a close; and his feelings at the prospect of leaving were of a peculiar character. More than ten years of the best part of his life had been spent in connexion with these interesting missions, in which he had travelled many thousands of miles by sea and by land; and, in the prosecution of his humble labours, had often been called to suffer in various ways. But though frequently "brought low," the Lord had as often "helped him;" and he "had not laboured in vain, nor spent his strength for nought." In addition to those special and Divine interpositions of Providence, and that "grace to help in time of need," which had been imparted, there were other, though less important, circumstances which called for gratitude. He had usually had the hearty co-operation of his brethren in the ministry, with their confidence and esteem, and the good-will and prayers of all connected with the mission; and, generally, he may say, he had had the respect and best wishes of those who were without. A few days before his embarkation for England, he received a kind letter from some influential gentlemen, requesting his "acceptance of a silver tea-service, with an inscription, as a memento of their friendship and esteem." This document was signed by seven Europeans; and though, as they state, they formed "but a very inconsiderable number" of those who wished well to the mission, and to the writer as one of the Society's agents, yet these seven were a fair representation of the European residents at the Gambia, as four of them were holding some of the highest official situations under Her Majesty's Government, both in the civil, judicial, and military department, and the other three were respectable merchants, two of whom were magistrates.

A few days after this occurrence, and the author's grateful acknowledgments, he engaged a passage on board a French barque, the "Mexicain," bound for Havre-de-Grace; and on Sunday, May 21st, delivered his farewell sermon in the chapel where are deposited the remains of his dear wife and two

lovely children, and where he had so many times proclaimed "Jesus and the resurrection." Mr. Swallow preached in the evening: he, too, had been called to suffer in a similar way.

In the narrative of these missions already given, it will have been seen that the writer, having been the senior missionary at the Gambia for some years, had had charge of the different stations on this part of the Coast; and in his capacity of general superintendent had been much engaged at different times in the erection and superintending of school-houses, chapels, and other mission buildings. His last act in this department of labour was to enclose a small piece of ground at the common place of interment, which is about three quarters of a mile from the town, and of which a representation is here given. In the enclosed space were laid the bodies of the Rev. Thomas Wall, Mrs. Swallow and her infant babe, and since then of one or two other missionaries. The railing, it will be seen, is of iron, placed upon a pedestal or foundation of stone, with an entrance in the form of an iron gate; and the attitude of the Negro will be sufficiently intelligible without further explanation.

Several of the old residents at St. Mary's have had small pieces of ground enclosed for themselves or their families, at a sufficient distance from the sea-side; and as two or three Wesleyan missionaries had been interred at this place before the author's arrival at the Gambia early in 1833, and no one was able to point out the precise spot where they were buried, he thought it due to others who might fall in the field, that their bodies also should be preserved undisturbed from the raging elements, and from prowling beasts; and was resolved that something should be done, however plain, to distinguish and point out the missionary's grave. This little act of justice would have been performed at an earlier period, had not several of his fellow-labourers been interred in the chapel; but as this was becoming inconvenient, and others preferred being buried at the usual place of interment, the time had now arrived to do something to procure a suitable place.

The day of the writer's departure was now at hand; and on Saturday morning, May 27th, 1843, he went on board the "Mexicain," accompanied by a host of friends and well-wishers. Many of the native converts had loaded us with presents of various kinds, in token of their affectionate regards, and they also "accompanied us to the ship;" and "the adieus and farewells" were numerous and affecting. Several of the natives, also, and other friends, sailed with us a few miles towards the Atlantic, and then returned in a small sloop, which



100. M. S. (D. V. A. G. T. E. S. C. P. A. V. H.)

had been kindly lent for the occasion; and we had again to say, "Farewell." The writer has often heard missionaries speak of "the parting scene," when called to leave their native land and friends, probably never to see them more till the resurrection morn; and he is no stranger to those emotions, having thrice passed through the ordeal,—on one occasion, it will be recollected, under very peculiar circumstances; and none but a missionary can tell the feelings of his heart, when he is in the act of bidding adieu to the nearest and dearest on earth, with one foot on land, and the other on the vessel that is to bear him far away. But none of these scenes, nor all of them put together, came up to that which it cost the writer to leave Africa. Many a lingering look did he give, as he walked the deck, after our friends had returned: and the telescope was again and again taken up, till the sun went down, and the town of Bathurst and St. Mary's were out of sight. He then retired into his cabin to ask the Divine blessing upon these British settlements, and upon the mission-stations, and presented himself afresh to God.

On the afternoon of the 29th we anchored at Goree, our captain having to call there for a short time. We found no less than seven French men-of-war lying in the harbour, which, with several merchant vessels, presented rather a lively appearance. Here we were detained somewhat longer than was expected, from the following very annoying and vexatious circumstance: The writer had with him a little black boy of promising character, the son of one of our local preachers at St. Mary's. His parents had formerly resided at Goree, and were slaves belonging to a Mulatto lady; but they had for many years lived at the British settlement at the Gambia, and had both obtained their emancipation by the payment of a certain sum of money. This boy was born at St. Mary's, and had never seen Goree in his life; but on going ashore, the lady claimed him as her slave.

The following letter addressed to the governor, will explain the particulars of the former part of this unexpected affair:—

"MEXICAIN," OFF GOREE, *May 31st, 1843.*

SIR,—I regret that a sense of duty compels me to complain of the conduct of one of the civil officers under your excellency's authority; I refer to M. Dubour-dieu, collector of customs.

I am a passenger for England, by way of France, on board the above-named vessel, and have with me a servant boy, about twelve years of age. We left St. Mary's on the 27th instant, and anchored at this port on the evening of the 29th.

Yesterday forenoon I went ashore, in company with my fellow-passengers and my

servant boy; we walked about the town for some time, called upon one or two friends, and were preparing to go on board again, when our captain informed us that there was some talk about my servant being a slave belonging to a lady of colour of the name of Degriigny. I told him that such a thing was impossible, as the boy was born at the British settlement of St. Mary's, Gambia, and had never before been to Goree. However, at the captain's request, I went with him to the collector: when the passport for myself and servant was presented, he coolly replied, that "I might proceed, but that he must see the servant before he could give him permission." I then, with the captain and the Rev. William Swallow, accompanied him to the wharf, (where the boy was waiting to go on board the ship,) showed him the servant, told him that he was born at St. Mary's, Gambia, and again showed him the passport with the boy's name as well as my own upon it; but all this was of no use; he said the boy must go to the house of Madame Degriigny, and requested the harbour-master to take him. I remonstrated against this, and said I could not allow him to be taken into captivity; that he was as much a British subject as I was; and once more referred him to the passport, and asked him what was the use of such a document, if I was to be subjected to all these annoyances. But to all that I said a deaf ear was turned; and the collector insisted upon the boy being taken, both against his own will and also mine; and immediately called a sergeant from the guard-house. Seeing this, I made no further remonstrance, though the boy still refused to go, till requested by me, with the assurance that I would accompany him, which I did, as did also the captain and the Rev. W. Swallow. A long discussion took place between the officer sent, the captain, and Madame Degriigny; the particulars I am ignorant of, as I did not understand the language; the boy, however, with myself, ultimately left the house and came on board.

Your excellency will, I trust, excuse this detailed account of a most vexatious affair. British subjects, and that especially from an English colony so contiguous as the Gambia, would have expected different treatment; and I therefore feel that I have just cause to complain of M. Dubourdiou's insulting conduct to me personally; and I further beg most earnestly and solemnly to protest against my servant being forced along the streets, under a guard, at the dictation of M. Dubourdiou, and to please the caprice of Madame Degriigny, who never saw the boy in his life before yesterday.

Craving your excellency's kind interference and protection during my short stay under your excellency's administration,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM FOX.

To His Excellency Governor Dagorne, &c. &c. &c., Goree.

To that letter I received the following reply:—

GOREE, *May 31st*, 1843.

SIR,—I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write on the subject of a black boy, who accompanied you from St. Mary's. I do not doubt that the proceedings which you complain of would appear to you unnatural, were you not ignorant of the French language and M. Dubourdiou of the English language, which has caused a misunderstanding.

The fact is, it was the duty of the officer to assure himself, at the time, if the claims of Madame Degriigny were legal or not. In the latter case your servant would be completely at liberty to go at large.

Slavery is not yet abolished in our settlement, and, whatever my opinion may be on this point, the slave is legally the property of its master.

The proximity of St. Mary's, where the law is altogether opposed, will cause our slaves to desert, and the desertion is legally an offence which cannot affect the rights; then, if your servant is born at Goree a slave, his owner has the right of claiming him, and we must aid him in obtaining his property. The case must, however, necessarily appear before the courts, where it will be judged with every diligence and impartiality; and if there is not sufficient proof, our courts shall not permit a free individual to be made a slave: and this is my reply to Madame Degriigny.

When you thought it necessary to go to Madame Degriigny's, I must repeat to you that it was owing to a misunderstanding on your part; and had you understood the question, I dare say you would have been the first to afford an investigation.

Agree with me, Sir, in the assurance of my distinguished consideration,

(Signed)

Z. DAGORNE,

The Commandant of Goree.

To the Rev. W. Fox.

Shortly after the receipt of this letter, I received a summons to attend a bench of magistrates at seven o'clock on the following morning. The governor presided, with three other judges. Several witnesses kindly came forward, who declared that the boy was born at St. Mary's: this was contradicted by two or three witnesses, produced by Madame Degriigny. After a while the judges retired for a short time to consult, then came into the court with the decision; which was, in substance, "that the boy was born at St. Mary's, but it was a short time before his mother purchased her freedom; and, that being the case, the child was the legal property and slave of the owner of his mother." I protested against this, but it was to no purpose; and he was not allowed to proceed with me to England, unless I ransomed him; which I did by paying one hundred and fifty dollars, and four more for the making out his manumission!

I sent the whole particulars to the English authorities at the Gambia, and furnished the Wesleyan Missionary Committee with them, and was in hopes that the matter would not be allowed thus quietly to drop. But I heard nothing more of the case, except expressions of regret and indignation at the conduct of the French at Goree on this occasion.

We left this miserable place between three and four o'clock P.M. on the 1st of June, and proceeded on our voyage. It is, however, due to state, that two or three Frenchmen, who frequently visited the Gambia, and to whom the writer was known, avowed their sympathy for him, and their regret at the annoyance to which he had been subjected, and especially at the decision of the court. One of them, in expressing his indignation, in imperfect English, said, "Mr. Fox, I do think

this Goree is de worst and last place God Almighty did make." The population of this French settlement was about seven thousand, of whom six thousand were held in bondage; that is, they were slaves, toiling every day for another's benefit, and their children had to do the same. It afforded the writer pleasure, after all, that he was able to rescue the little boy from the unnatural grasp of this female owner of human beings.

On Sunday, June 4th, we held divine service in the main cabin, but were few in number; Mr. Swallow, myself, Mr. A. Rendall, who was a fellow-passenger, and the African boy, being all that were present. On Wednesday afternoon, the 17th, we observed a good-sized vessel coming before the wind. When she neared us a little, our captain hoisted his colours; but it was some time before our neighbour had the civility to do the same, which caused us to be a little suspicious as to her real character; and our suspicion was rather increased by a sight of the Spanish flag, which was exhibited when about two miles distant. At this period we perceived a number of persons in the fore part of the ship busily engaged in what we supposed was a preparation for an attack upon us; and this supposition was strengthened when she had altered her course, and was making towards us. We were now apprehensive that she was a pirate; and a consultation was held as to the plan we should adopt, in case our fears should be found to be correct. The captain gave it as his decided opinion, that it would be worse than useless for us to make any resistance; for though ours was a good-sized barque, and we had a full complement of men on board, besides the passengers, yet we had no guns connected with the ship, and scarcely any fire-arms or other weapons of any description, except a sword and one or two pistols in the captain's cabin, belonging to himself. We therefore resolved to muster all hands on deck, and called up the watch from below, in order to exhibit our strength; and having a rough sailor's jacket, which I had purchased for sea-voyages, I put this on, and, with a spy-glass under my arm, took my stand or walked the deck with the captain and mates. Mr. Swallow did the same; and we thus presented a tolerable appearance as to what we hoped would be considered officers and crew. Our young passenger was dreadfully alarmed and excited, could not eat his dinner, and, having some hard cash by him, he went and hid his money; adding, he was resolved they should not have that, even if they killed him.

It must be confessed that our situation at this juncture was one of painful anxiety. The two missionaries on board

had not forgotten "the throne of grace:" it was "a time of need," and they laid the precious promises before their unchangeable and Almighty Lord, and as calmly as possible awaited the result. But whether the Spanish barque which was now within one mile of us was a friend or a foe, we knew not, though we had reason to fear the latter was the case: every moment was precious, and every succeeding moment we expected a shot, which would decide the point. She now approached very near to us; and, supposing (or hoping rather) that she only wished to speak to us, our captain close hauled our ship, so as to afford an opportunity of inquiring our longitude, if that was the object of such close quarters. But not a word was uttered, though quite near enough to speak; and after eyeing us with their spy-glasses most minutely, they at length bore away a few yards from our stern; and we were glad to turn our backs upon them, and moved on in our course. It was the opinion of our captain and his officers that this *was* a vessel of piratical character; for such strange conduct he had never witnessed before; and he attributed our not being molested to the size of our barque, and the number of people we had on board; but intimated that it was probable she might return when the sun went down, and fall upon us during the night. This, however, was happily not the case. We were at the time in the latitude of the Madeiras, and almost west of the Azores, and for a week did not make much progress, owing to calms and baffling winds. These are tedious; a terrific storm is perhaps worse; the prospect of shipwreck, in the midst of the Atlantic, or on a lee-shore, worse still; but *worst of all the perils of the sea,* is that of being boarded by a PIRATE!

On the 25th we were passing between the islands; Fayal and Pico being on our lee-beam, the peak of the latter was seen above the clouds, and looked majestic. July commenced with a splendid breeze, and our gallant barque showed her sailing qualities in fine style, going at nine, ten, and ten and a half knots an hour. On the 3d of this month we were in soundings fifty-six fathoms deep; three days after we landed at Havre-de-Grâce in France, where we were detained a day or two; we then embarked on board the steamer "Sphinx" for London, which we reached on the 10th, thankful to God for all his mercies. On Saturday, 15th, the author once more arrived at Smethwick; and, as may be well supposed, under peculiar circumstances and emotions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GOLD-COAST, GAMBIA, AND SIERRA-LEONE.

(1843—1850.)

THE Sheffield Conference—Departure of Mr. and Mrs. Dove, with Mr. and Mrs. Badger, for Sierra-Leone; and of Mr. and Mrs. Annear, with Mr. Timothy T. Greaves, and Mr. John Martin, for the Gold-Coast—Death of Mr. Symons at the Gambia, of Mrs. Badger at Sierra-Leone, and of Mr. Watkins at the Gold-Coast—The Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Brooking at Cape-Coast-Castle—Letter from Mr. George Chapman at Coomassie—Mr. and Mrs. Quick's Return to England—Death of Mr. Greaves at British Akrah—The Gambia Mission—Mr. Benjamin Chapman's Arrival there—Mr. Freeman in England, with his Defence of himself and the Mission—His Departure for the Coast with Mr. Wharton, a West Indian—Return of Mr. George Chapman—Departure of Messrs. Raston, Wayte, and Griffiths for Sierra-Leone—Mr. Amos's Return to England—Mr. and Mrs. Parsonson's Arrival at the Gambia—Mr. and Mrs. Allen, with Messrs. Findlay and Addison, sail for the Gold-Coast—Return of Mr. Brooking—Death of Mrs. Raston and of Mr. Wayte at Sierra-Leone, of Mr. Findlay at the Gold-Coast, and of Mr. Lynn the Schoolmaster at the Gambia—Return to this Country of Mr. and Mrs. Annear and of Mr. and Mrs. Dove—Departure for, and Arrival at, Sierra-Leone of Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, with Mr. Lewis—Messrs. John Thomas, Harrop, and Hillard safely arrive at the Gold-Coast—Death of Mrs. Godman—Return of Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, Mrs. Parsonson, and Mr. David Griffiths—Mr. Raston's third Embarkation for Western Africa, accompanied by Mrs. Raston and Messrs. Richard Hart and Purslow—Arrival of Messrs. Meadows and Lean at the Gambia—Return to England of Mr. and Mrs. Allen and Mr. Martin—Death of Mr. Lean at the Gambia—And of Mr. Purslow at Sierra-Leone—Mr. Badger and the Gambia Mission—Death of the benevolent Dr. Lindoe—Arrival of Mr. Garry at Sierra-Leone—And of Mr. Frederick Hart at the Gold-Coast—Return to England of Messrs. Addison, Thomas, Harrop, and Hillard—Extracts from the annual Report, with the Statistics of the Stations—Present Extent of the Society's Operations on the Western Coast of Africa.

HAVING traced the rise and progress of these missions from the commencement up to and beyond the period when they became three separate districts, under the head of which were several "central or principal stations called circuits," each having connected with it an European missionary or native teacher, with a number of preaching-places; and having at different stages of the narrative given the statistics, with the number of agents employed, embracing the number of members in the Society, with the scholars in the schools, &c.; our task in sketching the history of these missions for the few subsequent years will be comparatively short and easy.

It will be seen, from the close of the preceding chapter, that the writer and his colleague, Mr. Swallow, arrived in England only a week or two previous to the annual Methodist Conference, which was that year held in the town of Sheffield. We attended its sittings, and both of us received appointments to English circuits.

The departure of Messrs. Dove and Badger for their former sphere of labour was mentioned by the committee in their Report. The brethren on this occasion were both married, and the whole party arrived safely at Sierra-Leone on the 21st of July, 1843.

About the middle of October, Mr. and Mrs. Annear, with Mr. Timothy T. Greaves and Mr. John Martin, embarked on board the "Robert Heddle," for the Gold-Coast, which place they reached on the 12th of December. Mr. Annear had spent nearly a year and a half at Sierra-Leone, from which he was obliged to return to England for a change of air; and, after remaining in this country a few months, most readily re-embarked for the Gold-Coast.

The rains of that year passed away without any death in the mission families; but it is our painful duty to record three removals from earth to heaven, which took place soon after, though at the best season of the year. These were Mr. Symons at the Gambia, Mrs. Badger at Sierra-Leone, and Mr. Watkins at the Gold-Coast.

SAMUEL SYMONS was born in London in the month of April, 1814; and when about eleven years of age he removed with his parents to Cornwall, and was afterwards apprenticed to a draper at Penzance. At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he returned to the metropolis, and subsequently resided at Exeter, where, in the year 1835, he became truly converted to God. A sermon preached by the Rev. Walter Lawry was the means, under the Divine Spirit, which led to this happy change. Three years after this, he returned to Penzance, having now commenced calling sinners to repentance; a work in which he took great delight. In order to his being acceptable and successful, he devoted a considerable portion of time to study and mental improvement, believing that he was called of God to be a minister of the word of life. After the usual examinations, he was proposed to and accepted by the Conference of 1841; and in the autumn of that year was sent by the Missionary Committee to the Gambia. His heart had been set on Western Africa, and he preferred this appointment "above all other places." The writer had the pleasure of meeting him on his

arrival at St. Mary's, in the month of December of that year, and was subsequently an eye-witness to his studious habits, fervent piety, and indefatigable zeal in spreading the Saviour's name, in building up God's people, and leading penitent sinners to Christ. Mr. Symons took great interest in the new mission at Ngabantang, on the continent, a little below Macarthy's Island; and in promoting the object of the Institution at the latter station, he took several journeys.

Some time after his arrival at the Gambia, he had charge of this important branch of the Society's operations; and his judicious conduct and management of the royal pupils, who were placed under his care, were alike creditable to himself, advantageous to them, and gratifying to his brethren.

An interesting letter from this devoted missionary, dated April, 1843, appeared in the "Quarterly Papers" for September in that year, giving an account of the conversion of a Mohammedan to the faith of Christ, with some further particulars of the mission, and asking for more help to meet the urgent claims of Macarthy's Island. In the month of June he again wrote to the Missionary Committee from the same place; and refers to "the new mission at Ngabantang," quoting a letter from Pierre Sallah, one of the native teachers, who was stationed there, with some encouraging account of the spirit of hearing among the inhabitants of that locality; and adding, "I think, from the foregoing letter, that Pierre is labouring among a people prepared of the Lord, and that we should be criminal were we to neglect them."

During the rains, Mr. Symons had several attacks of fever, which greatly prostrated his strength; and though he took a short journey in the government-steamer which, on the 29th of November, left Macarthy's Island for the upper river, yet he returned rather worse than better. But in all his letters to his friends in England, he expressed himself as being happy in God, and delighted with his work as a missionary. In one, referring to heaven, he says, "How happy have I been when anticipating the meeting with my dear friends there, and for ever resting from my labours! And how has my soul been enkindled, when I have thought that I may throughout eternity see some poor Africans raised thither through God's blessing on my labours!"

The last entry in his journal is dated "January 7th, 1844," and is as follows: "Since I last wrote, I have had another attack of sickness. I was taken ill on the 30th ult., and am now nearly recovered. Praise the Lord! At the watchnight

service one woman was converted ; another, on Friday ; to-day, one who had lost her confidence was restored. May the Lord carry on his work ! God, of his mercy, has preserved me through another year. How numerous have been the mercies I have received, the privileges I have enjoyed ; but yet how cold is my heart ! O, my ingratitude ! I am an astonishment to myself, that I can receive so many benefits from God, and be so insensible. O Lord, fill my heart with thy love, then I shall feel my obligation, and love thee in return !” He acknowledged that “he had many privations and many trials ; but he would not leave his beloved charge,” he said, “if any one would guarantee him a thousand a year to live in England, dear as his home and friends were to him.”

But his days of usefulness and labour here below were now “numbered.” On Sunday, the 14th of January, he preached in the forenoon, with great liberty and feeling, and much longer than usual ; so that Mr. Parsonson had finished at Fattota, and returned to George-Town just as he had concluded. He afterwards said to his colleague, “I scarcely knew when to give over.” On Monday evening he met his class, as usual ; and, as two of the members had died but a few days previous, he dwelt on the nearness of death, and the necessity of being fully prepared for it. The Tuesday was occupied in closing his accounts for the quarter. On Wednesday he was poorly, and early retired to rest. Mr. Godman arrived from St. Mary’s that evening, bringing some letters for him from his friends in England, which afforded him great pleasure. On Thursday morning he proceeded with his accounts, and had engaged a passage in a vessel for St. Mary’s, for the benefit of the sea-breeze ; but early in the forenoon he was seized with a severe fit of ague, with other unfavourable symptoms. Medical aid was immediately called in ; but it was of no avail. The disease now assumed the type of the yellow fever ; and on the Friday he was apprehensive of its fatal effects. On that day, addressing the doctor, he said, “Now, doctor, what do you think of me ? Do not deceive me, nor be afraid of telling me the truth ; for I am not afraid of dying.” He several times requested his brethren to pray with him, when the Divine presence was graciously vouchsafed in a remarkable manner. On one of these occasions his own servant was quite overwhelmed, and sobbed aloud. During the day his language was that of prayer and praise. “My blessed Jesus,” he exclaimed, “is about to take unworthy me to heaven !” Soon after this he quoted the well-known lines of Pope,—

“ Lend, lend your wings,—I mount ! I fly !
 O grave, where is thy victory ?
 O death, where is thy sting ? ”

His brethren were surprised at hearing this, from one enfeebled in body ; but still more so at the *manner* in which he uttered the two following lines :—

“ Cease, fond nature, cease thy strife,
 And let me languish into life ! ”

He desired his colleague, Mr. Parsonson, to write to his parents and friends, and “ to give his dying love to them, and to say that he did not regret coming to Western Africa.” He died in the full triumph of faith, at Macarthy’s Island, a little before seven o’clock on Saturday morning, January 20th, 1844, in the third year of his probation, and in the thirtieth year of his age.

Mrs. BADGER expired at Hastings, in the colony of Sierra-Leone, on the 28th of January, 1844. This excellent woman manifested from childhood great seriousness of disposition, and at a very early age was regularly conducted to a Wesleyan chapel by her pious mother, who endeavoured to “ train her up in the way she should go.” But it was not until she was about nineteen years of age that she obtained a clear sense of God’s favour in the forgiveness of sins. Her life then became a life of faith in the Son of God, and of prompt obedience to the Divine commands. Her concern for the salvation of others was conspicuous, and she availed herself of every opportunity of doing good ; but while her heart embraced the whole world, those members of her own family who as yet were living in sin, were the objects of her special solicitude and regard. After her marriage to Mr. Badger, and before her embarkation for Sierra-Leone, she felt much in the prospect of separating from those whom she dearly loved ; but the grace of God was sufficient ; and hence she wrote, “ From a sense of duty, I am willing to leave all my dearest friends : and I go to a foreign land, feeling assured that the Lord will go with us.” The mission-band of whom she formed a part, arrived at their destination in the midst of the rainy season ; and soon after their arrival, Mrs. Badger was seized with the country fever ; but she passed through this very favourably, and shortly after she accompanied Mr. Badger to Hastings, which was his appointed sphere of labour ; and here she proved a true help-meet to her husband, aiding him in his “ work of faith and labour of love,” both by her prayers and exertions. On January 24th, she

gave birth to a daughter, and up to the day of her death appeared to be doing well. At nine o'clock on the 28th of the same month, Mr. Badger, after prayer, took an affectionate leave of her, for an absence of only a few hours, to hold a religious service at Wellington; and while there, a messenger arrived to inform him of her sudden illness. He hastened home; but, before his arrival, she had "fallen asleep" in Jesus. In the severest trial of nature, she calmly reposed on God; and her consolations were many. She died in great peace, aged thirty years, after a residence in Africa of six months and seven days.

BENJAMIN WATKINS, after labouring with diligence and success on the Gold-Coast for about twelve months, died at British Akra, in that district, in great peace, on the 7th of February, 1844, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He was a young man whose talents and general fitness for the missionary work gave much promise of usefulness; and during his residence in Africa he had won the esteem and affection of all his brethren, as well as of the societies to whom he preached "the word of life." Soon after the death of his beloved wife, which, it may be recollected, took place a few weeks after they landed at Cape-Coast, he left that station, to take charge of the circuit and Institution at Akrah, where he continued till the following December, when he returned to Cape-Coast to attend the annual district-meeting. Here he was seized with an illness which shattered his whole frame, and his immediate return to Europe was urged as the only means of saving his life. Preparations were made for his embarkation, and he proceeded to British Akra, in order to join the barque "Robert Heddle;" but before the vessel was ready to sail for England, he had a relapse which terminated his earthly career on the date we have mentioned; and he was interred in the fort-yard the same day.

The Annual Report for that year contains interesting details of the state of the missions at each of the stations on the Coast, notwithstanding the frequent deaths which took place, and the unavoidable absence of others, on account of ill health. Mr. Brooking had returned to England, during the preceding year, for a change, having been on the Coast upwards of three years: but he sailed again for Western Africa, accompanied by Mrs. Brooking; and they landed at Cape-Coast on the 20th of March, 1844. Mr. George Chapman had, in the meantime, occupied the important station at Coomassie, the capital of

Ashantee ; and in addition to the Annual Report, which contains some interesting and thrilling facts from the missionary at this place, the following letter, published in the "Missionary Notices" soon after, is so interesting, that we must beg the reader's attention to it :—

DESTRUCTION OF A FETISH. VISIT TO THE QUEEN.

KINGDOM OF ASHANTI.—*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. George Chapman, dated Kumasi, March 24th, 1844.*

WITH feelings of deep and lively gratitude I write you, thankful that, in a land where so many are suddenly called to their great reward, my own health has been mercifully preserved. I regard it as no small mercy, that, during the past five months, I have not had a day's sickness, nor have been hindered, from this cause, in the discharge of my duty. To God be all the praise !

Our prospects still continue such as to warrant the expectation, that, at a period not distant, the efforts made for the conversion of the Ashantis will be crowned with great success. This, however, will not be the case without much opposition on the part of some, and patient, prudent perseverance on the part of those whose duty it may be to labour in Kumasi.

Our congregations continue to increase ; on the sabbath afternoon especially, many attend to hear the word of life. The attention with which they listen is truly encouraging ; while, on some occasions, the tearful eye gives evidence that, in a greater or less degree, the heart is made to feel the mighty influence of the ever-blessed gospel. In addition to those I mentioned in my last, a respectable chief (Adu Osai) has begun to meet in class. He attends with great regularity the means of grace, and is, I trust, sincerely and humbly seeking salvation. The two young men to whom I referred, still give pleasing evidence of a strong desire to know more fully those great truths by which they may be saved. The sincerity of one of them was manifested a few days ago, in his committing to the flames his fetish,—that fetish in which he from his childhood had trusted. This was done under circumstances of some interest. The companions of the youth, hearing what was about to take place, assembled to witness the destruction of the first fetish destroyed in Kumasi from conscientious motives. Every thing being in readiness, two or three large drums were brought out ; and as the god hung suspended over the waiting flames, one of the party, in imitation of the signal given by the king's death-drum, struck his drum to the well-known sound, " Cut him down ! cut him down ! cut him down !" The flames instantly received the long-adored image ; while, at the moment of its fall, another drum answered the first, and loudly responded, " Down !" So perish all the false gods of Ashanti ! This, I believe, is the first instance of the kind which has taken place in Ashanti, and augurs well for him who has given so noble an example.

In addition to the few who have joined themselves with us, many respectable and influential persons in the town entertain the conviction that Christianity will effectually accomplish its great design ; and eventually, surmounting all opposition, become the religion of the land. Again and again have I heard this opinion expressed. But a few days ago, at the close of a custom held at Bantama, a respectable old chief called upon me. He stated, in confidence, that, while at Bantama, much had been said by the king and others respecting the object of the mission ; and that, after much conversation on this subject, they gave it as their decided opinion that our motive and object are really good, and that it will be to

their interest and benefit to give us every encouragement. The old man continued, "Much more was said; but I may not tell you now. Wait a little, and do not be discouraged. I am old and grey-headed; but I hope to live to see you successful."

During the past month, I have visited Jabin, my object being to preach the gospel there also. Previous to leaving Kumasi, the king sent a messenger, to inform Sarvi, the queen, that I was about to visit her. The venerable old lady was much pleased to find that herself and her people were not forgotten by us. As a proof of good-will and friendly feeling, she assembled all her people, to the number of from nine to twelve thousand, and insisted upon giving me a public reception. On the morning after my arrival I called upon the queen, for the purpose of stating the object of my visit, and also to request permission to preach to her people. This was readily granted; and at three P.M. I preached beneath the branches of a beautiful banyan, to about fourteen hundred persons, most of whom listened with deep attention to the great truths of the gospel. On the day but one following, I again preached in the same place, and again on the morning and afternoon of the sabbath. On each occasion there were from six to eight hundred persons present. My intention being to leave Jabin for Kumasi early on the Monday morning, I had at the close of the sabbath-afternoon service just announced this to the people, when a messenger arrived from Sarvi, stating that Sarvi greatly regretted her inability to attend the services held during the past few days; but that if I would consent to remain until the following day, she with her attendants and chiefs would assemble to hear the word of the great God. Though anxious to return to Kumasi, I could not but comply with such a request, and accordingly remained the day following, on the afternoon of which I preached from Rom. v. 6—8, "For when ye were yet without strength," &c., to a large and attentive congregation. The questions proposed by many were such as plainly evinced that they not only heard the word, but that a desire had been created in them more fully to understand its saving power. During my stay here, I experienced every kindness, not a day passing without an abundant supply of food, &c., being sent in for myself and people.

Upon leaving the town, the people urgently requested a speedy revisit. "The word you speak to us is good; let us hear it again," was the argument used by them. "We have not heard these things before; we believe you speak the truth, and we wish for instruction. Come to us again; but come soon!" These and many similar expressions fell from the lips of these poor benighted people. Never did I feel more fully resolved "to spend and be spent" for those who as yet know not the Saviour; but, amidst tens of thousands, may it not be said, "What am I among so many?"

Jabin is not the only important town near Kumasi to which we may now carry the message of mercy. A general desire prevails among the people all around to be visited by a missionary. When this can be accomplished, mighty results must follow. In the capital, a strong restraint is felt by all who desire to forsake the customs of their forefathers. This would not be the case in any of the provincial towns,—a far greater degree of liberty being experienced at a distance from the seat of government. When the time shall come (and the Almighty grant it may not be far distant!) when two missionaries shall be employed in Kumasi, a wide and important field may be cultivated. Within a day's journey, or even less, are many large and populous towns, to most of which we might, even now, have access, and where the gospel might be preached without the least opposition. To some of these I have been often invited; but such has been the nature of my duties in Kumasi, that though I would most gladly have visited these places, where unbroken darkness reigns, I have not been able to do so; and the people, while asking,

"What is it the missionary teaches?" are left to perish for lack of knowledge. O, land of my birth, Christian England! shall these things continue?

The statements made respecting the greater healthiness of the climate, as we penetrate further into the interior, are certainly founded on truth. This is not only the opinion of Europeans who have occasionally journeyed to some distance from the Coast, but the natives themselves uniformly acknowledge the same thing. It is common even for the Ashantis to complain of the sickness to which they are subject when visiting the Coast; but the contrary is the case when they journey inland. This, to every friend of missions, cannot but be a cheering fact, as warranting the hope, that, in the prosecution of the great work of Africa's salvation, there will not be that fearful sacrifice of life which the brief but sad history of missions on the Coast presents. I may be permitted to refer to my own case in confirmation of the above. I left a bed of sickness to commence my journey here; for near fourteen weeks I had not been able to preach more than once; and such was the state of extreme weakness to which I was reduced, that during the first two days of my journey I was unable to walk even a few steps to relieve my hammock-men. I had occasional sickness during the first two months after my arrival at Kumasi; but this was not matter of surprise, considering circumstances. The rains fell almost daily with great violence; and such was the unfinished state of the mission-house at that time, that, more than once, while stretched upon a sick bed, I was compelled to protect myself by my umbrella. But, under circumstances certainly not favourable, my strength returned; and, during the past five months, I have enjoyed as good health, or nearly so, as that with which I was favoured when in England.

I long to see the saving power of God more fully displayed among this people. There is "the promise of a shower." A ready assent is given to the truths of the gospel; but this is not sufficient when eternal life depends upon the reception of Jesus Christ as the only Saviour.*

The same Number of the "Notices" will furnish the reader with other important information of the progress of the missions in this district, and in the subsequent Number there is an interesting communication from Mr. Dove at Sierra-Leone. On the 1st of May, Mr. and Mrs. Quick, through ill health, were compelled to quit their useful labours in that colony, and returned to England. They arrived at Plymouth, July 4th.

In the month of June Mr. Freeman, who had been "in labours more abundant," again left the Gold-Coast, on a temporary visit to England; and in a few weeks after his departure the mission sustained another loss in the death of Mr. Greaves at British Akrah.

TIMOTHY T. GREAVES was a young man of sincere piety, and ardent zeal for the glory of God, and the extension of the kingdom of Christ. He came out from Birmingham, and, for some months previous to the Conference of 1843, was usefully employed in the West Bromwich circuit, as a partial supply for

* "Missionary Notices," vol. x. pp. 605—607.

one of the ministers, whose health had failed. At the Sheffield Conference he was appointed to Sierra-Leone; but it was afterwards changed for the Gold-Coast; at which place he arrived, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Annear, and Mr. John Martin, on the 12th of December of the same year. About the middle of the following February he left Cape-Coast for British Akrah, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Watkins. From that station he wrote an interesting letter to the Committee, bearing the date of the 10th of May, which was published in the "Missionary Notices." That letter breathes the spirit of an affectionate, zealous, and successful missionary of the cross. But in the midst of the "harvest," this young reaper was called away; and he died in great peace on the 14th of July, 1844, in the first year of his probation.

The Gambia mission, and particularly the station at Macarthy's Island, had sustained a great loss in the death of Mr. Symons, and Mr. Parsonson was frequently laid aside from his active labours during the sickly season of this year. Both he and Mr. Godman, however, were preserved in tolerable health; and the day-school at St. Mary's, under the excellent management of Mr. Lynn, was rapidly rising in importance. The brethren having affectionately and earnestly appealed for more help, on the 10th of February, 1845, Mr. Benjamin Chapman sailed for the Gambia, and he landed at St. Mary's on the 19th of the following month. About this time Mr. Parsonson at the Gambia, Mr. Raston at Sierra-Leone, and Mr. Allen at the Gold-Coast, returned to England, for a temporary change.

Mr. Thomas B. Freeman, whose departure from the Gold-Coast we have recently mentioned, remained in England till the month of May; and during a part of his stay here, he was called upon to defend himself and the mission from one of the most unfounded and bitter attacks (considering the quarter from whence it came) that was ever invented. The full particulars of this painful and vexatious affair the reader may find in the December "Notices" for the year ending 1844. It will be sufficient here to say, that Mr. Freeman came out of this trial "more than conqueror;" and that it had the effect of raising him and the mission still higher in the estimation of the friends of missions in general, and also of obtaining some additional supporters to the same hallowed cause.

On Mr. Freeman's return to the Gold-Coast, he was accompanied by Mr. Henry Wharton, a man of colour, a native of Grenada in the West Indies, and himself the fruit of missionary

labour. Having been employed in those Islands as a Wesleyan missionary for two or three years, he offered himself to the committee in London, to go to Africa; and for that purpose he came to England, and was solemnly ordained to the work and office of the Christian ministry in the City-road chapel, on the 15th of May, when he and Mr. Freeman were publicly commended to the providence and grace of God.

Two days after, they proceeded to the Isle of Wight, to embark for Cape-Coast Castle; and, being favoured with a very quick and pleasant passage, they reached their destination in good health and spirits on the 23d of June. All the brethren who were then in the district were reported to be in tolerable health, with the exception of Mr. George Chapman, who was compelled in the early part of August to embark for England, hoping again to return to his interesting sphere of labour. But he was unable to do so; and after spending some time in England, and subsequently in France, he sailed for Southern Africa, where he is still labouring. Mr. Wharton was afterwards appointed to the important station of Coomassie, in Ashantee.

On the 27th of October, Messrs. Raston, Wayte, and Griffiths embarked at Gravesend for Sierra-Leone by the "Dale Park." Mr. Raston had spent upwards of three years at that interesting and important station, and on his voyage to England was mercifully preserved from a watery grave, the vessel in which he was journeying home having been run foul of by some unknown ship, when they were about one hundred and twenty miles off Cape Clear. Though the "Ceres" (the vessel in which Mr. Raston had embarked) was dreadfully shattered, they managed to reach Cove-Harbour, in Ireland, where they anchored in safety, though the other vessel, it was feared, had gone down.

The two brethren who accompanied Mr. Raston to Sierra-Leone had been in the Theological Institution at Richmond, but nobly offered themselves for this part of the mission-field, and at a few days' notice cheerfully embarked with him. Mr. Raston was now married; he was therefore accompanied by Mrs. Raston and Mrs. Gordon, who afterwards became Mrs. Badger; and the whole mission-party landed at Sierra-Leone on the 1st of December, 1845. Mr. Amos had in the meantime sailed from this colony for England, and has since been employed as one of the society's agents in the Friendly Islands. Mr. Parsonson, from the Gambia, who had been in England a few months during this year, embarked with Mrs. Parsonson, on the 12th of November, on board the "Sam Slick," for his

former scene of labour ; and they landed at St. Mary's on the 15th of December.

A few days previous to their embarkation, another little band of missionaries were preparing to sail for Western Africa. These were Mr. and Mrs. Allen, with Messrs. George Findlay and Edward Addison. They proceeded from London to Bristol, where the writer had the pleasure of their company for a short time, and they finally sailed from Newport in Monmouthshire, on the 10th of November, and landed at the Gold-Coast on the 30th of the following month. This was Mr. Allen's second embarkation for Western Africa, he having already laboured there more than three years. Mrs. Brooking, also, who had been compelled to leave the Coast on account of ill health, after a few months' residence there, formed one of the party ; but, unfortunately, her husband had left the Coast from the same cause, only a few days before they landed ; so that the husband and wife missed each other on the passage. Mr. Brooking continued very unwell for some length of time after his arrival in England ; but was subsequently appointed to North America.

We have now to turn from these departures and arrivals, with the frequent returns to England on account of the failure of health, to the melancholy subject of *death* ; and that not of old residents who had worn themselves out in this field of labour and toil, but of newly-imported missionaries. It is painful to state, that three of the society's agents, whose arrival in Africa we have just chronicled, were called hence to be no more seen in less than three months after they landed in Africa. These were Mrs. Raston, Mr. Wayte, and Mr. Findlay : the latter died on the Gold-Coast ; and the two former at Sierra-Leone.

MRS. RASTON's maiden name was Padley ; and she was born in the year 1815, in the neighbourhood of Retford, in the county of Nottingham. Being favoured with pious parents, she was instructed in the ways of the Lord from her earliest days. But it was not till she had finished her education, and returned home from school, that she became a true disciple of the Lord Jesus. This important change took place in her native village, Bothamsall, which was at that time visited with a gracious outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Many were gathered into the fold of Christ ; and Miss Padley was among the number of those who were "added to the church," having obtained "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

But she was not satisfied with the mere personal enjoyment of the rich blessings of gospel grace herself; the feeling of her heart, the language of her tongue, and the tenor of her life, was,—

“ If all the world my Saviour knew,
Then all the world would love him too.”

Her desire for the salvation of others was intense: nor was it the evanescent display of excited feeling, the offspring of first love, so often observable in the early stage of Christian life. In her it deepened and widened as she pursued her onward course: she drank deep at the well-stream of life, and her full soul overflowed with love to all around her; and there was no department of Christian usefulness into which she did not enter with the fervid feelings of a heart glowing with love to God. In addition to her being usefully engaged in the sabbath-school, and in the distribution of tracts, her name had long been enrolled among those worthies of our land, the missionary collectors, to whom the work of God in distant lands owes so much; and, though useful in other ways, there was no work in which she engaged with so much energy and delight as in this, the cause of missions.

Soon after the Conference of 1845, she was united in marriage to Mr. Raston; and in a few weeks after they sailed for Sierra-Leone. The date of their departure from England, and arrival in Africa, has been given in a preceding page; and it will be recollected that they were accompanied by Messrs. Wayte and Griffiths. From a paper now before me, it appears that their voyage was very agreeable and pleasant, with the exception of a terrific thunder-storm, which commenced when they were off the coast of Portugal, and which continued for some days. During the storm, the mainmast was struck with the electric fluid, which, passing down the rigging, exploded on the deck with the noise as of a cannon. This occurred at midnight; and as gunpowder composed a large part of the cargo, alarm and consternation sat on every face, lest the lightning should penetrate the hold of the ship. But they were providentially delivered from a watery grave. One of the young brethren forcibly described this scene as follows:—“Friday, November 7th. Still the living, the living to praise God. The brittle thread is not yet snapped. The tempestuous elements have not yet shattered the ship, and divided her fragments and inmates among them. We are within the jaws of death; but he is not yet permitted to close them. Though the ocean is almost white as the snow, mountainous as the Alps, and voci-

ferous as the loudest thunder, the voice of Omnipotence is heard at the top of every threatening wave, and above 'the voice of many waters,' 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.'" That day was dismal beyond description; and the dark night came on, when those on board knew not but it would be their last. During this awful scene, Mrs. Raston calmly awaited the issue, and spoke and acted like a true Christian. The same missionary writes:—"I visited Mr. Raston's cabin at eleven A.M. He was lying in his berth, very sick; but Mrs. Raston was better, and able to pay him attentions. After we had prayed together, and I had read a few passages on the goodness of God, which had been a great comfort to my own mind, Mrs. Raston observed, 'Ah! Mr. Griffiths, these are some of the mysterious ways of God. Who can tell what He is about to do? Perhaps we have been thinking too much of our abilities, sacrifices, or honours; marking out a wide field of usefulness in Sierra-Leone, and taking some of the glory to our little selves; and now, He may be about to teach us humility, and tell us, with the Christian world, in this awfully mysterious manner, that He can carry on his work, and bless the Heathen, without us. O, what motives to be humble will these trials supply, should we survive them!'"

They did "survive them;" for, having "cried unto the Lord in their trouble, He brought them out of their distresses. He made the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof were still;" and in about twenty days after this, "they were glad because he brought them unto their desired haven."

On arriving at Sierra-Leone, Mrs. Raston was delighted with the scenery, the place, and the people, and immediately entered with zeal and energy into the various duties that then presented themselves to her. On the 14th of December she accompanied her husband to the chapel at Kroo-Town, when he preached from, "I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work." At the close of the service she observed, "O let us do all we can now; let us work for God in the day of health and life: we cannot tell how soon the night of affliction and death may come on." This was the last time that she mingled her devotions in public with the people of God on earth. Two days after she complained of indisposition, and the usual symptoms of the African fever shortly appeared. Her progress, however, was favourable; and her friends for some time indulged in the pleasing prospect of her speedy restoration to health, particularly as the insalubrity of the season had then abated. But these hopes were cut off: the

ninth day arrived, and with it came symptoms of a very alarming nature. Her friends resorted to every means that medical skill could devise, or which kindness could suggest; but they were of no avail. The fever had taken its seat deep in the system, and refused to be controlled.

During her affliction, Mrs. Raston's mind was kept in peace, calm and serene. Two days before her death, to a friend standing by, she said, "I am drawing nearer and nearer to my heavenly home: I cannot tell what keeps me back." To her husband she said, "O live to God; you have a great work to do; save as many souls as you can." On the same day, in answer to the inquiry, if, to her, death had any terrors, she replied, "No: the sting is drawn. There is no darkness. I feel the consolations of religion now. Never was Christ so precious to me." On the 26th her strength was greatly reduced; but she continued in the same delightful state of mind. Some of her last words were, "I shall soon see the King in his beauty: I shall see all my dear friends, and I shall see Jesus." In the evening she bade several friends a long farewell; and while Mr. Badger was commending the dying saint to God, her happy spirit took its flight at half-past two o'clock in the morning of the 27th of December, 1845.

JAMES H. WAYTE died at Sierra-Leone, January 16th, 1846. The "Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine" for February, 1849, contains an interesting Memoir of this very excellent missionary, from the pen of the Rev. John D. Geden, assistant classical tutor at the Theological Institution, Richmond; to which the reader is referred for further particulars.

Mr. Wayte was born at Newcastle-under-Lyne, in the county of Stafford, in the month of May, 1822; and being blessed with parents who feared the Lord, he had the advantages of an early religious training. In the seventeenth year of his age he was a consistent member of the Wesleyan society in the town of Stafford, where he served his apprenticeship; and at that time was an active, zealous teacher in the Sunday-school, and evidently growing in the knowledge and love of Christ. Soon after this he became an exhorter, and afterwards a local preacher; and now it was that he began to display that holy ardour, and that firmness in the cause of God, by which he was afterwards distinguished. At this period he had an impression that God would one day send him forth as a teacher of the Gentiles; and in this he was not mistaken. Having, on account of business, removed to Reading in Berkshire, and shortly after to the adja-

cent town of Newbury, the Great Head of the church opened his way, and under the kind and judicious direction of the Rev. George Jackson, the superintendent of that circuit, he became a candidate for the ministry, and offered himself for the mission work. At the Conference of 1844 he was accepted as such, and was appointed to the Richmond Branch of the Theological Institution, with a view to his further training for missionary labours. The missionary ardour of this young man was seen at the usual examination of the candidates for the ministry, which takes place in London, before a large committee, a few weeks previous to the Conference. On this occasion the candidates were fifty-six in number, most of whom expressed their willingness to go to any part of the world, when appointed by the Conference; but when Mr. Wayte was interrogated as to the nature of his offer, he replied, "I offer myself for the mission work, and should *prefer Western Africa* to any other part of the mission field." He remained in the Institution about fourteen months, during which period he applied himself to his studies with exemplary diligence, and grew at once in wisdom and holiness. In December, 1844, in a letter to the Rev. George Jackson, he wrote, "I trust I am growing in grace, in attachment to Methodism, and in love for the souls of men, especially of the Heathen. I am exceedingly thankful to my heavenly Father for bringing me to this place; and I trust my profiting will appear to all." It did so; for though his yearning over the spiritual destitution of unhappy Africa was a remarkable feature in his character, it did not exclude from the range of his pity and effort his perishing countrymen around him. More than one village in the neighbourhood of Richmond had a day of visitation, introduced by his fervent toils; and at one of them, having distributed religious tracts, visited and prayed with the poor families, preached the gospel in the "highways and hedges," he at length procured a house in which the poor could assemble unmolested, and hear the truth, and ultimately succeeded in furnishing them with the regular ministration of the gospel.

The peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Wayte embarked for Africa deserve to be mentioned. By a reference to the Minutes of the Conference for 1845, the reader will find the name of Mr. Joel Bate attached to the Sierra-Leone district: in the month of October following his passage was taken for that colony; and in another week he was to have sailed; but a sudden emergency induced the Missionary Committee to send him to the Friendly Isles, to which he consented, and set off immediately. The Sierra-Leone appointment was therefore now

vacant; and a substitute was sought with the utmost dispatch from among the missionary students at Richmond. The Rev. John Farrar had intimated to the missionary candidates, at an early part of the day, that one or more of the general secretaries would pay them a visit for that purpose. The time arrived, all the missionary students, being about twenty in number, were convened, and the subject was introduced in the kindest and most judicious manner. The main question, however, was, "Who will embark on next Monday morning for Sierra-Leone?" Several were *willing*, but not quite *ready*; the time being too short, and their homes too distant, to allow them even a day to take leave of their friends. Mr. Wayte presented himself, was accepted, and appointed; and, having executed the whole work of preparation with extraordinary speed, was found in less than a week on board the vessel, with Mr. Raston and Mr. David Griffiths, the latter also having offered himself for the same perilous service; and therefore two were sent on this occasion instead of one.

Mr. Wayte's parents, two of his brothers, and several other friends took their affectionate leave of him at Gravesend, on the 27th of October, the day on which he sailed, which was affecting to all who witnessed it. During the voyage his conduct was such, that all on board were impressed with the depth of his piety and devotedness to God; and when the mountains of Sierra-Leone first rose before his vision, the joy he manifested was almost unbounded. His friend, companion, and colleague, Mr. Griffiths, speaking of this, observes, "It was quite in character with his previous anxiety. He felt that he was for the first time actually looking upon the scene which had often been portrayed by his imagination, and fixing his *eyes* upon the land that had long been the residence of his *heart*." In a letter addressed to the Rev. George Jackson, dated December 17th, Mr. Wayte himself writes, "As we approached the land, our feelings were overpowering. We were met upon the vessel by Mr. Badger, and on the beach by our excellent superintendent, Mr. Dove. We were also greeted by the students," (those of the Native Institution,) "and hundreds of our dear people thronged our path to the mission-house. I took a cup of tea, and then went to a large chapel, made of the timbers of slave-vessels, and opened my commission to a congregation of seven hundred Africans, who filled the building inside, while many had to stand without. What a sight! What emotions! I assure you I could scarcely speak." After enumerating the services of the previous sabbath, December 14th, he proceeds:

“My mind has been variously exercised since I have been here. This great work, with all its responsibilities, coming upon me at once, drives me to close self-examination. I feel that I need much faith, and prayer, and watchfulness. I thank God, I have experienced much of my Saviour’s presence, and have enjoyed the consolations of his Spirit. I have felt more ardour since I have been here than ever I did in my native land; and I hope to labour long among this pious, devoted people. We are surrounded by much that is heart-rending. I do feel somewhat impatient, because I cannot work as I could wish. Our dear friends are anxious we should be prudent, lest we meet with an untimely grave.”

Mr. Wayte was intended for the York circuit; but before he could proceed to that station, he sickened and died. The demise of Mrs. Raston so soon after they landed in Africa, and of several others who were suddenly called to the world of spirits about the same time, greatly affected him. On this subject he wrote:—“December 27th. Mrs. Raston fell a victim to the climate at two o’clock this morning: her remains to be interred in two hours. Who next? Pray, pray, pray!” In attending the funeral he said to Mr. Griffiths, “Who can tell how soon one of us may be accompanied by this vast assembly to our last home?” In his journal of the 31st of that month, he again referred to the subject of death in general, and to that of Mrs. Raston in particular; and then remarks concerning himself: “I trust I am ready. I wish to live with eternity in view. I have no will but God’s. I am the Lord’s; in Him do I trust; and I know I shall not be confounded.” A few days after, he wrote: “Each succeeding day I am impressed with the fact, that I am surrounded with the realities, labours, responsibilities, and trials (delightful trials!) of a Christian mission in a tropical climate; in a colony which has been called, (and probably with much truth,) ‘the white man’s’—the missionary’s—‘grave.’ Will it be mine? My Father’s will be done! I think I can say, though I feel my own unworthiness, with the great missionary of olden times, ‘For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.’”

From the time of his landing in Africa, Mr. Wayte had suffered greatly from violent pains in the head; but no alarming symptoms of disease were apparent until January 5th, 1846. The best medical skill was immediately procured, and the doctor at once pronounced it to be the country fever; and the usual treatment was prescribed. The day following he was worse, and his mind became possessed with a conviction that his

sickness would terminate in death. "O, my dear Griffiths," he remarked, "what should I now do, if I had not sought and found religion? What would become of me, if I were without God and without hope in the world?" For several days the disease appeared to fluctuate; but on the night of the 13th it assumed a more virulent form than ever. His friend, Mr. Griffiths, who scarcely left his bed-side night or day, had retired in the hope of obtaining a little rest. "No sooner, however," he writes, "had I laid myself down, than I heard Mr. Wayte begin to shout with a loud and rapturous voice. The next moment a messenger desired I would return to his chamber. I immediately went to him, and found that Mr. Dove had anticipated me. Before I entered the room, I heard him rejoicing that he had now given up all his friends, his 'dear mother' not excepted; and that he should soon depart and be with Christ, which would be far better. On my entering, he instantly put out his ever-friendly hand; and, taking fast hold of mine, he said, 'O, brother Griffiths, God will soon take me to Himself! It will be your privilege to live and labour in Africa; but God calls me, and I must go. If I wanted to live, it was to be useful; but God has otherwise determined, and I am content. We came together to Africa; but we are not going together to heaven: it is MY HONOUR TO GO FIRST!' He added, 'O, I wish my dearest mother was here, to sing my favourite *Vital Spark!*' He commenced it himself, and his voice seemed as strong and as musical as ever; but he could not keep on to the end. He then addressed his nurses and Mr. Dove, who were weeping by his side, in most affecting language; charging them to live to God, and meet him in glory. He asked us to pray. We knelt down, but for a time could only weep. At length Mr. Dove attempted to pray; but he was almost immediately interrupted by our brother, who began to invoke the Divine blessing upon all his brethren at Richmond, and continued to do so for some minutes. He paused a little, and then said, 'O, glory be to Jesus! I feared I should depart without a shout for my Lord; but He would not allow it, bless His gracious name! I have preached Christ in life, though very unfaithfully; and I will preach Him in death!' and then exclaimed,—

'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath;
 And, when my voice is lost in death,
 Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
 My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
 While life, and thought, and being last,
 Or immortality endures!'

He then repeated,—

‘Happy, if with my latest breath
I may but gasp His name ;
Preach Him to all, and cry in death,
Behold, behold the Lamb !’

Then, elevating his voice yet higher, he added,—

‘Mortals cry, A man is dead !
Angels sing, A child is born !’

In this strain he continued for at least two hours. None who were present could refrain from the prayer, ‘Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his !’”

During most of the two following days he was delirious ; and, at nine o’clock in the evening of Thursday, 15th, was evidently near his end. He revived a little, however, and talked frequently in a very rapid manner ; sometimes he was preaching, and at other times exhorting and praying. He possessed, during the greater part of his painful affliction,

“The soul’s calm sunshine, and the heartfelt joy ;”

and his death was more than peaceful, or even triumphant : the apostle’s language, “Death is swallowed up in victory,” is perhaps the most appropriate designation that can be given to it. His ear was growing dull to external impressions ; but the interior harmony survived. The world was receding and disappearing, and the visual nerves had lost their sensibility ; but the inner sense was active :—

“Heaven open’d on his eyes ; his ears
With sounds seraphic rang ;”

and at about eleven o’clock on that evening he lifted up both his hands, as if greatly astonished, though with closed eyelids, and exclaimed, “Beautiful, beautiful ! O how beautiful !” These were some of the last words he uttered ; and at a quarter before two he gently breathed his last, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the first of his ministry. His remains were committed to the ground in the afternoon of the same day, amidst the tears and lamentations of a multitude of people who followed him to his burial.

GEORGE FINDLAY died on Tuesday, March 10th, 1846, at Cape-Coast-Town. He was a native of Scotland, and was a young man of amiable temper, sincere piety, and promising talents. He was intended for Coomassie, to which important

station he had been appointed at the previous Conference. But he was attacked with fever in a few weeks after his arrival on the Coast. During his illness he was a great sufferer; but his end was eminently peaceful and calm. The violence of the disease, and its prostrating effects upon his constitution, deprived him of those hours of quiet and comparative repose which often precede dissolution; but he gave abundant evidence that his feet were fixed upon the "Rock of Ages," and that for him "to die was gain." He was watched over during the whole of his illness, which lasted a fortnight, with the most tender and assiduous care; and he expired amidst the prayers and affectionate sympathies of his brethren, by whom he was greatly beloved.

Mr. Findlay was the first Scotchman who had been connected with the Cape-Coast district; and by his steady and uniform piety, and general conduct towards the natives, had secured the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the first of his ministry, after a residence in Africa of only two months and ten days.

During the same month, the Gambia mission was deprived of the valuable services of Mr. Lynn, the European schoolmaster at St. Mary's, who was removed by death to a better world. He had been on the station about three years, and was very useful to the mission, as well as in the school. He was a most devoted and excellent man. The writer has several letters which he received from him, after his own return to England; and they all breathe the spirit of genuine and consistent piety, and an ardent desire to be useful. In one of his last letters he remarks: "With my soul full of love to God and man, I am aware that your kind caution is not out of place; nor will I say that I do not require a little of it in this sultry clime. But O, what need for labour! How dark, how ignorant, I find the minds of the children and the people by whom I am surrounded! And shall I not exert my every power to remove those characteristics? I have, I must confess it, laboured hard, perhaps too hard for my constitution; but never too hard for my Master,—He is *so* good!" The removal of such an agent was felt to be a loss not easily repaired, and was regarded as a public calamity by all classes of the inhabitants of that colony. Mr. Lynn died of intestinal hæmorrhage, on the 23d of March, 1846, after an illness of ten days. His end was peace.

There were, during the last year, some cheering indications of good at Sierra-Leone, notwithstanding the loss by death just

mentioned. This will be seen from the following extract from the Annual Report for that year:—

In the Free-Town circuit, the state of things is generally encouraging. The chapel in Bathurst-street is attended by large congregations on the week-day evenings when religious services are held, as well as on the sabbath-day. In our religious society at Portuguese-Town, there are some who have been steady members from an early period of the history of the society's mission in the colony. At New-Town West, where we have upwards of five hundred church-members, the chapel is often crowded to excess, while hundreds of persons are also frequently seen on the outside, listening to the word with great attention. The chapel at Soldier-Town is generally "filled with devout worshippers." The same may be said of our place of worship, which is a good stone building, at Gibraltar-Town. At Kroo-Town, a large and commodious chapel, contiguous to our Institution for training native teachers, has been recently completed. Great local exertions have been made towards defraying the expense of these erections. The labours of the missionaries have been attended with much success at New-Town. A few years since the people were in a state of heathenish ignorance and demoralization; but many of them have been brought under the saving influence of the gospel. At Regent, six of the inhabitants have lately presented their idols to the missionary by whom they have been instructed, requesting him to throw them into the neighbouring stream; while they have devoted themselves to the worship and service of the true and living God. The inhabitants of Murray-Town are Ackus and Kakandas, many of whom also have cast their idols "to the moles and to the bats," and are now consistent members of our religious society. At the other places in the circuit there are indications of good among the people.

About this time, a misunderstanding unfortunately arose between one of the resident missionaries and two of the native teachers, at the Gambia; and, several of the members taking the side of the latter, the society was kept in an unsettled state for some months.

The operations of this mission were also seriously interrupted, during that year and some part of the next, by the return to England of Mr. Benjamin Chapman, and subsequently of Mr. and Mrs. Godman, on account of ill health; so that Mr. Parsonson was for some time the only English missionary left at the Gambia. Mr. and Mrs. Davie were sent out as soon as possible to his assistance, more especially in the school department,—the former being appointed as catechist, and the latter to take part in training the female children attending the mission-school.

Mr. and Mrs. Annear, of the Gold-Coast mission, had also been compelled to return to Europe, during the early part of the year, and subsequently Mr. and Mrs. Dove from Sierra-Leone. Mr. Dove had been connected with the West-African missions since the year 1833; and though he had spent some of that time in England, yet he had been longer on the Coast than any other Wesleyan missionary up to this period.

On the 1st of November, Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, with Mr. John Lewis, embarked at Gravesend for Sierra-Leone, where they arrived in safety on the 7th of the following month; and in January, 1847, the Gold-Coast mission received a reinforcement by the arrival of Messrs. John Thomas, John Harrop, and Charles Hillard.

Mrs. Godman, whose return home we have just mentioned, shortly after her arrival in this country, sank under the disease which had rendered necessary her removal from the Gambia mission. In the possession of "peace and joy through believing," she entered into the eternal world on the 9th of March, 1847. Mr. Godman, with Messrs. Annear and Benjamin Chapman, sailed, in a few months after, for other parts of the Heathen world; and Mr. Dove, after a short stay in Gibraltar, was appointed to an English circuit.

Mr. and Mrs. Wrench, during the summer of that year, returned from Sierra-Leone, on account of the delicate state of Mrs. Wrench's health; and about the same time, Mrs. Parsonson, at the Gambia, was compelled by severe affliction to return to England. But Mr. Parsonson, being the only European missionary at that time in the district, could not, consistently with his sense of duty, leave his work; and therefore remained till Providence more fully opened his way to return. Mr. Wrench subsequently sailed for the West Indies, where he is now labouring.

On the 1st of September, Mr. David Griffiths took his departure from Sierra-Leone for his native land, on account of ill health, having laboured in that colony nearly two years; and Mr. Raston, who had left Sierra-Leone a few months previously, after a short stay in England, a third time embarked for that important station. Mr. Raston was accompanied by Mrs. Raston, 2d, and by Messrs. Richard Hart and Thomas Purslow. They sailed by the "Dale Park" on the 3d of November, and, after a very pleasant voyage of only five weeks, landed at Sierra-Leone on the 8th of December, and were received with many manifestations of joyous greeting. A few days after these departures, Messrs. George Meadows and Robert Lean embarked by the "Copy" for the River Gambia; and they landed at St. Mary's on the same day as the other mission-party reached Sierra-Leone.

On the 15th of January, 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Allen and John Martin were called to leave their interesting spheres of usefulness at the Gold-Coast, through a failure of their health, more particularly that of Mrs. Allen and Mr. Martin. They arrived in England on the 2d of March. Mr. Martin had, for

more than four years in succession, laboured at the different stations in the district, and had suffered from repeated attacks of fever. Mr. Allen had been connected with the mission for six years and upwards, and had been twice to Africa. It was his intention to have still laboured there; and in a few months after his arrival in England, he actually embarked for that purpose; but circumstances having occurred which prevented his further services in Western Africa, he has since that period been connected with the ministry at home. Mr. John Martin and Mr. David Griffiths are also usefully employed as ministers of the gospel in their own country.

We have now to record two lamented deaths which occurred in connexion with these missions, during the year of which we are speaking. They were, Mr. Lean at the Gambia, and Mr. Purslow at Sierra-Leone.

ROBERT LEAN was called to his eternal home, after a residence in Africa of only three months and a half. He was a native of Cornwall, and was born in the neighbourhood of Redruth, in the year 1824. When about eighteen years of age, he was converted to God; and about the same time, the perusal of Mr. Freeman's *Two Visits to the Kingdom of Ashantee* was made a great blessing to him. Africa was now impressed upon his heart; and he believed that God would one day open his way to labour among that degraded and suffering people. Having acted for some time in the capacity of a local preacher in the Redruth circuit, where he was very useful, and greatly beloved, he was proposed as a missionary candidate, and accepted as such by the Conference of 1847. He was very desirous of enjoying the advantages of the Theological Institution; but almost immediately after the Conference, he was sent by the president to assist one of the preachers in his own county, whose health had failed; and shortly after this he received a call from the Missionary Committee to go to the Gambia: he therefore returned to his native place to make preparations for his departure, and take leave of his friends and "widowed mother." One of the ministers on whom he called on this occasion, writes, "I was struck with his appearance: his countenance was lit up with delight, and soon his full heart uttered itself,—‘I am appointed to Western Africa.’" In a conversation he had with this minister, he said he would much rather go to Africa than to any circuit at home, and that the hand of God was in the call. During the few days he was amongst his friends, arranging his affairs, he assisted at one or two of the

circuit missionary meetings, when the congregations were deeply affected at hearing him in the most cheerful and unreserved manner present his all on the missionary altar, to live and work, or suffer and die, for Him, "to whom his more than all was due."

His departure and arrival in Africa have already been mentioned. From St. Mary's, under date of January 4th, 1848, he wrote: "I had a glorious time last Sunday afternoon in our little chapel at New-Town: while pleading with God for poor Africa, I felt as I scarcely ever did before. On the one hand, I was led to contemplate the perishing millions by whom I am surrounded; and, on the other, the many young men in my native country, whose souls are burning with zeal for their salvation, and yet cannot be sent. I felt the weight of souls laid upon me, and wept and struggled with God; and then endeavoured to explain the first Psalm." Shortly after this, he again wrote:—"Last night, on meeting the class, I had an overwhelming season; my cup was full and running over; such was my sympathy for souls, the souls of Africa, that my heart was melted. 'My head was water, and my eyes a fountain of tears.' I would rather be here than any where else in the world. My soul grasps Africa, nothing less than the whole of Africa." Being appointed by the district-meeting to occupy the station at Macarthy's Island, he proceeded thither in February, and there commenced his work under circumstances of much encouragement. But it pleased the Great Head of the church to put a speedy termination to his labours. After preaching on Sunday, March 11th, he became unwell; the usual symptoms of fever soon made their appearance, and in twelve days terminated his mortal career. During the short time which Mr. Lean had spent in the Gambia, he had acquired the love both of the people of his charge, and of his missionary brethren. He died at Macarthy's Island in great peace, March 23d, 1848, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

THOMAS PURSLOW departed this life, "happy in God," at Sierra-Leone, on the 2d of October, 1848. He was the subject of the benign and gracious influence of the Spirit at an early period of his life. Possessing the advantages of parental example and instruction, he was conducted to the house of God, where he became impressed with those principles and truths which marked and adorned his after-life. At the age of sixteen he obtained a clear sense of God's pardoning love, which he continued to enjoy to the latest moment of his existence. In the year 1839, he came to reside in Birmingham, and was at that

time a zealous and useful local preacher. He subsequently removed into Yorkshire, and afterwards to the Dunster circuit in Somersetshire; from which place he was recommended to the Conference as a missionary candidate. In the autumn of 1847, he embarked, with the mission-party before named, for Sierra-Leone; where he continued to labour with great zeal and diligence, with very little interruption, up to a short period before his death. By the district-meeting he was appointed tutor at the Educational Institution at King Tom's Point; where, by the kindness of his disposition, the fervour of his piety, and his unwearied attention to the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the students, he soon secured their sincere respect, as well as the esteem and confidence of his brethren, and of all who knew him. But his career, like that of many of those who had preceded him, was short. The rainy season was well-nigh over, and it was hoped he would have escaped the usual attacks of fever. But on the 22d of September, he was "laid low." On the 27th, however, the disease had so far yielded to medical skill, that there appeared good reason to believe the worst was over, and that he would speedily be restored. But in this his friends were disappointed; for, on the sabbath following, October 1st, there were symptoms so alarming, that the doctor remained with him during the greater part of the day. The following morning he was extremely feeble; yet he conversed freely, and often expressed his thankfulness to God for his mercies. Neither he nor his brethren had any idea that life was so fast ebbing out. The delirium under which he had at times suffered now passed away, and his mind was composed and happy. About ten o'clock he rallied a little, and with peculiar emphasis repeated that cheering promise, "My God shall supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus." These were the last words which escaped from his dying lips. At eleven o'clock he became unconscious of those around him; and in another hour, while his brethren were commending him to God in prayer, his happy spirit, reposing with entire confidence upon the merits of the Redeemer, was gently borne away, without a struggle, or a groan, or a sigh, to the paradise of God.

Mr. Purslow was a man of prayer, and of decided and consistent piety. His style of preaching was plain, earnest, and often pathetic. He carried out system and order in every thing, and his sermons were marked by clearness of thought and aptness of arrangement. To every duty and engagement he paid the most scrupulous attention, and no private or personal consideration kept him from fulfilling the work which the Lord had

given him to do. He had scarcely been in Africa ten months, when he was thus mysteriously removed by death; but he left a savour behind him which will not soon be lost or forgotten. He was thirty years of age when he died; and at his funeral it is supposed there were near two thousand persons present, among whom were His Excellency the governor, and several clergymen and respectable gentlemen of the colony.

A few weeks before the Conference of 1848, Mr. Badger returned from the Coast, where he had been laboriously engaged during his second term of service of nearly five years. He called at the Gambia on his way to England, having been for the few previous years constituted visiter of that district; and he was at the Conference appointed to reside there, as the general superintendent of the Gambia missions. Two or three of the natives from Sierra-Leone, who were local preachers, had accompanied Mr. Badger to England on business; and having remained in this country for some months, they frequently preached, and attended several missionary meetings, in different parts of the kingdom: thus affording, to the friends of missions in England, visible and practical demonstrations of the fruit of missionary labour and toil, both in a temporal and a spiritual point of view. The following short speech, which was delivered at the Wesleyan chapel in Jewin-street, in the First London circuit, on Wednesday evening, October 25th, may be introduced here:—

Mr. Joseph Will, from Sierra-Leone, said, it afforded him great pleasure to meet with them, and to have the opportunity of saying something on behalf of that glorious gospel from which he had derived so much benefit. They had been told, that he was a native of Sierra-Leone; but that was not his birth-place, for he was born in the interior of Africa, some hundred miles from the sea-shore. About nineteen years ago he was kidnapped from his parents, and was sold for a slave to the Spaniards; but, after suffering much, they were met on their way to the Havannah by an English man-of-war, and, after a hot battle, they were recaptured, and were carried to Sierra-Leone, where they were immediately set free. For that they felt they were very much indebted to the Government of England; and they were also indebted to the good people of England, because they had sent missionaries out to them, to tell them of the truth of the gospel, which produced the same effect in Africa as it did in England. When he arrived in Sierra-Leone, he was still a Heathen; but, about thirteen years ago, he was invited to go to chapel to hear a new missionary, whose name was Mr. Crosby; he, however, did not preach, Mr. Wise, another missionary, preaching in his stead; but he preached the same truth, and he (Mr. Will) was convinced, and that conviction ended in his conversion. He experienced, as it were, a start from death to life, from darkness to the light of day; and since that time he had been always among that body of people, and had rejoiced with them in the Lord. He had been an exhorter, a class-leader, and a

local preacher among his own countrymen at Sierra-Leone; and he had endeavoured to bring others to the same fold. He could tell them that their labour had not been in vain; for they could look upon such an one as himself, a born Heathen, but who, through the instrumentality of the missionary sent to Sierra-Leone, had been brought to the knowledge of the truth as it was in Jesus; and there were hundreds, nay, thousands, besides himself, who had also been converted. The society altogether numbered more than four thousand members; they had more than two hundred leaders, and about fifty local preachers, all uniting their efforts to pull down the strong-hold of slavery. There were besides a Church mission, a Baptist mission, and some few persons connected with Lady Huntingdon's church: but they had no Roman Catholic; and if they went there now, they would be too late, as they were all Bible Christians in Sierra-Leone. The sabbath was kept holy there; and they were all trying to do all they could to spread the saving truth of the gospel among their fellow-countrymen; and they had reason to rejoice and to say, that they lived in a Christian colony. As the time was getting late, he would not detain them longer, but conclude by moving the Resolution intrusted to him, referring to the election of officers for the ensuing year.

In the early part of September of this year, the venerable and benevolent Dr. Lindoe, of Clifton, Bristol, (formerly of Southampton,) expired in great peace and "in a good old age." The author, during his residence of three years in that city, had frequent opportunities of seeing this good man and liberal contributor to our missions; and was the medium of conveying to the parent Society several handsome donations, as may be seen from the "Missionary Notices;" and he has great pleasure in transcribing into these pages the following document, which was published in the December Number of the "Missionary Notices" of the same year:—

General Committee, September 27th, 1848.

A letter containing intelligence of the death of Robert Lindoe, Esq., M.D., of Clifton, Bristol, having been brought under the notice of the committee, it was unanimously resolved,—

"That the committee receive with deep feeling the mournful intelligence of the removal of one by whose countenance and efficient aid they have been encouraged and sustained, during many years, in the prosecution of their missionary plans generally, and more especially in regard to Western Africa. Considering the large amount of his donations and subscriptions from his own private property and income, and his unwearied endeavours to engage the sympathy and assistance of others in support of measures for promoting the Christian instruction and social improvement of the native tribes and people to whom access is afforded by the navigation of the river Gambia,—the committee feel that the Society has been deprived of one of its most attached and liberal supporters, while the African race has lost one of its best friends and patrons; and they further record their full conviction, that in his untiring zeal, which rose superior to every discouragement, and in his self-denying exertions in the best of causes, Dr. Lindoe has left an example of Christian philanthropy worthy of general imitation. To Mrs. Lindoe the committee convey their most sincere condolence, at the same time that they offer earnest prayer to Almighty God that He may graciously vouchsafe unto her those

Divine consolations which will comfort and sustain her in the circumstances of bereavement and trial in which she has been placed by the afflictive event."

On the 10th of November, Mr. and Mrs. Badger embarked at Gravesend, on board the "Dale-Park," for Sierra-Leone, on their way to the Gambia; and Mr. George Parsonson, who had returned from that district in the month of September, shortly after sailed for Southern Africa. Mr. Parsonson had spent several years on the Western Coast of this continent, from which, it will be recollected, Mrs. Parsonson was obliged to return to England during the preceding year; but her health having now become re-established, she embarked with her husband for their new sphere of labour, though it was in the same quarter of the globe.

The object of Mr. Badger's taking Sierra-Leone in his route to the Gambia, was, to procure from that flourishing station a re-inforcement of native agents for the latter place, Pierre Sallah and John Cupidon having retired from the work; and Mr. and Mrs. Davie, who had been connected with the school-department, were shortly after under the necessity of returning to England through serious indisposition. Mr. Badger, on this occasion, selected Mr. May and Mr. Leigh, both married men; and the whole party proceeded without delay to the scene of their future labours, and landed at St. Mary's on the 21st of February, 1849. This was Mr. Badger's third term of arduous toil in this part of the mission-field.

At the close of January, Mr. Walter Garry and Mr. Frederick Hart sailed from London, for the Western Coast of Africa, as Wesleyan missionaries. The former was appointed to Sierra-Leone, and the latter to the Gold-Coast district; and they arrived at their respective places of destination in the month of March. Mr. Garry, like Mr. Wharton, is a native of Grenada in the West Indies; and is the fruit of missionary labour in those islands. Having passed his examination as a candidate for the ministry at the district-meeting in Barbadoes, and being very young, he was sent to the Theological Institution at Richmond, where he continued his studies with great advantage for three years, at the expiration of which he received his appointment to Sierra-Leone.

Mr. Hart was cordially welcomed at the Gold-Coast; but the additional strength to the ministerial staff which this *one* arrival had created, was more than counterbalanced by the departure from the Coast, about the same time, of *two* excellent labourers, whose constitutions had been so affected by the debilitating

influence of the climate, that they were under the necessity of returning to England. These were Messrs. Addison and Thomas. Mr. Harrop had also returned some months previously, from the same cause. The first of these brethren had spent more than three years on the Coast; the second, upwards of two; and the other, not quite so long. Messrs. Addison and Harrop had so far recovered, however, that, at the Manchester Conference in 1849, they received appointments to English circuits; but Mr. Thomas remained an invalid for some months longer. The Gold-Coast district experienced a farther reduction and loss at the commencement of the year 1850, in the return to this country, through ill health, of Mr. Charles Hillard, who had been on the Coast rather more than three years, and who, a part of that time, had laboured at Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee. Mr. John Lewis, also, having laboured nearly three years and a half at Sierra-Leone, requiring a change, left that colony for England in the month of May.

As the present chapter, thus far, has been principally taken up with departures, arrivals, and deaths, I must refer the reader to the annual Reports and other periodicals of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for further information respecting the spiritual state and progress of these missions, during the past few years, which we have thus rapidly sketched. In them, and in the "Missionary Notices" in particular, will be found interesting communications from nearly all the excellent brethren whose names have been mentioned in this chapter.

The last "Report of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, for the Year ending April, 1850," contains the following statements and statistics respecting these missions:—

SIERRA-LEONE.

Free-Town, &c., Thomas Raston, general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions at Sierra-Leone; John Lewis, jun., Richard Hart, Joseph Wright, native missionary, and Walter Garry.

Hastings, Wellington, &c., Charles Knight, native missionary.

York, Plantain's Island, &c., George H. Decker, native assistant missionary.

This important mission continues to enjoy much prosperity. Through the blessing of God accompanying the appointed ordinances of religion, the work of religion both deepens and extends. There is an evident improvement in the tone of personal piety among our people, and there has been a net increase of three hundred and fifty-eight in the number of full and accredited church-members during the last year.

The most serious difficulty which is now experienced at this mission has resulted from the rapid increase which has taken place. The existing chapels scarcely fur-

nish accommodation for half of our own people; and a sufficient amount of subscriptions could not be raised upon the spot, to erect large new chapels to meet the exigency which has arisen. The number of church-members and scholars connected with the Bathurst-street chapel, at Free-Town, is eleven hundred and seventy-six; but the chapel will not accommodate more than six hundred persons. The Grass-Field chapel will only contain seven hundred; but the church-members and scholars alone amount to thirteen hundred and seventy-nine: and the Gibraltar chapel, also, is not half large enough to contain the congregation. Exertions have been making for some time to raise a sufficient fund for the building of the proposed new "Buxton chapel," and the sum of seven hundred pounds has been contributed towards it by the people; but the amount received from all sources is not yet sufficient to meet the expense of the erection. The missionaries write upon the subject with great feeling and earnestness, apprehensive that the work must eventually suffer, if sufficient chapel-accommodation cannot be provided for our religious societies and congregations.

In the education department progress is made. "We are using," the missionaries report, "the best agency of which we can avail ourselves; and, upon the whole, the class of teachers now employed are superior to any we have ever before had in the service of the mission." The details furnished respecting the several schools, show that the teachers are diligently and successfully applying themselves to their important duties. The Report of the Institution for training native teachers, at King Tom's Point, is, on the whole, encouraging; although it has been found necessary to dismiss a few of the students for irregularity of conduct. The present inmates appear to be truly pious, and are very exemplary in their conduct, and in their diligent attention to the prescribed course of study in the Institution. One of the students has been appointed, in the course of the year, as an exhorter, and is employed on the Lord's day in conducting public religious services in the smaller places. His piety and general qualifications warrant the hope that he will prove an useful missionary agent. The names of several others are given, who have been placed at various schools; and they are reported as answering the expectations which had been formed respecting them. The missionaries refer to the Institution in a very encouraging strain. They say: "The young men of this and kindred institutions are our hope. We look to them as the future instruments, under God, of spreading the knowledge of the Redeemer throughout this vast continent; and we trust that, by prayerfulness and diligence on our part, and with God's blessing on the work of our hands, they will be prepared to sow the precious seed of the word in the hearts of their benighted countrymen, which shall spring up unto everlasting life."

The Hastings circuit partakes of the general prosperity of the mission. At the town of Hastings, "the work of God is steadily advancing." From Wellington, the report is similar. Our large and substantial stone chapel there "is generally filled on the Lord's day with an overflowing congregation," and our people "walk worthy of their high vocation." "Our cause at Allen-Town is alike improving;" and "at Waterloo," the missionaries say, "we have every encouragement to perseverance, by the past success which has attended our labours, and by the cheering prospects of doing good which are before us." The mission-schools in this circuit are reported as "still very encouraging."

York was formerly notorious for the prevalence of Heathenish superstition and practices; but the missionaries now rejoice in the change which has been effected. In the latter part of 1842, a gracious religious awakening took place, and a new state of things commenced. "The chief of the *Aku* superstition turned 'from

darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God,' and has become a zealous and laborious class-leader. All his followers also turned with him. Some of these have since died in the faith, and left a good testimony behind them." The work steadily advances. "Our large chapel is well filled twice every sabbath with serious and attentive worshippers; and we are thankful that our society increases, not only in numbers, but also in piety." There is more or less encouragement at Sussex, Hamilton, and Goderich. At Kent, a favourable commencement has just been made. The schools in the York circuit continue in active operation.

The following is a tabular view of the Sierra-Leone district:—

	CENTRAL OR PRINCIPAL STATIONS OR CIRCUITS.			
	FREE-TOWN.	HASTINGS AND WELLINGTON.	YORK.	TOTAL.
Chapels	16	6	7	29
Other preaching-places	1	1	..	2
Missionaries and assistant missionaries.....	5	1	1	7
Subordinate paid agents:—				
Catechists, &c.	3	2	1	6
Day-school teachers	21	8	8	37
Unpaid agents:—				
Sabbath-school teachers	88	41	24	153
Local preachers	44	10	7	61
Full and accredited church-members.....	3335	920	457	4712
On trial for membership.....	352	165	45	562
Sabbath-schools	12	3	3	18
Sabbath-scholars of both sexes.....	659	199	220	1078
Day-schools	9	3	4	16
Day-scholars of both sexes	1314	401	307	2022
Total number of scholars, deducting for those who attend both sabbath and week-day schools.....	1973	600	385	2958
Attendants on public worship, including members and scholars.....	5836	1561	1117	8514

THE GAMBIA.

St. Mary's, and Barra Point, Henry Badger, general superintendent of the Gambia missions; and George Meadows.

Ngabantang, (Lower Nyani.) vacant.

Macarthy's Island, Joseph May, native assistant missionary; and George Leigh, native teacher.

The promising state of things at St. Mary's, which Mr. Badger reported last year, continues to encourage the expectations which were then formed. The work has advanced. There has been a decided improvement in the tone of piety among our people; and a considerable addition to the number of church-members has been made. A general interest in the mission is manifested by all classes. The subscriptions to the general mission-fund have considerably increased; and the chapel has been enlarged, and a gallery put up for the accommodation of the school-children at public worship, the expense of which has been nearly met by local subscriptions. There has also been considerable prosperity in the school, although deprived of the services of Mr. and Mrs. Davie, who were obliged to leave on account of the failure of their health. "The girls have had much attention paid to them. They have been taught in the school twice in the day, and the most promising among them receive additional instruction at the mission-house

after school-hours. They are beginning to appreciate reading, writing, and the other branches of useful education. They have been urged to greater decorum in their general conduct, and an improvement in these respects is already manifest." That the parents of the children attach some importance to their education is evident, from the circumstance that the missionaries have introduced the pay-system in the course of the year; and more than twelve pounds has been received from those parents who have been able to contribute one penny per week. The school has been honoured by a visit from the commodore of the armed squadron, who called at St. Mary's on board H.M.S. "Centaur;" and, after having attended an examination of the scholars, he presented, as an expression of his satisfaction, an additional subscription of ten pounds—having previously given two pounds—towards the support of the Institution. The missionaries write, in reference to the school, "We have proof that much moral and religious benefit has already resulted from our efforts; and we trust that, before we leave our work for our everlasting reward, we shall see many go forth from the school to become pillars in the church of God."

The station at Macarthy's Island has been placed in disadvantageous circumstances, owing to the ravages of the small-pox, and the war which took place between the Mandingoes and the local government; during which disturbance, our class-leaders and several of our church-members were called to the barracks, to supply the place of the regular troops. The entire repair of the mission-house and premises had also become necessary. Mr. May, whose appointment was reported last year, has been assiduous in his endeavours, and a corresponding measure of success has been his reward. At George-Town, he reports, "Our society is rapidly improving; and although many of its members are poor, and wanting regular employment, yet they are 'diligent in business' when they have work to do, and 'fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.' Though they were deeply ignorant of the principles of religion, and the power of godliness, yet they are now rising from their distress, poverty, and ignorance, to knowledge and spiritual prosperity. The sabbath and week-night congregations are good, and the chapel is often crowded on sabbath-mornings. The congregation consists of a few Europeans, merchants and clerks, officers and soldiers, sailors and Jalloofs, liberated Africans, and school-children. Many of the people who had been unconcerned about religion, and had not, I am told, been seen in a place of worship for years, are now found regularly worshipping in the house of God, and receiving instruction in the sabbath-schools. Some have come to me, deeply convinced of their sins, and, with tears, have asked my help. Of those who have been recently converted, there are eight persons now in my class, three of whom are Jalloofs. One of the latter is a convert from Mohammedanism." The school suffered much during the prevalence of the small-pox; but it is now in activity. Mr. May instructs the higher classes, and Mr. Leigh the remaining classes of boys; and Mrs. May and Mrs. Leigh teach the girls. A marked improvement is already visible; and it may be reasonably hoped that this important Institution, being now placed under the care of pious and well-qualified natives, will steadily advance, without experiencing any more such interruptions as have formerly resulted from the frequent failure of the health of European missionaries and teachers.

The following is a tabular view of the Gambia district:—

CENTRAL OR PRINCIPAL STATIONS OR CIRCUITS.

	St. Mary's.	Barra-Point.	Ngabantang.	Macarthy's Island.	Total.
Chapels	2	1	..	2	5
Other preaching-places .....	..	..	..	..	..
Missionaries and assistant missionaries.....	2	..	..	1	3
Subordinate paid agents:—					
Catechists, &c.	1	1	..	..	2
Day-school teachers	3	..	..	3	6
Unpaid agents:—					
Sabbath-school teachers	10	3	..	24	37
Local preachers	6*	..	..	3	9
Full and accredited church members.....	293*	..	..	183	476
On trial for membership.....	51*	..	..	85	136
Sabbath-schools.....	1	1	..	1	3
Sabbath-scholars of both sexes.....	180	30	..	280	490
Day-schools.....	1	1	..	1	3
Day-scholars of both sexes.....	370	30	..	121	521
Total number of scholars, deducting for those who attend both sabbath and week-day schools	420	30	..	301	751
Attendants on public worship, including members and scholars	800	50	..	400	1250

* These three items include Barra-Point.

THE GOLD-COAST, ASHANTI, AND OTHER PARTS OF GUINEA.

Cape-Coast-Town, Commenda, Dix-Cove, Sekundi, Beulah, and Providence, Thomas B. Freeman, Frederick Hart; John Hagan, native assistant missionary; and Joseph Dawson, catechist.

Anamabu, Akroful, &c., Timothy Laing, catechist.

Domonasi, Abasa, Donasi, &c., George P. Brown, catechist.

British Akrah, Winnebah, &c., Henry Wharton; and James Solomon, catechist.

Ashanti, John Ansah, catechist.

Badagry, (Slave-Coast,) and Abbeokuta, (Yoruba,) John A. Martin, native assistant missionary; and Henry Morgue, catechist.

N.B. Charles Hillard has returned to England.

THE GOLD-COAST.

The local reports from this interesting field of missionary labour are generally of a very gratifying character. "In this district," writes one of the missionaries, "God is at work in our behalf. We see it in the new and encouraging spheres of usefulness which are opening before us; in the increasing moral influence which the mission is diffusing in every direction; in the large and attentive congregations which listen to our ministry; in the prosperous state of our schools; in the earnest prayers of our church-members for a larger outpouring of the Holy Spirit; in the giving way of Fetish prejudices and customs: and we *feel* it, too, in our own hearts, in that burning love for the souls of our perishing fellow-men which only God can inspire and sustain." In addition to the encouraging circumstances enumerated in this general view, the gratifying fact must be noticed, that six of the native converts have been recommended as sufficiently qualified to act as catechists in the service of the society.

At Cape-Coast, it is stated that a week had been spent in a succession of religious services; during which a deep feeling of devotion was manifested by the people. Dix-Cove, Beulah, Providence, Sekundi, and Elmina, are comprised in this circuit, and would repay a greater amount of ministerial labour than can be afforded by the present number of missionaries. A very promising commencement of a school has been made at a large place called Abakrampah, where the chief

has received the missionaries "with many marks of kindness." The missionary already quoted, Mr. F. Hart, remarks, "I was much delighted a few days ago, when at Abakrampah,.....to see how willingly the people received the word of life.....While I was speaking, they crowded the house, the windows, the doors, and the yard, until it was difficult to breathe; and during the whole of the time they were as quiet as any congregation in England.....The king of Abakrampah is noble in both person and conduct, and is willing to assist us to the uttermost."

There is an evident revival of the spirit of true Christianity at Anamabu, although the number of church-members is not so large as formerly. The state of the schools is very encouraging. The scholars are making progress in useful knowledge, and some of them are under serious religious impressions. The importance of these schools will be seen from the following gratifying Report of a recent public examination:—

"At Anamabu, on the 24th day of December, 1849, the boys and girls receiving instruction in the school under the superintendence of the Wesleyan Society were examined, in the presence of His Excellency Acting Lieutenant-Governor Fitzpatrick, B. Cruickshank, Esq., J.P., Andrew Swanzy, Esq., J.P., C. Cruickshank, Esq., and the Rev. Messrs. Freeman, Hillard, and Wharton. There were present in the school — boys, and — girls. The examiners took a lively interest in the proceedings, and derived great satisfaction from the very creditable appearance of the school, and the general proficiency of the scholars. In the highest class, both boys and girls exhibited the greatest readiness in answering the different questions proposed to them. Their acquaintance with the historical portions of Scripture, and with the truths and doctrines of Christianity, gave ample token that much pains had been taken to ground them thoroughly in the knowledge of our most holy faith; and the very intelligent explanations which they gave of what they had read, showed that this important point had not been neglected. In reading, spelling, grammar, and geography, and the common rules of arithmetic, they generally displayed an advanced degree of information and intelligence, for which many of the visitors were not prepared; and as questions were asked indiscriminately, according to the taste and inclination of the different examiners, it was apparent to all that their answers were founded on a general comprehension of the several branches of their study, and not on any special preparation for the occasion. On this account, the pleasure of the gentlemen attending this interesting exhibition was as great as their surprise, and induced His Excellency, on the part of himself and the other lay-visitors, to express, in very marked terms, their high approbation of the state of the school, which reflected much credit alike on the pupils, Mr. Laing and Miss Dutton, the teachers, and the Rev. Mr. Hillard, under whose zealous superintendence the cause of instruction has received such a favourable impulse. The other classes, according to their different degrees of advancement, displayed evident signs of the same benevolent care, and gave the gratifying promise of a portion, at least, of the rising generation being elevated from their state of natural degradation, and of the consequent more extensive dissemination of the truths of the gospel throughout the masses of the population of this heathen land.

"(Signed,) B. CRUICKSHANK."

There is much in the present state of the work at Domonasi "to afford encouragement." The public religious services and the class-meetings of our church-members are well attended, "and there is that gradual breaking down of heathen prejudices which affords strong ground of hope that, ere long, the minds

of the people will be prepared for an extensive abandonment of the superstitious of Paganism for the elevating worship and service of the true God." After advertising to the sub-stations of Abassa, Ejimakum, Donasi, Dunkwa, Ayerudu, Abuadzi, and Mansu, the missionary in the Domonasi circuit states, "It will be quite consistent with truth, to declare that this circuit has never, since its formation, exhibited in general so pleasing an aspect as at the present period: and there is every reason to hope that when the partial difficulties arising from changes and arrangements now in progress shall have been overcome, (a result which we can anticipate with confidence,) the word of God will mightily prevail among the tens of thousands of natives in the interior of the Fanti country."

The Akrah circuit suffered much during several months in the year, when it was unavoidably left without the superintendence of a regular missionary. Things have, however, considerably improved since Mr. Wharton's appointment. The exercise of church-discipline, by which the number of members has been reduced, has had a salutary effect on the remainder; who now give evidence of much religious earnestness, by their diligent attendance upon the ordinances of religion, and their fervent prayers for the promised blessing of the Great Head of the church. The schools are doing well. "Many of the elder boys, and a few of the girls, attend our religious class-meetings, and appear to be earnestly seeking 'the pearl of great price.' Several of the boys have been removed from the school during the year, and are now engaged in useful occupations. There are four young men under preparatory instruction in the Training Institution, all of whom are associated with the day-school in the capacity of monitors." Our little society and school at Winneba "continue to thrive." The state of Prampram is not quite so favourable: it having been found necessary to alter the plan of clothing the children at the expense of the mission, the number of scholars has been in consequence reduced.

ASHANTI.

A very gratifying testimony in favour of the society's mission in Ashanti has been given by Sir William Winniett, the governor of the Gold-Coast, in the *Journal* of his late visit to Kumasi, contained in a Despatch addressed to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, and printed by order of the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament. After describing the barbaric pomp displayed at his public reception by the king, in a large open space in the capital, His Excellency remarks:—

"Immediately after the procession had closed, we repaired to the Wesleyan mission-house, where we found comfortable arrangements made by the Rev. Mr. Hillard, the resident missionary in Kumasi, for convenient quarters during our stay. Greatly as I had been interested with the manner in which the king received me, the appearance of such a vast number of uncivilized men under such entire control, the new style of building exhibited, and its pretty contrast with the ever-fresh and pleasing green of the banyan-trees, I was equally interested and excited at the appearance of the Wesleyan mission-house,—a neat cottage, built chiefly with the teak or edoom-wood of the country.....As I sat down in the airy, spacious hall, in the cool of the evening, after all the toils and excitement of the day, and contemplated this little European establishment, planted in the midst of barbarism, two hundred miles into the interior of Africa, exhibiting to thousands of untutored Pagans the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, and the worship of the true God, I could not but think deeply and feelingly on the great triumph thus achieved by Christianity and civilization."

In a subsequent part of the journal, His Excellency, in describing a visit which he received from the king, observes,—

"He came to the street in the beautiful little phaeton presented to him by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1841; and I was pleased to observe, from the excellent condition of the phaeton, the great care which he has taken of so valuable and appropriate a present."

Remarking upon a conversation with the king, on another occasion, His Excellency adds,—

"Matters relative to the Wesleyan mission in Kumasi were then referred to, and I was much gratified to find how completely the mission has secured his confidence and esteem." *

In the course of the last year an arrangement has taken place which may have an important bearing on the cause of Christianity in Ashanti. John Ansah, a nephew of the present king, has been placed at Kumasi, the capital, in the character of a Christian teacher. This young man and his cousin were educated in England, and were sent back to Africa with the Niger expedition. After spending some time at Kumasi, he went down again to Cape-Coast, where he became a regular attendant at our mission-chapel, and an earnest seeker of the salvation which the gospel offers. Having at length experienced the saving power of Christianity, the public profession of which he had previously assumed, he became an agent of this society; and in the offices of interpreter, class-leader, and local preacher, has continued to give such proof of sincere piety and devotedness to the work of the mission, that he has been sent, by the unanimous voice of the missionaries in the district, as a catechist to Kumasi. On his arrival there, in his new capacity of agent to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, "he was very kindly received by the king his uncle, and is now enjoying his confidence and esteem." An extract of a letter addressed by him to the Rev. Mr. Freeman, the general superintendent, affectingly indicates the spirit in which he has entered upon his new and important sphere of labour:—

"I feel my helplessness and unworthiness of the present position I am placed in respecting my connexion with the mission. I look for help from Him whose promise is, 'According to thy day, so shall thy strength be.' I assure you, my dear father in Christ, all my mind is, that my life may be spent in the service of Christ. The general aspect of the work here is encouraging. The people attentively hear the word of God. I preach in the public street every sabbath-day, and they crowd to hear of the way of salvation, and I am encouraged to preach to them earnestly. The chiefs, too, with whom I have had conversation, seem to be seriously impressed. No doubt there are some in this town who will like to come forward to join Christ's church, but are afraid, perhaps, on their masters' part. I trust that that fear will be soon done away. You will be glad to hear how fond the king's children are of me: they are crowding into the mission-house every day, for which I bless the Lord, for it gives me an opportunity to impress on their tender minds the importance of the religion of Christ. I think good days are beginning to come upon the Ashantis: may the Lord hasten them soon, that these poor souls here may know the true and living God, and Jesus Christ His Son our Lord! Our little church is going on well. The members are earnest for their salvation. I am very glad to hear the prosperous state of the church at Cape-Coast. Respecting the charge of this station, I humbly submit to the appointment you have given me, believing that it is the sphere in which the kind providence of God intends me to labour."

The friends of Christian missions will not fail to offer prayer to Almighty God

* For more lengthened extracts from the governor's journal, see the "Missionary Notices" for the month of January, 1850.

in behalf of this interesting young man, that he may be graciously enabled to maintain his integrity, to be a faithful witness for Christ at the court of his royal relative, and "to testify" to both the princes and the people of Ashanti "the gospel of the grace of God."

THE SLAVE-COAST.

In consequence of the reduction which has taken place in the number of English missionaries in the district, Badagry and Abbeokuta have been left under the care of an assistant missionary and other native assistants.

The following is a tabular view of the society's missions at the Gold-Coast, Ashanti, and other parts of Guinea:—

	CENTRAL OR PRINCIPAL STATIONS OR CIRCUITS.						Total.
	Cape-Coast Town, &c.	Ana-mabu.	Domo-nasi, &c.	British Akrah, &c.	Ashanti.	Badagry and Ab-beokuta.	
Chapels	4	2	2	1	..	1	10
Other preaching-places	2	..	6	2	1	2	13
Missionaries and assistant missionaries..	2	1	..	1	..	1	5
Subordinate paid agents:—							
Catechists, &c.....	3	2	1	2	1	3	12
Day-school teachers.....	14	8	12	14	1	5	54
Unpaid agents:—							
Sabbath-school teachers.....	..	..	..	..	..	5	5
Local preachers.....	4	5	4	4	..	2	19
Full and accredited church-members ..	363	122	111	124	27	57	809
On trial for membership	5	9	10	13	14	51	102
Sabbath-schools .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Sabbath-scholars of both sexes .....	..	..	..	..	..	23	23
Day-schools	6	3	8	3	1	2	23
Day-scholars of both sexes	282	158	217	274	3	80	1014
Attendants on public worship, including members and scholars	1300	350	1000	600	1200	250	4700

The Report contains, as usual, the annual subscriptions and donations from each district, which, though considerable, are not the whole sum raised by the different societies and congregations in support of the ministry.

From the "tabular views" in the preceding Report, it will be seen that the extent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society's operations in Western Africa, at present, is as follows:—

Central or principal stations, called circuits, 12. Chapels and other preaching-places, in connexion with these circuits, 60. Missionaries and assistant missionaries, 15. Catechists, 20. Day-school teachers, 97. The unpaid agents are local preachers and sabbath-school teachers: of the former there are 89; and of the latter, 195. There are 42 day-schools, with 3,557 scholars; and the total number of scholars, deducting for those who attend both sabbath and week-day schools, is 4,723. The number of full and accredited church-members is 5,997, with 800 on trial; while 14,464 are reported as attending the ministry of the missionaries.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

SERIOUS Reflections—Matter for Congratulation—Present State of the Missions—Facts illustrative of Negro Piety, and of the Importance of the Wesleyan Missions—The three principal Obstructions to the rapid Spread of evangelical Truth are, the Climate, the awfully-degraded State of the Inhabitants, and the Slave-Trade—A few Facts in connexion with the fifty-four Agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society who have fallen in the Field—Not all to be attributed to the Climate—Not too much to hazard for the Salvation of immortal Souls—The Agents who fell were Men of the right Stamp—Wesleyan Theological Institution—The Manner of their Death—A Word to the Friends of Wesleyan Missions—The Gospel a sufficient Remedy for the deplorable Immorality of Africa.

A RETROSPECTIVE view of the contents of the preceding pages will furnish abundant matter for serious reflection and devout congratulation, mingled with feelings of sorrow and regret, and loud calls for more active and energetic effort, that this degraded continent may be speedily raised to its proper level with other civilized portions of the globe. On each of these topics it would not be difficult to enlarge; but our space forbids amplification, and we must therefore be content with a few concluding observations.

First. In the brief account we have given of the early discoveries of the Western Coast of Africa, as conducted by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English, a mournful picture is presented of human ambition and selfishness. For a lengthened period associations were formed, and travellers and commercial men went forth, without any reference to the intention of attempting the moral elevation of the degraded inhabitants. Gold and slaves were the general objects of pursuit; and the horrid traffic in human beings soon became the principal branch of commerce, which was not only sanctioned, but actually legalized, by the legislature of our own country. At a subsequent date, expeditions were sent to explore the vast unknown interior of this continent, with reference to the advancement of science; and at

a later period attempts were made to introduce among the natives the arts of civilization. But most of these plans, though humane and benevolent in their object and design, having been begun at the wrong end, proved to be failures. At length,—and that not till after a comparatively recent era,—British settlements were formed, and Protestant missionaries were sent out, for the purpose of discountenancing and putting a check to the Slave-Trade, of promoting legitimate commerce, and of introducing the blessings of Christianity, with one of its attendant results,—the arts of civilized life, among some of the native tribes along the Western Coast of that continent. This new state of things presented a fresh chapter in the history of Africa; and was so strange, that for some time the inhabitants of that country, who had been visited by the maritime states of Europe for more than three centuries for very different purposes, could scarcely believe that *white men* were really sincere and in earnest in seeking *their* benefit. How greatly is it to be lamented, that that precious boon, the gospel, which has made England what it is, was not at an earlier period sent to Western Africa!

Secondly. The cause of congratulation to which we have referred, arises from the fact, that, although little more than one generation has passed away since the first Wesleyan missionary landed on that coast, an amount of success has attended the labours of the agents of this Society, which is truly gratifying, and augurs well for Africa's future welfare. The statistics at the close of the last chapter will give the reader some idea of what has been accomplished during the past thirty-eight or thirty-nine years, which includes the whole length of time that the Wesleyan Missionary Society has been officially connected with this part of the Heathen world. We say "some idea;" for, fully to estimate the amount of good that has already been effected, we should not forget the hundreds and thousands of converted Africans who have, in the course of those years, "died in the Lord," with other circumstances connected with the operations of these missions. But if we compare the document just referred to, with the statistics in the Report for the year 1843, it will be seen that, during the *past seven years only*, there has been an addition to the Society of *two thousand four hundred and three full and accredited church members*, and that, in the same space of time, the *number of scholars* in the schools was *more than doubled*.

The first spontaneous expression of feeling from the writer's heart, when he had penned these statistics, of *six thousand*

church communicants, (save three,) with nearly five thousand children receiving Christian instruction in the schools, was, "What hath God wrought!"

Admitting, to some extent, at least, that numerical increase is not always a true sign of spiritual and genuine prosperity, and without pretending to say, that *all* those whose names are enrolled as members of the Society are "born again," and thus made "new creatures in Christ Jesus;" this much we do know, —that an overwhelming majority of them have been changed, not from one set of opinions to another; but they have been "turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." And we may add, that none are admitted, even on trial, without affording sufficient evidence of "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."

Although, for the reason already assigned, we cannot enlarge here, we may nevertheless be allowed to state a few facts in connexion with African conversions and Negro piety, which may be either fairly drawn from the preceding history, or given as additional illustrations of the power of the gospel, and "the triumphs of grace," as exhibited in the hearts and lives of hundreds of these Africans, and which will also show the utility and importance of the Wesleyan missions in this part of the Heathen world.

1. The first fact which we shall mention is this, that, although the native tribes of Africa, skirting that long line of coast which is washed by the great Atlantic Ocean, are exceedingly numerous, and most awfully fallen and degraded, yet, wherever the gospel has been preached for any length of time, whether among the Mohammedan or Pagan nations, there has been fruit of our labour, fruit in the real conversion of the soul to God, of some "out of every nation and every language," and, we may add, of every clan and of every tribe.*

* It is supposed that the Kroomen are an exception to this rule. One recent writer on Sierra-Leone, in speaking of this singular but enterprising tribe, says, "The Kroos are Pagans, and there has never yet been an instance of one of them being converted to Christianity." And another author remarks, "This tribe alone have, to a man, withstood the efforts of the missionaries." Dr. Madden has made a similar statement. But as the Kroomen reside on the Grain Coast, where we have no mission established, or rather no attempt has there been made to establish one, "the efforts of the missionaries" can scarcely be said to have had fair play upon them as a nation; nevertheless, a few of them have been brought under the "preaching of the word," and one or two, even of these, have been caught in the gospel net, as will be seen from the following extract of a letter which I received a few months ago from the Rev. Thomas Raston:—"We had a *converted* Krooman about eight years ago: he died happy in God. We have now one soundly con-

2. These conversions are generally accomplished by the instrumentality of the missionary, "holding forth the word of life," and "in Christ's stead" beseeching sinners to be reconciled to God. And such have been their agonizing remorse, and the outward circumstances attending their convictions of sin, that St. Paul's caution to the smitten jailer at Philippi has been sometimes quite necessary: "Do thyself no harm: for we are all here." (Acts xvi. 28.)

3. The reality of these conversions is soon seen: "old things have passed away, and all things have become new." The *tom-tom*, the song, and the dance are abandoned; their former foolish rites and frantic ceremonies, in which they trusted and delighted, are all given up; and as soon as, or before, the day dawns, instead of the superstitious *greegree* or *fetish* practices to which they formerly resorted at the beginning of the day, they are to be found in the sanctuary, for the purpose of prayer, and of singing the praises of the true God. Thus the day begins at five o'clock in the morning with many of the Wesleyan societies in that part of the world; and the genuineness of an internal and real change of heart is further demonstrated by "the fruits of the Spirit," as exhibited in the lives of these people, and by "their showing forth the praises of Him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

4. Another fact in connexion with African conversions is, that, generally speaking, the fruit abides: they are "steadfast and unmovable," they endure unto the end. There are, of course, exceptions to this: instances of unfaithfulness do sometimes occur, and then discipline is administered, kindly, but with fidelity. But on these occasions, they keenly feel being excommunicated for their offences, and in due time most of them, being penitent, are restored to the fold. On more than one occasion have these poor wanderers come to the writer at the mission-house, in the greatest distress, and, with tears running down their faces, begged to be re-admitted into the society.

verted: he has 'come out' from his countrymen, which he must do to be a Christian. There is as much caste among Kroomen as among the Hindoos. Next to Mohammedans, I believe the Kroomen are most difficult to be brought under the influence of the gospel. As soon as a Krooman embraces Christianity, he is rejected, despised, disowned, and cast out by his countrymen. The principle is established: we have both converted Kroomen and Mohammedans; *ergo*, all may be converted." In a recent communication from the Rev. George Meadows at the Gambia, it is stated:—"Several conversions have taken place lately. A Krooman—one of a class thought by some to be almost beyond the reach of the gospel—has been awakened, and experienced the efficacy of that blood which 'can make the foulest clean.'" (See "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" for December, 1850, p. 207.)

5. Though the greater part of the converted Afrieans are but imperfectly acquainted with the English language, it is delightful to hear them on the subject of experimental religion, and to observe the clearness with which they speak of their own conversion, and thus "give a reason of the hope that is in them." At the quarterly love-feasts, and sometimes in the class-meetings, in relating their experience, they will name the time, the place, the minister, and the words of the text which, by the Almighty Spirit, found a way to their hearts, and which ultimately led to their emancipation from the thralldom of sin, when they found peace with God through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

6. The natives of this part of the world *evidence the sincerity of their Christian profession*, by a consistent and regular attendance upon the means of grace, both public and private, by a careful attention to relative duties, personal and domestic religion, a strict observance of the sabbath-day, and a concern for the salvation of others. They liberally contribute towards the support of the cause of God, are "kindly affectioned one toward another:" when called to suffer for Christ's sake, they are patient and forgiving: in sickness they are resigned and submissive; and in death are generally triumphant.*

7. They are *strongly attached to their ministers*: they not only "receive them joyfully" when they first land from

* It would be easy to furnish illustrations on each of these topics, in addition to those already given. Two cases may be sufficient: one regarding the sanctity of the sabbath-day, &c., and the other showing the sustaining grace of God in the hour of death.

1. JOHN OGA, a liberated African at Sierra-Leone, who was a member of the society, and a truly converted man, had, by his industrious habits, acquired a little property, and he contributed liberally to the support of the cause of God. For some time he had supplied the liberated African Yard with vegetables, &c., and was afterwards offered the office of supplying the garrison with meat; but he said, "No; suppose me do dat, me have for kill cow on Sunday, and me can't do dat: my soul more to me dan cow." In a short time after this, he died happy in the Lord. He was a man universally respected, both by Europeans and Africans, as was seen at the funeral, when five or six hundred persons followed him to the grave.

2. THOMAS TICKNUT, (also of Sierra-Leone,) before his conversion, was one of those who practised "country fashion," and that not only for himself, but for his neighbours; and was a noted character as a wizard. But the gospel proved "the power of God" to the salvation of his soul, and blasphemies were turned to praise. His illness was of long duration, and his sufferings were great; yet, while he lay gasping for breath, he constantly rejoiced in God. This occurred about four years ago. On his class-leader visiting him, he said, "I am going to the King of glory." A short time before he died, turning to his wife, he said, "I commend you to God;" and a few minutes before the vital spark had fled, he lifted his hands, and exclaimed, "All is well, all is well! Glory, glory!" and he died with the word "glory" hanging on his lips.

England, but they are also constantly presented to the throne of the heavenly grace in their supplications. When laid aside by sickness, they are visited, waited upon, deeply sympathized with, and fervent prayers are offered to the Most High for their speedy restoration to health. In times of danger, they will nobly stand by them, and even risk their own lives in their defence.* If called to return home, on account of protracted illness, "they accompany them to the ship;" and the touching incident mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xx. 36—38) has more than once been illustrated by the conduct of the simple-minded, but sincere, Christians in Western Africa. And when death has put an end to the missionary's labours, "devout men have carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."

8. The Africans are *grateful* for the benefits conferred upon them by the British Government and by British Christians. To the former they feel thankful for having rescued them while on the mighty deep from the horrors of slavery; and to the latter, for having sent them "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," by which they have been made "free indeed." Even in their unconverted and barbarous state, when captured by Her Majesty's cruisers, as soon as they understand the object of the slaver being boarded by our brave countrymen, then "joy beams in every countenance," and they are seen "rolling themselves about with glee and kissing the hands and clothes of their deliverer," and when the dark rakish craft, with her human cargo, arrives at Sierra-Leone, "the promised land," as they afterwards call it, then "their acclamations are long and loud," and they "shout for joy at the prospect of freedom." But it is after they have been residents for some time in these British colonies on the Coast, enjoying all the privileges of British subjects, and when they are able to reflect upon the providence and grace of God manifested in their behalf, and the way in which He hath led them,—*that they are indeed grateful!* Fervent prayers are offered to God, and that repeatedly, for our beloved sovereign Queen Victoria, for Her Majesty's Government, the British officers, and "all the good people in England."

* In addition to one or more instances of this kind contained in the preceding pages, we may add the following statement made by the Rev. John Martin, at a missionary meeting held in Great-Queen-Street chapel, in London, about two years ago. Mr. Martin had spent two years at Badagry, on the Gold-Coast; and during one of his journeys in that locality, he was accompanied by some of the natives. Whilst proceeding on his way, a shot was fired in the forest by some party concealed in the bush, on which his escort immediately assembled around him, saying, "If they shoot, they shall shoot us, and not shoot you."

And in reciting their experience, with a brief history of their lives, though some parts were painful in the extreme, they cannot forget that they have been *twice redeemed*,—redeemed from the house of bondage, when their shackles were knocked off and thrown overboard, by the energy and activity of British cruisers; and again redeemed and liberated with “the precious blood of Christ.”

A recent writer of a missionary tract, entitled, “Black, but Comely,” has mentioned a fact which occurred in the West Indies in the case of one of the same class of individuals, and which is just in point here. It was that of a Negress who had obtained her freedom through the liberality of a few native Christians, and the author writes:—“Never shall I forget that happy day, when, coming from the auction-room direct to the mission-house, this noble confessor, with tears in her eyes, and gratitude in her heart, lifted up her hands to heaven, and loudly exclaimed, ‘Massa! massa! help me for praise the Lord! Me *twice* free! Me soul long be free, me body now be free! Me *twice* free! O massa, help me for praise the Lord!’” Hundreds of liberated Africans in connexion with the Wesleyan missions in Western Africa have sung the same delightful song, many a time, in our love-feasts; and in such a figurative and graphic manner, with such a tone of voice, gesture, action, feeling, and power, that no correct description can be put on paper. They are thankful to God, to the British Government, to British Christians, and to British missionaries.*

* Two dying testimonies in support of this may be here given.

1. The first is that of ROBERT CLARK, a liberated African youth, who died at St. Mary's on the Gambia at the close of 1841. I had myself frequently seen him during his illness, and also just after his death, which was under the following circumstances: feeling that he could not live much longer, he inquired for Cupidon, one of the native assistants, who was immediately by his side; when this poor African slave, aged about thirteen years, said, in broken accents, “Massa, me bin call you, for tell you, me now bout for die; but me no fraid for die: Jesus Christ pardon all my sin, and my soul is happy in de Lord.” This was pleasing, especially to John Cupidon, under whose roof he had lived, and who had often prayed with and for him. But this was not all: the dying lad went on to say, “And me bin call you also, massa, for tank you for all de goodness you bin do me. You bin teach me berry well in de house, and berry well in de school; and now me going to Jesus.” And then, lifting up his withered hand, he shook hands with his faithful friend and master, saying, “Tank you, massa, tank you; good bye, good bye.” And in a few minutes after this, he breathed his last.

2. The other case occurred on the Gold-Coast, a year or two later. The Rev. George Chapman had been preaching on the happiness of heaven; and shortly after he visited a sick and dying African, who had heard the sermon with much profit. This Negro, during Mr. Chapman's visit, referred to the sermon, and asked if it was

9. The oft-repeated calumny, *that the Africans have no minds*, and therefore are incapable of improvement, has, it is hoped, been sufficiently refuted in these pages. The result of missionary labour, in the conversion to God of thousands of the degraded sons of Africa, and the benefits which have invariably followed the faithful preaching of the gospel, in a *social, mental, and moral point of view*, are the best answers to those slanderers of the Negro race, who have stigmatized them with the epithets of “mere animal creatures,” “a sort of monkey without tails,” “machines of flesh and blood, but with no souls,” and the more modified designation, “human beings, but inferior to the rest of the species.” If the sceptic would but visit some of the mission stations in Western Africa, and were he even to take his prejudices with him, he would soon have his erroneous estimation of the African character corrected and dispelled from his mind. Facts would stare him in the face, that would make him “blush, and hang his head, to think himself a man,” and yet deny to others what God had given to him; that is, the power of reason, with a capacity for improvement. Amid much that is still dark and gloomy, he would find that many a bright spark of intellect and genius has been discovered, and brought into play, from the once spell-bound mind of the barbarian, by the simple preaching of the cross of Christ.

10. In order to appreciate, in any proper degree, the result of missionary labour in this part of the world, we ought to consider, first, *what the natives were before they received the gospel*, and then, *what they are now*. The disadvantages of their former condition must not be overlooked, in forming a correct estimate on this subject; for, whilst repudiating, as we do, the insulting and false epithets which we have just quoted as applicable to the Africans, it must be acknowledged, that a more degraded, barbarous, demoralized, and ignorant set of human beings are not to be found on the face of the globe, than are the native tribes on the Western Coast of Africa. This must be acknowledged by all; and yet hundreds of the present members of the Wesleyan society have been dug up out of the dark and filthy hold of the slave-ship; they have been washed, redeemed, disenthralled, and set at liberty; and again they

correct that we should know each other in heaven. Being assured that it was both correct and scriptural, he then said, “When I get there, I shall first go up to my Saviour, and fall down on my knees and thank Him for having sent a missionary. Then I shall go back to the gate, and wait till you come; and when you come, I shall take you by the hand and bring you up to my Saviour, and I shall say, ‘This is the first man that showed me the cross of Christ.’”

have been “washed, sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God :” and what are they now? Not only “princes in Israel,” but many of them occupy a position in civil society equal and even superior to some of those of a fairer complexion.* This elevation of a people from the depths of barbarism has not been the work of a day; but it has been accomplished in the course of a very few years, and is unquestionably the fruit of missionary toil; and, when contrasted with their former Heathen condition, it speaks loudly in favour of Christian missions, and furnishes another proof that the gospel, and that alone, can civilize, and bless, and save mankind.

11. In looking at the utility and importance of these missions, it should not be forgotten that there is at present an amount of *native agency at work* beyond that of any former period, and that there are several theological Institutions where others are receiving a course of instruction and training preparatory to their being employed in the same evangelical and benevolent spheres of usefulness; besides a number of schools of various grades, where a multitude of youths are receiving a Christian education. We need not expatiate on the probable effect of these schools and educational establishments: we know that in our own country a good sound religious education is of vast importance, and in a country like Africa it is, if possible, of still greater consequence.†

12. The last fact we shall mention is, that there is a *moral influence* in connexion with these missions that is felt far beyond

* The reader is here respectfully referred to the extracts from Mr. Fergusson's letter on the character of the liberated Africans, which will be found in the tenth chapter of this work. There it will be seen, that some of this once-degraded class of men are industrious tradesmen, and respectable merchants; that they have good stone houses, which are well furnished; and that they send their children to boarding-schools in England. I may also add, that I know one mercantile house in London, with whom two of our members at Sierra-Leone (who are liberated Africans) do business to the amount of between £2,000 and £3,000 each annually, and that they are prompt in their payments, as well as honourable and respectable in all the relations of life.

† Besides native teachers, local preachers, &c., whose names do not appear in the printed Reports, it will be seen, by a reference to the last annual Report and the Minutes of Conference, that we have six natives who are fully employed in the work of the ministry, as missionaries and assistant missionaries, most of whom are recaptured Negroes. Interesting communications are occasionally published from these brethren, in the “Missionary Notices;” and the reader is respectfully referred to the November Number of the year 1850, where he will find a letter from the Rev. George Decker, native assistant missionary at Sierra-Leone. Mr. Decker is a liberated African, and his communication is alike creditable to his head and to his heart; and the reader will be amply repaid by giving it a careful perusal.

the boundaries of the British settlements, or the limits of the mission-stations, which is of no small importance. An evangelical and Protestant missionary, indeed, may travel almost any where in Western Africa; and both by Pagans and Mohammedans he is respected: his name may not be known, but his character and profession are; and they will insure him a courteous treatment with the generality of the inhabitants. The Christian reader will doubtless recollect, that when Paul and his companions "escaped all safe to land" at "the island called Melita," "the barbarous people showed them no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received them every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold." (Acts xxvii. 44; xxviii. 1, 2.) So, in like manner, has the writer been treated by the natives of Western Africa, when hundreds of miles from any white men. This fact has more than once been corroborated in the preceding pages; and the moral influence of the missions on the native inhabitants more immediately connected with, or contiguous to, the English colonies, has also been adverted to.

Another fact, in connexion with this subject, deserves to be mentioned; and that is, that the missions have exerted a beneficial influence on the *European population abroad*. This, it is readily admitted, is not to any great extent; but that illicit intercourse between the sexes, which is too prevalent in most of our foreign settlements, and which still exists on the Western Coast of Africa, has nevertheless considerably diminished of late years, especially in those localities where Christian missions are established; for there many of our countrymen who had adopted the "country fashion," have either abandoned that sinful practice, or have been lawfully and properly united; and though I am not aware of any Europeans who are decidedly pious or members of our society, there is now little or no opposition to the labours of the missionaries from that quarter: a considerable number of them, indeed, attend divine service, at least once a day; and I believe the greater part of our countrymen wish us well. Would to God that all, or even one-half, of the Europeans on that Coast would give themselves to God, and then to his church by his will; and thus heartily co-operate with the missionaries! May we not hope that, ere long, this will be the case? The Lord hasten that happy and auspicious day!

These are some of the results and benefits of missionary labour in Western Africa, which call aloud for gratitude to "the God of all grace," that He has been pleased to put the

broad seal of His approbation upon the efforts of His servants. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake!" (Psalm cxv. 1.)

Thirdly. That which is calculated to produce mingled feelings of sorrow and regret is, that the good already accomplished has been effected at a considerable sacrifice of European health and life; and that, though much has been done, it is very little compared with what remains to be done. The present state of Africa, therefore, loudly calls for more active and energetic efforts, that this too-long-neglected continent may be speedily raised to its proper level with other civilized portions of the globe.

It will, perhaps, not be denied, that there are evils and obstructions in Africa to the rapid spread of evangelical truth, which are to be found in no other part of the Heathen world. But this should only lead to a corresponding degree of zeal and combined effort on the part of the Christian church; and ere long these evils and obstructions will be seen to dissolve and melt away, as clouds before the mid-day sun.

It was my purpose here to have dilated at some length on the principal obstacles and obstructions with which we have to contend in Western Africa, and which, for the sake of distinction, may be designated *physical*, *moral*, and *diabolical*. I refer to the *prejudicial effects of the climate* on European constitutions; to the *awfully degraded state of its inhabitants* generally; and to that monster evil, *the Slave-Trade*. But as this volume is already extended much beyond my calculation, I intend to embody these and some other collateral topics in a pamphlet, which will soon make its appearance. In conclusion I add only a few paragraphs on the mortality among missionaries.

The authoress of "Letters from Sierra-Leone," though she believes, with Chamier, that this climate is "the worst under the sun," is nevertheless of opinion, that "within late years it has been less destructive to Europeans." And I have before me a letter which I received only a few months ago, from a respected missionary at Sierra-Leone, that has spent several years in that colony, who is of the same opinion. He says, "The climate of Sierra-Leone (I mean Free-Town in particular, as it is the residence of most of the Europeans) is certainly vastly improved. But all improvements in health are attributable to local improvements. The mountains and lands adjacent are completely cleared of timber. Dwelling-

houses are better constructed; with a well-organized police, the streets and lanes are kept clean. Drainage has been carried on very vigorously," &c. My correspondent further states, "I think another great means of promoting the health of the town arises from the roofing of the wattled and other small houses: no person is allowed to cover with grass; shingles or bamboo *must* be used, under a heavy penalty. The steam from some thousands of houses covered thickly with grass must be fearfully pernicious. The medical treatment for diseases is entirely altered; mercury is exploded, excepting in desperate cases: I believe I owe my shattered constitution to mercury."

In a recent publication I find it is stated, that, "between March, 1804, and August, 1825, eighty-nine Church missionaries arrived at Sierra-Leone; and in that period fifty-four had died, and fourteen returned to England shattered in health." And in the "Missionary Records," the writer, in dwelling upon this subject up to a later period, says, "Many of the missionaries and teachers were also obliged to return to England; so that at the time of the publication of the Report of the Church Missionary Society, in the year 1835, there remained only three missionaries and two catechists. The only female remaining was the daughter of Mr. Nylander. These only remained in Africa of ONE HUNDRED AND NINE labourers which the Church Missionary Society had sent out during thirty years." Taking either of these statements, it appears that the losses sustained by the Church Missionary Society were, up to that period, more than fifty per cent.

Taking the past twelve years as our guide, it will be seen that, during that period, sixty-seven European agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, all "new hands," have been sent to Western Africa, out of which there have been twenty-five deaths.* If we include those brethren and sisters who arrived there a second, and some of them a third, time, since the year 1838, the number will amount to eighty-two, but with *only two more deaths*. During these twelve years, twenty-one agents out of the sixty-seven arrived at Sierra-Leone, from whom we have reported *seven* deaths; fifteen arrived at the Gambia, out of whom *six* died; and thirty-one landed at the Gold-Coast, out of whom *twelve* have fallen in the field. This analysis corroborates the opinion that of late years *the climate of Sierra-Leone has improved*; for these statistics only give to that

* It is right to state that, out of this sixty-seven, three were persons of colour,—Mr. Freeman, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Garry.

colony *one-third* of the amount of missionary mortality ; whereas, as stated in a preceding page, the number of deaths in that colony, during the whole history of the missions, amounts to rather more than one-half. It will be seen, too, that though the mortality on the Gold-Coast has, during the last twelve years, been greater than at either of the other settlements, not only in numbers, but also in proportion to the number of agents sent out, even there an improvement is manifest. The six deaths out of fifteen at the Gambia give about the same average as before stated, which, it should be recollected, was considerably less than either of the other stations.

If we take the last six years as a criterion, the report will be still more favourable ; for during that period only nine deaths have occurred in our mission-families on the whole Coast. Four of these were at Sierra-Leone, two at the Gambia, and three at the Gold-Coast.

But I cannot close my remarks on the biographical sketches of the fifty-four agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society which we have already given in connexion with the history of these missions, without an observation or two which they naturally suggest.

1. In the first place, then, without attaching blame or charging any of our departed friends with imprudence, on their arrival in Africa, it must be admitted that the climate was not the sole cause of death in every case. Several of them would most likely have died as soon, or nearly so, had they gone to other parts of the mission-field ; and probably some of them, had they remained in Europe.

2. It is a melancholy fact, however, that more than half a hundred of the agents of this society have fallen in their God-like work, and their bones lie mouldering far from the graves of their fathers, in that foreign soil, the miseries of whose inhabitants had called forth their tenderest sympathy, and to mitigate whose wretchedness they forsook their native land. The writer has often visited the graves of his dear brethren and sisters, several of whom it fell to his painful duty to bury "side by side ;" and, while standing by the solemn spot where their ashes are deposited, he has dropped the tear of sympathy and affection, and has endeavoured to imbibe a portion of their spirit, to trace their footsteps, and follow them to the skies.

3. In reviewing the loss of life in Western Africa, though it is deeply affecting, we know it is not too great a sacrifice to save immortal souls. Some, it is true, were called away almost before they had put on the harness, or before they had time

fairly to thrust the sickle into the rich harvest ripening before them ; but,—

“That life is long which answers life’s great end.”

Some of the most devoted missionaries of other denominations, and in other lands, such as Brainerd, Martyn, and Mills, were called away before they saw half the number of days allotted to human existence on earth. But though God has indeed, in Western Africa, “buried many of his workmen, yet he has carried on his work.” The spirits of our departed missionaries, resting from their labours, are now happy with the Lord ; and hundreds of their spiritual children have also overtaken them ; so that both he who sowed, and they who reaped, are rejoicing together ; and many more are on the way.

4. In the perusal of the brief memoirs which we have given, it will have been seen that, in the selection of their agents, the parent committee were directed to persons of the right stamp. Some of them, it is true, were young men possessed of few literary attainments, having enjoyed no advantages beyond those afforded by a plain English education ; but they were men of good common sense, of sterling piety, and largely imbued with the spirit of their Master, “who came to seek and to save that which is lost.” They possessed a love for souls, and knew how to preach “Christ and him crucified ;” and hence God honoured their labours, in the awakening and conversion of sinners, and in “bringing many sons to glory.” Others of them, however, were above mediocrity, both with regard to gifts and graces, being highly intelligent and intellectual : they were “faithful men, who were able to teach others also ;” nor were *they* less zealous and successful in winning souls to Christ, and in thus extending the Redeemer’s kingdom in the earth : for which they “counted not their lives dear unto them.”

5. Several of the brethren whose deaths we have recorded of more recent date, it will be remembered, had enjoyed the advantages of the Theological Institution, the benefits of which they gratefully acknowledged. These benefits were two-fold : they were mental, and they were spiritual : they related to the head and to the heart. It will have been observed, that their scholastic studies and duties did not retard the growth of their personal piety ; for while the mind was expanding, the heart was kept warm with love to God and man, and they thus “grew at once in wisdom and holiness.” One of the young men, who was distinguished for holy ardour on his entering the

Institution, and who "applied himself to his studies with exemplary diligence," some months after he had been there, wrote thus:—"I trust I am growing in grace, in attachment to Methodism, and in love for the souls of men, especially of the Heathen. I am exceedingly thankful to my heavenly Father for bringing me to this place; and I trust my profiting will appear to all." A few weeks after this, he again wrote: "I thank God, I can testify that Christ is able to cleanse from all sin. I am happy in his love, and can rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." This young man, on a vacancy occurring at Sierra-Leone, left the Institution, and was found in less than a week on board the vessel which conveyed him thither. The reader will by this time recollect the name of JAMES WAYTE, some of whose last moments were employed in "invoking the Divine blessing upon his brethren at Richmond."

And who that has perused the account of the first missionary who fell at Coomassie, does not at this moment see in imagination the devoted ROWLAND at the same Institution, in his closet, on his knees, with a small pamphlet in his hand, fasting and praying, and renewing his covenant with God, while the rest of the family were at their usual meal? And just as he had got to that part of the covenant service, "That He appoint you your work," &c., there was "a knock at his door," calling him to that work in which he so heartily engaged, but in which, alas! he so soon died!

These are facts which are most honourable to the missionary candidates and students, as well as creditable to our fathers and brethren who have the principal charge and management of that important establishment; and they are placed upon record to show, that those "men who take it as an axiom, that knowledge and godliness are antagonist interests, and who mourn over the advance of the one, as involving, of necessity, the decline of the other,"—or, in other words, that those who imagine that knowledge is unfriendly to piety and subversive of holiness,—are mistaken, so far as the Wesleyan Theological Institution is concerned; for, in addition to the brethren we have mentioned, it may with perfect truth be said, that some of the most holy, devoted, and useful missionaries have been sent out from that Institution. These facts are also placed upon record, that present and future candidates for our ministry, who are or may become students, either at Richmond or Didsbury, may see that, while their predecessors were not inattentive to mental improvement, but applied themselves with unwearied diligence to the acquisition of useful knowledge, they at the same time

made rapid progress in piety, and thus became more fully prepared for the great work which awaited them.

6. The manner of the deaths we have recorded cannot have escaped the reader's notice. The genuine piety possessed by our dear brethren, (and sisters, too,) on leaving their native land for Africa, did not flag in that warm climate. They were not only "faithful men," but they were "faithful unto death." They had not to seek religion on a sick-bed, and in a dying hour; but were divinely supported and sustained, when their heart and flesh failed them.

In some cases, it will be recollected, the "one was taken and the other left;" in others, both the missionaries on the same station were seriously ill at the same time; and one "got himself assisted, weak as he was, into the other's room, to inquire the state of his mind, when the most afflicted would be helped up in bed; and they seemed like two dear friends meeting who had long been separated." In other cases, the missionary and his wife have both been burning with fever at the same time, and unable to render one another the least assistance; and in more than one instance, the death of one has taken place under the same roof, unknown to the other; nor has the fact been known until the next day, or the day following, when the husband and wife have met "in a nobler clime!"

But "these *all* died in faith;" and not one ever regretted having embarked in the work. "I am in my proper place," or words to that effect, were spoken by many of them, not only when in health, but also in sickness, and in the prospect of meeting "the last enemy." Nor could "Jordan's stream, or death's cold flood," quench "the yearning pity for mankind, the burning charity," or "the pure flame of love" to the cause of missions, which they cherished while the power of articulation remained; for some of their last words to those who stood by them, when dying, were, "Watch over the flock when I am gone." "Preach Christ, and do all you can to save souls," &c.

7. Lastly. To the friends of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, these brief memorials of *fifty-four* of their agents are respectfully addressed. To them the writer would say, Such are the "messengers" you employ, such the sacrifices they make, the trials they encounter, in carrying out your designs. The cause you have espoused and love, they *die* to extend. We know that

"A Sacrifice of nobler name
And richer blood than they,"

was necessary for the redemption of Africa; and the price has been paid. The eternal Son of God died on Calvary for this as well as for other portions of the great family of man. But the Almighty is graciously pleased to employ human instrumentality in accomplishing the salvation of mankind; and we therefore regard the "bones" of our beloved missionaries and their wives as prophetic. "And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die: and God will surely visit you." And by faith in the doctrine of the resurrection and the promise made to Abraham respecting Canaan, Joseph "gave commandment concerning his bones," that they should "carry them up from hence." (See Gen. xv. 13, 14; l. 24, 25; Heb. xi. 22.) So in like manner have the pious agents of the Wesleyan Missionary Society taken possession of Western Africa, "the promised land,"—they sleep, not indeed in "the sepulchres of their fathers," but in graves which they have consecrated for their children, a spiritual generation to be born in due time; and there they rest in glorious hope of the final and universal triumph of the world's Redeemer.

Let such men, then, never want pecuniary support; let them never be forgotten in your prayers. How often did these devoted men, when living and toiling abroad, urge the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us!" And as often did they reiterate the apostolic request, "Brethren, pray for us." Others are now making the same affecting appeals; and shall they plead in vain? Heaven forbid! Whilst some misguided and infatuated men are crying, "Stop the supplies!" be it your high duty, as it is your privilege, to "come up to the help of the Lord," to stand by and support Christ's standard-bearers, and thus help forward "the glorious war." *Would* the British Government leave our soldiers in a foreign land to fight our battles, without the proper supplies of food and ammunition? Such a question is almost an insult to common sense, and the proposition would be spurned by every British heart; and yet there *are* *professing Christians* who are adopting this principle in reference to the cause of missions! "But *ye* have not so learned Christ." Let the "supplies," therefore, be *doubled*, rather than "stopped." With increased liberality, let your fervent prayers ascend to heaven, on behalf of this benevolent and holy enterprise. Not merely once a month at the missionary prayer-meeting, or now and then at a missionary anniversary, but every day of the week, bear up God's servants at the throne of grace; and then it shall be said to you, as well as to them, at the great reckoning-day, "Well

done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." (Matt. xxv. 21.)

It has already been sufficiently demonstrated in this work that the gospel meets the case of man, wherever man is found, whatever may be his national, civil, intellectual, or moral condition; that the nature, the number, the magnitude, or the repetition of his iniquities, are not an insuperable barrier to his conversion and civilization. The gospel is "the power of God." It cannot alter the colour of the Negro's skin; but it can change the blackest heart of the blackest of Ham's descendants, and make it "white as snow." There is no shade of guilt too dark, no accumulation of crime too great, and no enormity of transgression, that it cannot remove. None of the sons and daughters of fallen Adam on that sin-stricken, smitten, and afflicted continent, are too far from heaven, or too near perdition, for the gospel to reach and relieve; it can "save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Heb. vii. 25.) And if Africa was thrice more deeply degraded and fallen than she is, there is in "the glorious gospel of the blessed God" a sufficient and never-failing remedy for all her maladies. Here, then, is our hope,—*the faithful and persevering use of the appointed means*. The missionaries of the cross may go forth into this dark and barren land, "weeping," but they are the bearers of "precious seed." They go forth strengthened with that consoling promise, "And, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The "bread" is therefore "cast upon the waters;" cast sometimes with trembling hands, cast under seemingly unpropitious circumstances; but the quality of the seed being good, and suited to all climates and to all moral soils, and being "watered" with the gentle dew or teeming showers of the Almighty Spirit, "the seed shall surely grow;" and it shall be "found after many days." The "handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains, the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon;" and the weeping sower shall become the successful and joyous reaper; for he "shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." To those who think differently, and who imagine all these to be mere figures of speech, our reply is, "Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures NOR THE POWER OF GOD." For "thus saith the Lord," "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from

heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater : so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth : it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it. For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree : and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off." (Isai. lv. 9—13.)

THE END.

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